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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. III.—Part I.

HENRY VIII.

1525-1526.

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EDITED BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.
L.....Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re. .....Patronato Real.
T. c. I. .....Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus.....Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont. .....Tratados con Pontifices.
E.....Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C.....Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A.....Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N.....Corona de Navarra.
F.....Flandes.
A.....Alemania.
Po. .....Portugal.
I. .....Inglaterra.
R.....Roma.
Na. .....Napoles.
Si. .....Sicilia.
Mi. .....Milan.
V.....Venecia.
Ge. .....Genoa.
To. .....Toscana.
Pr. d. It. .....Principes de Italia.
Var. De. .....Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt. .....Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz. .....Libros de Berzosa.
Se. d. Guer.....Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.
H.....Hacienda or Finances.
M. .....Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist. .....Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar.....Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz .....——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var.....Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac.....Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B.....Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G. .....Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp....Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P. .....Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist.....Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. } Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg. Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist. .....Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang. Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj. } Archivo Central *at Madrid:* Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

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INTRODUCTION.

The present volume is a continuation of the calendar which the late Gustav Adolph Bergenroth left unfinished. At his death, which took place at Madrid on the 13th of February 1870, in consequence of a malignant fever contracted at the wretched village of Simancas, where he was residing, and under circumstances much lamented by his friends and admirers, the task of prosecuting his labours devolved upon the writer of these pages, who for some time past had taken great interest in his friend's historical pursuits, kept up a literary correspondence with him, and helped him as much as he could with materials collected for an almost similar purpose. Of Bergenroth's assiduity and love of research, untiring activity, and other qualifications of the historian, an ample testimony is before the public in the shape of two thick volumes* and one more of supplement, wherein most of the State papers and letters relating to English history from the accession of Henry VIII., in 1509, to the year 1525, to be found at Simancas, Barcelona, Madrid, and other archives in Spain, as well as at Brussels and Lille, are carefully abstracted and clearly illustrated. His collection, now deposited in the library of the British

* *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere*, vol. I., Henry VII., 1485–1509, by G. A. Bergenroth, London, 1862. This was followed in 1866 by a second volume, and two years later, in 1868, by a supplement, chiefly relating to Queen Katharine, and the intended marriage of King Henry VII. with Queen Joanna, Philip's widow.

Museum, and consisting of 24 folio volumes, embraces the period between 1519–1556, or rather the long reign of Charles V., since it was Bergenroth's avowed intention, whilst he compiled his English calendar, to write in his own native tongue a general history of the Emperor and of the religious troubles in Germany, for which gigantic undertaking he had early availed himself of all such materials as fell into his hands.

Owing, however, to various causes this mass of transcripts, carefully revised by the collector himself, could not be made accessible to the historical scholar until last year, when, chronologically arranged and bound, they were entered in the general catalogue of manuscripts in the British Museum,* and placed at the disposal of visitors to the reading-room. The present editor, therefore, had to begin the work again, examine and read papers already copied, decipher several which had not their decipherings appended, and look out for such as might have escaped the vigilant and practised eye of his predecessor, which occupation, as may be supposed, took considerable time, and will be a sufficient excuse for the delay in the appearance of the present volume.

Bergenroth's collection, however, though very extensive as regards the Emperor's reign, was very far from complete in an English point of view, for he was either entirely unaware of the existence of the original correspondence of Praet, Laurens, Bèvres, Le Sauch, Jonglet, Theimseke, Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Eustace Chappuys, Vandervyst, and other ambassadors of Charles, and of Margaret of Savoy, in England, recently discovered in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, or else had no opportunity of having it transcribed.

* They will be found among the manuscripts called *Additional* from No. 28,572 to 28,597 respectively.

It was through Mr. Froude's valuable suggestions that the present editor first learned the existence of such important papers as these in the Vienna Archives. Upon the application of Lord Romilly, at that time Master of the Rolls, and the kind mediation of Lord Bloomfield, a permission to see these papers was soon obtained, the correspondence carefully examined, and transcripts made of such a portion of it as related to English history. In this task the editor has the pleasure of acknowledging with many thanks the kind offices of Ritter von Arneth, the Director of the Imperial Archives, as well as the valuable services of Councillor Vocher and Aspirant Felgel,* also attached to the department. As the said papers and correspondence, which, as above stated, Bergenroth had no leisure to examine and include in his calendar, begin almost with Charles' proclamation at Brussels, as King of Spain, in 1517, it naturally follows that many were omitted by him, which had particular relation to the history of England. Thus the correspondence of Louis de Praet, of whom that scholar found only two or three letters in the Spanish Archives, is wholly preserved at Vienna, from the year 1523, in which year that diplomatist, after accompanying the Emperor in his visit to England, remained as ambassador instead of the Bishop of Badajoz,†

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* The latter gentleman has been particularly useful to the editor by having transcripts made under his inspection of the papers selected for this compilation.

† Bernardo de Mesa, Bishop of Trinopoli (Drin or Drinovar in Illyria), afterwards of Elna or Helna in the Roussillon, and lastly of Badajoz in Extremadura, was a native of Cordoba. In 1514 Ferdinand sent him as his ambassador to Paris, and afterwards to London, to conclude the alliance between England and Spain. Charles retained him as his ambassador until 1523, when he had him replaced by Praet. He died soon after in 1524.—Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro eclesiastico de las Iglesias de España*, tom. IV., p. 53.

until May 1525, when, owing to his violent quarrel with Wolsey, he was recalled.

To supply such involuntary omissions the present editor has deemed it necessary to take up the compilation, not indeed where Bergenroth left it, that is to say, on the 24th of February 1525, but at the beginning of that year; by which means he has been enabled to introduce no less than twelve very interesting letters* of that Imperial ambassador in England, and other important papers which will throw considerable light on the events and negotiations that preceded the battle of Pavia. In like manner, and the better to illustrate that period of Henry's reign, it is the editor's intention to give at the end of Part II. of this volume a summary and abstract of such letters and papers from 1509 to 1525 as may increase the historical evidence already brought to light.

It will naturally be asked how comes it to pass that letters addressed to Charles, as King of Spain, and bearing the signatures of his various ambassadors at the Court of England, are to be found almost exclusively at Vienna instead of at Simancas and Madrid? The reason is obvious enough. Most of the statesmen employed by the Emperor on such missions were natives of Flanders or of Burgundy. All wrote in French; each represented Charles in England both as King of Spain and Emperor of Germany; besides which the political and commercial business with England, owing to the proximity of both countries and to other causes, was chiefly transacted by way of the Netherlands. Hence it is that the correspondence of the Imperial and Flemish ambassadors in London during the long reign of Charles, as well as Granvelle's papers under Philip, were kept at Besançon, Lille, and Brussels until the

* See the Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 20, 38, 47, and 63.

peace of Utrecht in 1713. All those which, strictly speaking, related to Charles were after the battle of Fleurus, in 1794, hastily removed to Vienna, where they are now suitably arranged under the heads of *Correspondence et Negociations d'Angleterre*, &c.

It may, therefore, be safely asserted that without the above-mentioned letters and papers no compilation calculated to illustrate the political relations of England, Spain, and Germany during the first half of the sixteenth century, and during Henry's long reign, could be undertaken and carried out with success, however large the historical collections at Simancas and other towns in Spain. For, in the first place, during the Peninsular war the general Archives of Spain were bodily removed to Paris,* and, when returned, most of the State Papers relating to the reign of Francis I. and his unfortunate campaigns in Italy, the negotiations with France and England in the early part of the Emperor's reign, the correspondence of Philip's ambassadors in France during the troublesome times of the League, and all papers connected with the war of Succession (1701–13) were carefully kept back, and notwithstanding the tardy remonstrances and weakly-conducted negotiations of the Spanish government, still form part of the general Archives of France.†

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* The fact has been mentioned by Bergenroth in his Introduction to volume I., p. vii. The spoliation of the Archives of Simancas formed only a part of the gigantic plan conceived by Napoleon Bonaparte, which was to collect in the capital of France all the State Papers of the countries invaded by his arms, in order to form a vast repository of historical documents.

† A late writer in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, a periodical published at Madrid (vol. I., p. 114), has lately pointed out the manner and amount of the spoliation, and the complete disregard which has hitherto attended Spain's just claims in this particular. See also *Les*

Indeed, had it not been for a happy coincidence which I shall mention hereafter, Spain would have been deprived of almost every paper on her national history in connexion with foreign powers, and the English scholar might have looked in vain for materials to illustrate Henry's reign.

Long before the above-mentioned spoliation, to which Bergenroth frequently alludes in the introductory pages to his two volumes, a considerable portion of the Simancas papers, especially those relating to the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, Archduke Philip his son-in-law, and Charles was handed over to certain royal historiographers, who in Castille, as well as in Aragon, were commissioned from time to time to write the annals of those countries. That Fray Prudencio de Sandoval consulted them for his ponderous history of Charles* cannot for a moment be doubted, for it is evident that the good bishop copied some of them in full, and made use of others, without, however, condescending to inform us whence he took the materials of his work. That Leonardo y Argensola, Andres y Ustarroz, Lanuza, and before them the learned and conscientious Geronimo Zurita,† all of them historians

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Archives de la France, par Henri Bordier, Paris, 1855, 8vo., where the fact is fully recorded and much praise bestowed on the official who kept back such papers as might interest his country in an historical and geographical point of view.

* *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V.*, &c., *Al Catholico Rey Don Phelipe III. por el maestro Don Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, su coronista obispo de Pamplona*, 2 vols., fol., first printed at Valladolid, 1604–6, afterwards at Pamplona, 1614, and lastly at Antwerp, 1681.

† In 1567 Philip II. commissioned Zurita, his royal historiographer (*cronista*) for the crown of Aragon, and one of the most learned men of the day, to make a search throughout Spain for such State Papers as might have been overlooked. He alleged as a reason that "chroniclers and historians were often misinformed on matters of State, and that it was, therefore, very necessary that all such papers should be collected at Simancas, there to be examined and consulted."

of Aragon, had also access to them, not indeed at Simancas, in Castille, but at Saragossa or some other city of Aragon, where they must have been removed for their special use, appears also evident; lastly, on the suppression of the office of *cronista* or royal historiographer in Aragon, during the reign of Philip V., a portion of the papers, at least, must have passed into the hands of Don Luis de Salazar y Castro, the last royal historiographer of Castille, at whose death in 1734 they were first transferred to the church and hospital of Monserrat* at Madrid, thence to the Palace of the Cortes, and lastly to the Royal Academy of History, where they are now kept, together with the vast collection of manuscripts once belonging to the Jesuits, and others no less important for the history of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In this manner and by a most happy coincidence a considerable portion of the Spanish national Archives escaped the flagrant spoliation above alluded to, and constitute at the present day almost the only source whence the lovers of history can gather information respecting the political, commercial, and other relations of England and Spain during Henry's reign. The papers, which are original and mostly of an official character, are chronologically arranged and bound in volumes. They have occasional notes in the handwriting of Zurita,†

* Founded in 1616 for the natives of Aragon.

† Zurita was succeeded in his charge of *cronista* by Bartolomé Leonardo y Argensola, after whose death, in 1587, came Andres de Ustarroz, Lanuza, Sayas, Dormer, Panzano, and Zapater, whose united works form a series of 12 folio volumes. Every one of the above-mentioned historians seems to have used the series of papers now deposited in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, and which constitute the chief materials for the present volume, those at Simancas being but few and not very important previous to 1528.

Leonardo, and other Aragonese historians, thus favouring the conjecture already alluded to that they must have formed at some time or other, perhaps soon after the foundation of the Simancas Archives by Charles V., in 1543, a separate depôt for the exclusive use of the royal historiographers of that kingdom. They are to be found under the appellation of *Coleccion Salazar*, from the name of its last owner,* and are kept apart from other papers of a similar character, and having perhaps the same origin, such as the correspondence of Martin de Salinas, Ferdinand's ambassador at the court of his brother Charles,† the minutes of certain letters of the Emperor to Pope Clement, to the Duke of Sessa, and to the Abbot of Najera, all in the handwriting of Valdés, Garcia, Soria, and others of Gattinara's clerks.†

About the authenticity of such papers, as well as of those preserved in the Archives of Simancas and Barcelona, no doubt can be entertained, the point having been often discussed by Bergenroth in a manner to make it unnecessary for me to return to the subject. Most are written in cipher, but as the decipherings are usually appended, or placed between the lines by Pedro de Soria, one of Gattinara's secretaries, there has been in general

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* Salazar seems to have made but little use of the important collection entrusted to his care as *Cronista de Castilla*, with the exception perhaps of several genealogical compilations and tracts, among which his voluminous history of the family of Lara is the most important (*Historia genealogica de la casa de Lara, justificada con instrumentos y escritores de inviolable fé*, Madrid, 1694–7, 4 vols., fol).

† This interesting volume, of which Bergenroth made use for his calendar, bears the title of *Cartas de Martin de Salinas*, and is the original copy-book of that ambassador from 1522 to the 11th of November 1539. The letters are addressed to Archduke Ferdinand, afterwards King of Bohemia and Hungary, to Treasurer Salamanca, Secretary Castillejo, and others. They are exceedingly interesting, and some of them will be abstracted for the present compilation. The volume is marked C. 71.

no great difficulty in having the papers transcribed. Now and then an important paragraph is omitted, or a proper name wrongly spelt, which obliges the reader to have recourse to the deciphering key, when it exists at Simancas, or else make use of other expedients for arriving at the real meaning. In such cases, which fortunately are not frequent, the present editor has secured the services of Don Manuel de Goicoechea, the sub-librarian of the Academy, a scholar well versed in paleography, and whose proficiency in those particular studies Bergenroth has fully acknowledged on more than one occasion.*

To the great disappointment of all scholars engaged in historical pursuits the papers are mostly kept at that wretched and inhospitable village called Simancas,† two leagues from Valladolid, and in the very castle which Charles first, and Philip afterwards, prepared for their reception. There was lately some talk of having them removed, either to the Escurial or to Toledo, at both which places there is plenty of room for them, besides better accommodation and more comfortable lodgings for the students, but the idea, suggested no doubt by people who wished to render that fountain of modern history more accessible, seems to have been altogether abandoned or indefinitely postponed.

Besides the original letters and papers quoted in Bergenroth's volumes as preserved at Simancas, Barcelona, the Royal Academy at Madrid, &c., new repositories have been since discovered, which the present editor has had occasion to visit, and of which a short notice will be required, since a few of their contents have already been,

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* See his introduction to vol. II., p. xi.

† Of Bergenroth's sufferings and privations whilst engaged in his historical pursuits, Mr. Cartwright, his biographer, has given us a very entertaining and graphic account. See *Memorial sketch;* London, 1870.

or will be, calendared in course of time. Such are, 1stly, the newly-created *Archivo Historico Central*, wherein the charters, deeds, grants, and other historical documents, some of great antiquity,* belonging to the suppressed monastic corporations, have been carefully collected from all parts of the Peninsula; 2ndly, the National Library, lately increased by several hundred packets of State Papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, originally at the Foreign Office (*Secretaria y Consejo de Estado*); 3rdly the libraries of the Escurial and *Particular* of the Royal Family,† within the precincts of the Palace, both of which are to be incorporated with the *Nacional*, already very rich in manuscripts, though without a detailed and classified catalogue of them; 4thly, the rich collections once belonging to the Archbishops of Toledo, and now constituting separate archives in that old, musty and fast-decaying city; 5thly, that of Alcalá de Henares, 25 miles from the capital, once the seat of a famous university founded by Cardinal Cisneros, and whither at the present moment many hundred cart-loads of papers

* This collection, which chiefly consists of charters from the tenth to the fifteenth century, abounds also in historical and State Papers of a later date, deposited at various times in convents and other ecclesiastical foundations, or bequeathed by ministers, secretaries of state, ambassadors, and other official personages, who, owing to a practice not unusual in Spain, passed the latter days of their life in retirement and contrition.

† This library, which is very considerable, was first formed by Charles III., and greatly increased by his successors. It is very rich in manuscripts, as it contains all those which formerly belonged to the colleges (*colegios mayores*) of the University of Salamanca, besides the collection made in London by Gondomar, which will be found very valuable for the reign of James I. Among the rest is a history of Henry VIII. from 1530 to his death, followed by 17 supplementary chapters for the reign of Edward. The work is anonymous, and said to have been written in Spanish by a Valencian lawyer (*letrado*) who came to England in Katharine's suite. It is entitled *Cronica de Henrico octavo de Inglaterra*, and is full of interesting details.

on the internal government, administration, and finances of Spain, together with those relating to the Holy Office of the Inquisition and the lay brotherhoods (*hermandades*), are being removed from the central bureaux in the capital. In all which repositories, if carefully examined, papers will be found more or less connected with the subject of the present calendar.

Some sort of explanation is also due with regard to Bergenroth's frequent quotations from original letters and State papers in the possession of D. P. de G., the present compiler. This collection, consisting of nine thick volumes, was purchased at Saragossa towards the end of 1836, from a broker who had just bought most of the books and manuscripts of the convent of Aula Dei, burnt and sacked by the mob in the autumn of that year. It is very far from complete, for the volumes are respectively numbered on the outside, 7, 9, 10, 11, 35, 42, 45, 57, 59. The first of these* contains letters and papers relating to the reigns of Juan I., Martin, Juan II., and Ferdinand—in whose time the union of Aragon and Castille was effected—whilst the last has original correspondence of Philip II. with Don Bernardo de Bolea, Vice-Chancellor of Aragon; with the Marquis of Mondejar, President of the Council of Castille, and other high functionaries between 1562–77. The intermediate volumes comprise only a portion of the letters of Sessa, Guasto, Leyva, Marin, Soria, Don Hugo de

* Where the missing volumes may be is more than the editor can say, as all his endeavours to ascertain their whereabouts have hitherto been unavailing; most likely they were destroyed on the occasion, for the convent where they were deposited was set on fire, and the library thrown out of window. However this may be, as the collection of the Royal Academy, which is also incomplete, came likewise from Aragon, and its contents are very similar to those of the one here described, there is no difficulty in admitting Bergenroth's conjecture (vol. II., p. viii.) that both must have formed at one time part of a larger set of historical papers.

Moncada, and the rest of the generals or agents of Charles in Italy. Imperfect as it is, the collection was by the writer of these pages placed at the disposal of Bergenroth, who not only considered it very important,* but used it very freely for his calendar. It will henceforwards constitute one of the sources of the historical compilation begun by him, and which the present editor has undertaken to bring to a close.

Having said thus much about the papers and letters abstracted in the present calendar, some notice of the writers themselves will be required, for the better understanding of their despatches, and the sentiments by which they may have been actuated in the fulfilment of their respective charges. And first let us speak of Praet, Charles' ambassador at the Court of Henry VIII., at the commencement of the year 1525, previous to the battle of Pavia.

Praet.

Louis de Flandre, Lord (Sieur) of Elverdinghe, Praet, and other places in the Low Countries, was the son of Louis de Praet† and Isabelle de Bourgogne. When, in consequence of the troubles that broke out in Castille, best known in history as the "Wars of the Commons" (*Guerras de las Comunidades*), Charles decided to revisit his Spanish dominions, Praet was one of the Flemish councillors appointed to attend him on that voyage. He was at the time bailiff of Bruges,

* It had been used first by Prescott, the historian, for his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella.*

† Pinedo, *Historia de la insigne Orden del Toyson de Oro*, Madrid, 1787, 3 vols., fol., I. p. 187. According to Le Glay, *Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilien 1^er^ et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, 1839, vol. I., pp. 304 and 317, one Jean de Praet—who may have been Louis' uncle—was appointed in 1510 to the vacant bailiwick of Bruges, though the Emperor did not approve the nomination, and gave that office to the Sieur de Castres or Caestre.

chief magistrate of Ghent, member of the Privy Council, and First Chamberlain to the Emperor, who, having crossed over from Calais to Dover for the purpose of holding a conference with Henry (June 15th, 1523), employed him conjointly with Mesa* in the negotiations which took place about that time. On the Emperor's departure for Spain he was left behind in England to replace that ambassador, who, owing to his advanced age and bad health, had repeatedly tendered his resignation. He was, therefore, the first of the Imperial ambassadors in England during the period embraced by this calendar, and as such he had, whilst forwarding Charles' interests in England, to contend against Henry's vacillating policy and the crafty devices of his High Chancellor.

Indeed, ever since the unfortunate expedition to Provence and the hasty retreat of the Imperial army a great change had been perceptible in the politics of the wily Cardinal. Notwithstanding his many protestations of friendship, and his oft-repeated assurance that he was ready to maintain the Spanish alliance, there can be no doubt that the aim of his policy was to conclude an advantageous peace with the common enemy, in spite of the Emperor, and without his knowledge. He had often given audience to a secret agent of Francis, the celebrated Jean Jockin, and sent also a safe-conduct to Jean Brinon, who was ready to cross over to England for the double purpose of making a separate peace with Henry, and securing to the French King the possession of Milan. Praet suspected as much, and failed not to report on what he styled "the Cardinal's

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* Mesa had resided in London since Oct. 1514. He was confirmed in his post by Charles, and died in 1524. See Marieta, *Catalogo de los obispos de la Orden de Santo Domingo*, &c. He must have left London for Rome soon after Charles' departure for Spain, for his last despatches are signed by him and Praet conjointly.

duplicity and ungrateful behaviour." His despatches to the Emperor and to the Dowager Duchess of Savoy, at that time governing the Low Countries, are full of similar accusations. "The Legate (he said) was trying all he could to "transfer to London the settlement of all matters, so as "to become the sole arbiter of peace, thereby increasing "his own reputation and that of his master.* Unless "the Emperor could manage to hold Milan and his "other possessions in Italy at his own expense, execute "the great military enterprise against France, and pay "the whole of the indemnity due to King Henry, sooner "or later the Duchy would be irretrievably lost, as the "Cardinal would otherwise get the game into his hands "and oblige the Emperor to give up the intended marriage, "and accept such conditions as might best suit the King "and himself."†

So great were his dislike and mistrust of the Legate that he did not scruple to accuse him of venality, declaring in the most explicit manner that unless the arrears of his several pensions on Badajoz, Palencia, and other sees in Spain were immediately made over to the Cardinal, and a better settlement made for the future, there was no chance whatever of securing his services, and inducing him to reject the French offers. "Your Majesty knows full well "(said he on the 3d of January) how the Legate is to "be dealt with. Whoever wishes to ensure his friendship "must needs pay ready money."‡

On the other hand, whenever Praet in his conferences with the Cardinal remonstrated against what he considered to be double dealing and want of sincerity on his part, this consummate politician seldom failed to complain of the

* See his despatch of the 19th January, No. 5, p. 22, and that of 1st February, No. 10.

† p. 6. ‡ p. 7.

many infractions of the existing treaties committed both by the Emperor and by Margaret of Savoy; of the former's unwillingness to repay the money borrowed from Henry on various occasions; of certain promises made at Bruges and not fulfilled; of the Emperor's obstinacy in defending Milan, which he added would cause his ruin in the end; and last, not least, of various secret negotiations which, before and after the expedition to Marseilles, Margaret had caused to be set on foot in France without informing King Henry of her intentions.*

Such mutual recriminations could not fail to produce mutual hatred and mistrust. Baffled in his plans, and meeting with a repulse both in Spain and in Flanders, the Cardinal suspected Praet of being the principal cause of his failure. His suspicions were fully confirmed when, on the 11th of February 1525, having had a messenger of Praet stopped and searched, and his correspondence deciphered and read, certain paragraphs were found in Praet's official despatches to the Emperor and to Margaret, as well as in his private letters to John Lallemand and the Count of Hoochstraëte, which were deemed highly injurious to Wolsey's character and reputation. Praet's despatch to the Emperor, giving an account of the occurrence, and laying all the blame on the Cardinal, has been preserved,† as likewise Henry's autograph letters complaining of the Imperial ambassador and asking for his recall. Soon after a memorandum‡ was drawn up by Wolsey, and

* pp. 5 and 8. † No. 20, p. 5.

‡ No. 28, p. 62. The memorandum itself, of which I have seen three or four copies in French and one or two in Latin, is now and then followed by a species of apology of Wolsey's conduct previously to the battle of Pavia, and during the negotiations for a truce that were conducted both at Rome and in London. After explaining the cause of the seizure of Praet's correspondence, the Cardinal sums up the instructions forwarded to Dr. Clerk and to Casalis, in order to show that Praet's accusations were entirely groundless.

sent to all the courts of Europe, for no other purpose than that of exculpating himself and his sovereign from so flagrant a violation of an ambassador's rights. Charles thought it prudent to dissemble for a time, had Praet recalled, and in acknowledgment of his services and conduct on the occasion, which he fully approved, appointed him his ambassador at the French Court, and later, in 1531, created him Knight of the Golden Fleece.

After Praet's recall the Emperor's affairs in England were jointly conducted by Josse Laurens and Adolph de Bourgogne, who had come over as special commissioners for Margaret of Savoy and the Low Countries. The first-mentioned statesman, who was Lord (*Sieur*) of Tardeghen and President of the Grand Council of Malines (Mechlin), had been in 1521 one of the delegates* for the signature of the treaty of offensive alliance against France, concluded at Calais in November. Adolph de Bourgogne, Lord of Bèvres,† Vere, and Ulisinghem, was already Knight of the Golden Fleece and Admiral of Flanders, which appointment he inherited from his father, Philip, when Charles first visited his Spanish dominions. It was he who in 1517 commanded

Laurens.

Bourgogne.

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* Le Glay, *Negociations Diplomatiques*, vol. II., p. 585. His colleagues on this occasion seem to have been Mercurino di Gattinara, Charles' High Chancellor; the Bishop of Elna and Badajoz (Bernardo de Mesa); Giovanni Battista Spinelli, Count of Cariati or Akariati, and Gerard de Pleine, Seigneur de la Roche. Gattinara was born at Arborio, in Piedmont (1465). He was the son of Paolino Arborio di Gattinara and Felicità Ranzo. He married Andrieta de' Avogadri, a native of Vercelli, and had only one daughter (Elisa), who became the wife of Alessandro Lignani, Count of Settimo. Created Count of Valença di Castro on the 22nd of September 1513, and of Sartirana, Brema, and Reconfrone on the 22nd of November 1522, he served the Emperor until 1529, when he was replaced by Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle.

† Generally called Lord Bevers in English State Papers of this time.

the fleet which took the young monarch to Spain. After his return from the English mission he obtained the presidency of the Council of Flanders, and was employed on various delicate missions until his death, which occurred at Bèvres on the 7th of December 1540.

Le Sauch.

Jean de le Sauch,* who first acted as secretary to the above-mentioned commissioners, remained in charge of the Imperial embassy in England when Laurens and Bourgogne left for Flanders. Neither he nor the two last-named diplomates seem to have been accredited by Charles at the Court of England, their principal charge consisting in procuring the settlement of certain affairs relating chiefly to the Netherlands. All three, however, corresponded from time to time with the Emperor, who since the recall, or rather dismissal, of Praet had not considered it either prudent or consistent with his reputation to appoint a new ambassador. On the whole, Margaret's agents seem to have been placed in a most awkward position. Charles' vacillating policy; his letters and instructions frequently at variance, and in open contradiction with those sent from Flanders; the consent given by Margaret to a truce with France, without informing King Henry, had considerably loosened the ties of friendship between the two countries. Conflicting interests did the rest. Loud were the complaints of the Cardinal at what he called Margaret's

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* The name of this secretary is differently spelt by the writers of the time—*La Sauch*, *Le Saulch*, *Le Sawch*, and *Lassaux*. Those who give him this last appellation mistake him for Poupet de *Lachaulx*, called *Laxao* by the Spaniards, who in 1526 was Charles' ambassador at the Court of Portugal. In Latin papers his name is given as *Joannes Lesalcius*. He had been twice in England before, as attached to the embassies of the Bishop of Elna (Mesa), Gerard de Pleine, Seigneur de la Roche, and Philippe Hanneton.

uncourteous behaviour and want of faith.* In his conferences with Le Sauch, and whilst discussing the affairs of the Low Countries, he had often uttered threats, which, reported, and perhaps exaggerated, by Le Sauch and his colleagues in the embassy, had produced a coolness between the parties, and led to angry words on both sides. "The Emperor (Wolsey was reported " to have said) had not one ducat to send to market " for his daily provisions. Council there was none, either " in Spain or in Flanders. Neither country could boast " of one single man capable or of sufficient experience " in State affairs to conduct them to the advantage of " both kingdoms (England and Spain). The Emperor, " himself, was a *liar;* Lady Margaret a *ribald;* and " Archduke Ferdinand a *child;* Bourbon a *traitor*†, &c." On the other hand, Charles was not backwards in replying to such abuse. "Wolsey was a selfish and " avaricious man, on whom no reliance could be placed. " Disappointed in his ambition, and ungrateful for the " many favours received, he fancied that his failure at " Rome was entirely owing to Charles' ambassadors, " whereas nothing had been omitted to promote his " election to the Pontificate."

Under these circumstances, with such bitter feeling prevailing on both sides, Le Sauch's position must have been untenable. He was evidently no match for the Cardinal, whose superiority he acknowledged, and whose shrewdness and craft he dreaded above all things. "If " compelled to reside in England and take charge of " the Emperor's affairs,‡ he was sure sooner or later to

* Nos. 122 and 123.

† See No. 122, p. 216.

‡ Ibid., p. 217.

" get into trouble, as he had neither the patience nor the " coolness required for diplomacy.

Jonglet. Le Sauch was succeeded in August by another Fleming named Jehan Jonglet, Seigneur des Maretz,* an old and infirm man, who the very moment he set his foot in England began to ask for his recall, as he did not consider himself fit to conduct so intricate and perplexing a negotiation as the one entrusted to his care. He resided in London until August 1526, when he was

Theimseke. replaced by George Theimseke, Provost of Cassel,† of whom no letter occurs in the present compilation, since his stay in England must have been short. Neither of the above-mentioned diplomates made much progress in the negotiation, their excuse being, when pressed by the Cardinal, that they were waiting for direct powers from the Emperor.

Mendoza. The next Imperial ambassador after Praet was Don Iñigo de Mendoza,‡ son of Don Pedro de Zuñiga, second Count of Miranda and of Catalina Velasco, daughter of Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, eighth Constable of Castille and second Duke of Frias. Though the *Zuñigas* or *Stuñigas*, originally from Navarre, were

* In October 1517 Jonglet, who is described in Le Glay, *Negociations Diplomatiques*, vol. II., p. 121, as "Conseiller et Maistre des Requèstes " ordinaires de l'ostel du Roy Catholique Ferdinand," was one of the deputies at the conferences of Arras, together with Hughes de Melun, Viscount of Gand (Ghent), and Jehan Caulier, Sieur d'Aigny. He had been in England once before " pour augcuns grands affaires secrets qui touschaient grandement le Roy [d' Espagne]," from the 19th of January to the 7th of May 1518 (*ibid.*, p. 425).

† Called Themsicke by Le Glay (I. 220). He had been Maximilian's ambassador in England as early as 1508, and on August 1525 one of Margaret's commissioners in London. See No. 189, p. 308.

‡ This Don Iñigo has been mistaken by the Spanish genealogists for Fray Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, the author of a *Vita Christi* in verse, first printed at Zamora in 1482, one of the earliest specimens of Spanish typography in the fifteenth century.

considered of the noblest blood in Spain, he was, according to a custom very prevalent in Spain, named *Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza*, after his grandmother Doña Mencia de Mendoza. Dr. Edward Lee, Henry's ambassador in Spain, in a letter to Wolsey,* describes him as "a man having "spiritual lands, an abbey with other things, but not as "yet within orders, or bearing the habit thereof, 50 years "old, and wise." He was, however, abbot of Santa Maria de la Vid in Castille, and bishop of Coria when he left Spain for England; was subsequently promoted to the see of Burgos, and afterwards created cardinal by Clement VII. He reached London on the 26th of December, 1526, having been detained in France upwards of four months. That he was endowed with much wisdom and considerable talent for diplomacy is at once visible from the nature of his despatches to the Emperor, wherein he relates his conversations with Wolsey, and the arguments he put forward to detach Henry from the Italian or Clementine League, of which he had proclaimed himself the protector.

In Italy—the theatre then of most of the events recorded in the present calendar—the Emperor had various ambassadors and agents, whose despatches have been carefully abstracted. The Duke of Sessa in Rome, Caracciolo and Sanchez in Venice, Lope de Soria in Genoa, Herrera, Hurtado de Mendoza, and Don Hugo de Moncada in Savoy, Sienna, and other countries, and lastly the Abbot of Najera in Lombardy, corresponded with the Emperor, or with his minister Gattinara, informing them with the most minute detail of the general march of affairs, military as well as political, as likewise of every fact that came under their notice. Some account of such

* The letter, which is dated Civil (Seville), the 15th of April, is in Brewer, vol. IV., p. 938.

agents and officials will not be amiss for the better understanding of the history of the time.

Sessa. Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba was the eldest son of Diego, third Count of Cabra and Lord of Baena. By his marriage, in 1520, with Doña Elvira de Cordoba y Figueroa, only daughter of Gonzalo de Cordoba, better known as the "Great Captain," he acquired the title of Duke of Sessa, which he afterwards used in all his despatches. In his early youth he followed his father Diego to the Moorish wars, and was present at the surrender of Granada in 1492. He then went to Flanders with two of his brothers (Pedro and Francisco), and attended the court of the young Charles, the future King and Emperor, whom he accompanied to Spain,* when, on the death of his grandfather Ferdinand (1517), he took possession of his maternal dominions. Whilst at Brussels, Sessa gained the favour of the youthful Prince by his dexterity in the knightly exercises and gorgeous tournaments so much to his taste. Equally fitted for the labours of the field as for the work of the cabinet, he was appointed, in 1522, Imperial ambassador at Rome, in the room of Don Juan Manuel, no longer acceptable to the new Pope (Adrian VI.). Some time before, and whilst holding a command in Naples, he had been recommended by Cardinal Santa Croce (Bernardino de Carvajal) as the fittest man to take the command of the Imperial forces, then without a general.† At Rome,

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* *Historia Genealogica de la casa de Cordoba*, by the Abbot of Rute, lib. V. cap. IX. The abbot's name was Don Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba, himself a descendant of Don Diego, first Count of Cabra. His work, very valuable in an historical point of view, is much commended by Salazar y Castro, *Bibliotheca Genealogica Española*, MS., as well as by Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova*, though still inedited.

† According to a letter of Don Juan Manuel, abstracted by Bergenroth (vol. II. p. 359), the aspirants to that post were the Duke of Sessa, the

Sessa appears to have been invested with more than ordinary powers, and to have united to his charge of ambassador at the Papal court, the superintendence of all political affairs in Italy, for some of the letters addressed to him by Mercurino Gattinara in the Emperor's name bear the following superscription: "To "our most beloved cousin, the Duke of Sessa, our orator "and vicegerent in Italy;" and indeed Lannoy, as well as Pescara and Bourbon, the Abbot of Najera, and other minor agents in Italy, failed not to consult him on almost every occasion.

Rome was at that time the centre of European diplomacy. Julius II. and Leo X. had worked hard to increase their own temporal power. Adrian VI., a weak old man, who owed his election entirely to the Emperor, was not very successful, but Clement VII. followed most efficiently in the line of conduct initiated by his predecessors. The circumstance that Italy had again become the theatre of a fierce war between Francis and Charles seemed to him a favourable opportunity for asserting his country's independence and increasing Rome's temporal power, and he accordingly devoted all his skill and energy to those highly patriotic objects. However great Sessa's experience of affairs and talents for diplomacy, they seem to have been greatly overrated. Either he was completely deceived by Clement—one of the most shrewd politicians of his time—or else he was unable to fathom Charles' real sentiments towards the Pope and Italy; certain it is that not one of the objects for which he had been sent to Rome was fairly accomplished. No advantage was derived from the victory of Pavia; Clement became more and more afraid

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two Colonnas (Prospero and Ascanio), Count Golisano, the Duke of Termes (Termini?), and the Marquis of Pescara. Cardinal Santa Croce's letter, dated 6th Aug. 1521, is also in Bergenroth, p. 361.

of Imperial supremacy, and a league was soon formed called "Holy" and "Clementine" from the name of its originator, which nearly defeated the Emperor's ambitious designs.

It has been surmised by more than one contemporary historian that in order to gain his confidence, and make him shut his eyes to his insidious practices, Clement endeavoured to bribe Sessa, then a widower,* with a cardinal's hat, and that he succeeded so far in his purpose as to persuade him of his constant affection for the Emperor, and of his earnest wish to become his friend and ally, thus giving him time to mature his plans, and to cement the formidable league which both Henry and Francis afterwards joined against the Emperor. The charge is a serious one, and though not mentioned by Sandoval or by any of the Spanish historians, is nevertheless plausible enough. For it had been long a practice of the Popes to confer the highest dignities of the Church on ministers and agents of foreign kings who might serve the Papal interests, and certainly Clement was not backward in using all such means of corruption at his disposal. His numerous creations of cardinals were made for no other purpose than that of obtaining money to carry on war, or otherwise serving his political views. That he tried the experiment upon Sessa there can be but little doubt, for as early as July 1525, and pending the negotiations for the first Italian league—favourable to the Emperor, but which, as is well known, took no effect—a hot-brained Spanish ecclesiastic, Pedro Jordan de Urries, long a suitor at Rome for the abbacy of Monte Aragon, in the bishopric of Huesca, wrote to the Emperor, "I humbly

* The Duchess Doña Elvira died at Sessa in the Terra di Lavoro on the 18th of Sept. 1524.

" beseech your Imperial Majesty to appoint as his am-
" bassador here [at Rome] *one who may not run after a*
" *cardinal's hat for himself*, and who may prevent the
" Pope's Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti, Bishop of Verona)
" from interfering as he does in your Majesty's private
" affairs."* Some time after, Cardinal Montemayor wrote in rather disparaging terms of the Imperial ambassador,† and when the Colonnese, encouraged by Charles and by his agent, Lope Hurtado, prepared to invade the Roman territory and espouse the Imperial cause, they earnestly solicited the appointment of an ambassador capable of guiding them in their enterprise. Hurtado himself in a letter in cipher to the Emperor said, "The Duke has
" applied for permission to go home that he may
" explain his conduct. His Imperial Majesty would
" lose nothing by granting him his request, and the
" Duke himself might gain much in the estimation of
" all the Emperor's servants, who are by no means
" satisfied with him."‡

The accusation, however, whether true or unfounded, must have reached the ears of Charles, for on the 5th of October his Grand Chancellor, Gattinara, wrote to Clement VII. a holograph letter, desiring him, in the Emperor's
" name, not to grant Cardinals' hats to Spaniards or vassals
" of the Empire without consulting him first;" when the Duke, greatly offended at what he called the loss of the Emperor's confidence, renewed his resignation, tendered some time before§, begging that, since his services were no longer acceptable, he might be removed from his post and sent wherever he could best forward the Imperial

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* See No. 136 at page 244.

† No. 155, page 269.

‡ No. 253, p. 444.

§ See pp. 376 and 411.

interests. Indeed, had not Don Hugo's arrival, and his own departure from Rome, and the subsequent bold attempt of the Colonnese faction precipitated events, he would have been removed from the embassy. It must nevertheless be said in Sessa's defence, that however great his affection and regard for the Pope, whose honourable intentions he frequently commends in his despatches, however strong and pressing his own advice to the Emperor, urging him to adopt such policy of conciliation as might detach Clement from the League, the sincerity of his professions cannot be doubted, and that when the rupture of the negotiations obliged him to quit Rome his behaviour on that occasion was such as to deserve the Emperor's full approbation. It is related by one of his biographers,* that as he and Don Hugo, surrounded by a strong escort of Spaniards and Germans armed to the teeth, went to take leave of Clement, and announced their intention of joining the Colonnese, such threatening language was used by the Imperial ambassadors that the Pope gave immediate orders for their arrest, which would have taken place as both went out of the Quirinal, had not the German guard to whom the order was entrusted refused to obey, and accompanied Sessa and Don Hugo to their lodgings, where, having hastily collected eighty horsemen from their own friends and retainers, besides three hundred foot, consisting of Spaniards and Germans, they succeeded that very evening in breaking through the guard at the gates, and reaching the Colonnese camp.

Herrera.

Knight Commander Miguel de Herrera, gentleman-in-waiting to the Emperor, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, and Don Hugo de Moncada were occasionally

* The Abbot of Rute mentioned in a former note.

sent to Rome to help Sessa in his long and intricate negotiations with Clement. The former was an officer of some repute; he had distinguished himself during the French invasion of Navarre in 1521, and was also present, together with his brother Felipe, the warder of Tarento in Naples, at almost all the engagements fought in Lombardy (1523-5). He, himself, obtained the wardenship (*alcaydia*) of the Castle of Pamplona, which a kinsman of his, Francisco, gallantly, though unsuccessfully, defended against Monsieur d'Asparroz, the commander of the French forces.* Herrera was sent by the Emperor to Italy for the double purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs at Milan, and offering Clement what he considered to be a settlement of the existing difficulties, and a temptation to him to abandon the Italian League. His proposals, however, were rejected, and it was with great difficulty that a truce of two months was allowed for consulting the Emperor, at the expiration of which time hostilities commenced on the part of the Pope and the Venetians.

Hurtado.

Lope Hurtado, a scion of the noble house of Mendoza, was the grandson of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, who in 1445, under the reign of John II. of Castille, was Lord of La Corçana and chief incumbent of Viscay.† He entered when very young the household of Prince John, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he served as page until his death in 1497. When the war of the Commons broke out in Castille, Charles sent him from Brussels to Burgos with a message for the Admiral (Fadrique Enriquez) and the Constable (Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco), who, together with Adrian, governed Spain

* A brother of Lautrec.

† "Prestamero Mayor de Vizcaya," an hereditary office in the Mendoza family ever since the fourteenth century.

during his absence. In February 1522 he was sent by Charles to Vitoria, that he might congratulate his tutor, Adrian, upon his recent election to the Pontificate. He subsequently accompanied that Pope in his voyage from Tortosa to Ostia in the Roman Estates,* and commanded, conjointly with Sessa, the fleet prepared for that purpose. He was afterwards employed on various important missions to Savoy, Sienna, and Rome, and when the war broke out, in 1526, served under Guasto† and Bourbon at Milan, and ultimately returned to his native country, where he is said to have died at the age of 90.‡ He must have been on no very good terms with Sessa, or disapproved of his manner of negotiating with Pope Clement, for in a remarkable despatch of his, dated Milan, 5th of November 1525, he made himself the echo of unfavourable reports about his colleague, and strongly advised the Emperor to accept his resignation.

Sanchez.

Concerning Alonso Sanchez and Lope de Soria, who respectively conducted the affairs of Charles at Venice and Genoa, very little is known beyond the few facts to be gathered from their official correspondence. The former, who seems to have been some time treasurer at Naples, was probably the nephew or a close connexion of Mossen Luis Sanchez, who in 1520 held a similar post at Valencia. He must have been either a native of that city or of the kingdom of Aragon, for he frequently alludes in his despatches to his long services under Ferdinand, the Catholic King of Spain, whose subject he was.§

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* Many of his letters during this mission have been abstracted by Bergenroth, vol. II., pp. 334, 403, *et seq.*

† No. 288, p. 505.

‡ See Leonardo de Argensola, *Anales de Aragon*, p. 1058.

§ Most of Ferdinand's agents in Italy at the time of his death (1516) were natives of his patrimonial estates, comprising Aragon, Catalonia,

In 1521 Charles appointed him his ambassador at Venice. He was the first to announce the death of Pope Leo X. (1st Dec. 1521), and succeeded, under Adrian, in inducing Venice to join the league between Henry and Charles against their common enemy, Francis.

Soria. Lope de Soria was either the brother or the cousin of Alfonso de Soria, one of Gattinara's chief clerks, probably the son of Diego, who filled a similar post under Almazan, Ferdinand's chief secretary for the kingdom of Aragon. He must have been attached to the Emperor's household as early as 1520, for the original deed granting him certain rentals for life in the town of San Juan de Pie de Puerto in Navarre has been preserved.* Soon after the taking of Genoa by Pescara and Prospero Colonna he was sent thither as ambassador to the Doge, Antonioto Adorno, whose wavering fidelity he managed to maintain during the troublesome times of the Clementine League. Genoa being at the time the only port of Italy whereat the Imperial galleys could touch with safety, to bring reinforcements and money, all communication through land being stopped after Francis' release from captivity and consequent return to his kingdom, it became a point of the utmost importance to ensure the friendship of that community, and prevent the hostile faction of the Fregosi from seizing the supreme power. At one time, through the closing of all other

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Valencia, the Balearic islands, Naples, Sicily, and the newly-acquired kingdom of Aragon, as he seems to have preferred on all occasions his Aragonese to his Castillian subjects for such appointments.

* The deed is dated the 10th of May at La Coruña, where the Emperor was holding Cortes at the time. Soria is mentioned in it as a retainer (*contino*) of the royal household, and the grant itself described as *la abla y peage de dicha villa de San Juan de Pie de Puerto.*

land routes, those of Flanders and Austria included, the Imperial generals and ministers in Italy had no other means of corresponding with their court than the slow and dangerous one of a sea voyage from Genoa or Monaco to Barcelona, and Soria, on whom the difficult task devolved of providing funds for the Imperial troops, as well as that of directing all official correspondence, fitted out for that special service a number of brigantines and other small vessels, and displayed an activity and zeal of which his numerous despatches give abundant proof.

Caracciolo.

Marino Caracciolo,* once prothonotary and Papal nuncio in Flanders, entered the Imperial service in 1523, and was subsequently employed on various important missions, such as that of recovering from the Signory of Venice, after the battle of Pavia, the sums stipulated as part of their share in the war expenses. Though a Milanese by birth, he was entrusted in Sept. 1526 with the delicate mission of examining Girolamo Morono and writing down his confession, a task which he appears to have performed to the Emperor's satisfaction, notwithstanding his intimacy with that statesman.†

Moncada.

The gallant and unfortunate Don Hugo de Moncada was another of the diplomates employed by Charles in the difficult task of conciliating Pope Clement and attaching him to his interests. It was he who in June 1526, after a short stay at the court of France and

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* A relative perhaps of Girolamo Caracciolo, the Neapolitan officer who in 1524 was taken prisoner at Biagrassa by Francesco Sforza, and Giovanni de' Medici. See Guicciardini, *Istoria d' Italia*, III., p. 430.

† See No. 462, p. 749. That some doubt was entertained of his fidelity appears evident from the letters of the Marquis del Guasto and of Alonso Sanchez, his colleague in the Venetian embassy. The latter, however, had good opinion of him, and thought him incapable of treachery. See also Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Friburgo, p. 370.

at Milan, was the bearer of the Emperor's ultimatum. A native of Chiva in the kingdom of Valencia, where the Moncadas* possessed considerable domains, he was the vassal and subject of Ferdinand of Aragon, generally known as "the Catholic King of Spain," who in 1510 appointed him Viceroy of Sicily, prior of Messina, and bailiff of Santa Euphemia in Calabria.† Previous to that time Don Hugo had distinguished himself in almost every engagement with the Moors in Africa, or the French in Naples. His rule, however, appears to have been obnoxious to the Sicilians, for as early as the year 1516 he had to suppress a most formidable rebellion at Palermo, and the year after, when the news of Ferdinand's death reached the island, the people again rose in arms and refused to recognise him as Viceroy until his appointment should be confirmed by that Monarch's successor. Unable to put down the insurrection and re-establish his authority, Don Hugo retired first to Messina, where he had a few friends among the nobility, and ultimately repaired to Flanders to explain his conduct. Charles' councillors did not consider it prudent that at the very beginning of his reign Don Hugo should be restored to his viceroyalty against the will of the Sicilians, and accordingly the Duke of Monteleone (Hector Pignatelli) was sent in his room. Nevertheless, the command of a fleet then fitting out against the African pirates, who were incessantly threatening the coasts of Spain and Apulia, was given to him, when he succeeded in taking possession of the island of Gelves.‡

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* The family of the Moncadas drew their origin from Catalonia. One of them, Don Francisco, became Marquis of Aytona in Philip the Second's time. See Escolano, *Historia de Valencia*, lib. VIII., cap. XXIII.

† See ibid. and Dormer, *Anales de Aragon*, cap II.

‡ By the natives called *Gerba*. The expedition took place in 1519. See Escolano, *Hist de Valencia*, vol. II., lib. VIII.

A few years later, in 1524, he attended with his galleys Bourbon's ill-fated expedition to Provence, but was obliged to abandon his position in front of Marseilles owing to a sudden attack of Andrea Doria with superior forces. About the same time the Prince of Orange was taken prisoner at Villafranca di Nizza, and Don Hugo himself, having some months after imprudently left Genoa, at the head of a small force, for the purpose of surprising the castle of Voragine in Liguria, recently occupied by the French, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Marquis of Saluzzo. He was, however, one of the first to obtain his liberty after the battle of Pavia (24th Feb. 1525), having been exchanged for the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency. Lannoy sent him on a mission to the Emperor with Francis' offers, and, when at Rome, prepared that famous conspiracy against Clement which ended in the sack of St. Peter and the palaces of the cardinals considered as disaffected to the Empire.

Lannoy.

Of the generals commanding the Imperial forces in Italy some notice will also be required. Charles de Lannoy was the third son of Jean, Seigneur de Mingoval and of Philippa de Hantes. From his early youth he enjoyed the favour of Maximilian and of his son Philip of Austria (Charles' father), by whom he was successively appointed governor of Tournay, Lord Chief Steward of the Imperial household, Viceroy of Naples, and commander-in-chief of the armies in Italy. A Fleming by birth, Lannoy was much disliked by the Spaniards. An historian of that nation* says of him

* Gonzalo de Illescas, *Historia Pontifical y Catolica, en la qual se contienen las vidas de todos los Pontifices Romanos;* Salamanca, 1574, 2 vols. fol. According to Antonio (*Bib. Hisp. Nova*, vol. II., p. 557) the first volume was printed at Dueñas (between the towns of Valladolid and Palencia) in 1565.

that, though a great favourite of Charles, he possessed no other merit than that of being a good horseman; he goes as far as to doubt his courage or his ability to command the Imperial forces in Italy, and attributes to Pescara and Antonio de Leyva, the former a Neapolitan, though originally from Aragon, the latter a Castillian, the whole of the success at Pavia. The fact is that much jealousy and dissension prevailed at that time between the Imperial generals. Both Bourbon and Pescara openly accused Lannoy of having been the cause of their failure in the expedition to Marseilles (1524); and when the Viceroy of Naples, after the battle of Pavia, decided to remove his royal prisoner to Naples, and ultimately conveyed him to Spain, loud were their complaints against the man whom they charged with cowardice in the time of danger and insolence after victory, to which, they said, he had not contributed either by his valour or his conduct. Whether Lannoy's bold step was taken with the Emperor's consent and approval, after Mons. de Roeulx' secret mission to France and Italy, and at the express desire of Francis, who, trusting in Charles' generosity, flattered himself that he might in a personal interview with his enemy obtain better terms; or whether he was prompted by the mutinous spirit of the Germans, who loudly claimed for the arrears of their pay, threatening to lay hands on Francis and set him at liberty on the payment of a heavy ransom, is more than we can determine in view of the papers preserved at Vienna or Simancas. Certain it is that the Viceroy carefully concealed his project from

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* "Cierto era (Lanoy) favorecidissimo del Emperador, tanto que sin auer en el otro valor mas de ser muy buen hombre de cauallo, le dió la tenencia de Napoles en competencia de muchos grandes señores que la pedian y la merescian por muchas calidades que todas le faltaban à Lanoy." —Illescas, in the Life of Clement VII., p. 431.

Bourbon and Pescara, and having set sail for Naples, changed his route and landed with his royal prisoner at Palamós, on the coast of Catalonia, to the great disappointment of his colleagues in command of the Imperial army.*

Bourbon.

Bourbon, in particular, was so much incensed at what he termed "Lannoy's disgraceful trick," that he asked for leave to appear personally at the Emperor's court, and bring a formal accusation against him. He feared lest the Viceroy's sudden resolution—so contrary to what had been previously agreed to at a council of war attended by Pescara, Leyva, and himself—might be the cause of the Emperor's losing the affections of the Pope, the Venetians, and other Italian potentates, besides endangering the alliance with England. "He had purposely "left him without money or the means of regaining the "confidence of the discontented Germans; he had spread "abroad many reports injurious to his personal character, "and managed to have his letters, wherein he complained "of him to the Emperor, intercepted in France." Sandoval relates in minute detail the interview which the two generals held in the Emperor's presence, in which so loud were the recriminations, and so high the words, that he was obliged to interpose his authority and reconcile them, at least in appearance.

But Bourbon himself was not liked by the Spaniards. One of the above-mentioned historians† says that on his arrival at Toledo, where the court was then residing, the Emperor summoned a certain nobleman to give up his house for the Constable's reception, and that the proud Spaniard, though he obeyed the Imperial orders, replied

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* Lannoy died in 1527. He had been created Duke of Sulmona, Count of Asti and La Roche in the Ardennes, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c.

† Illescas, *Historia Pontifical*, lib. VI., cap. IV.

to the messenger: "Tell His Majesty the Emperor that I "cannot, in obedience to his commands, refuse my house "to the Frenchman, but that nothing shall hinder me "from setting fire to it as soon as the traitor goes out "of it, for we Spaniards are not fond of traitors."

Pescara.

Don Hernando Davalos de Aquino, though a native of Naples, was descended from an ancient Spanish family, in the province of Toledo. He was the son of Alfonso Davalos, first Marquis of Pescara, in the Apulia, whose grandfather, Ruy Lopez Davalos, had been in 1442 Great Constable of Castille.* His mother belonged to the illustrious family of Cardona, whose chief at the time was Don Remon, Viceroy of Naples (1509–22). It was under him that Pescara made his first campaign in 1512, at the unfortunate battle of Ravenna, where he was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, together with his father-in-law, Fabricio Colonna. At Pavia he commanded in chief, both Bourbon and Lannoy having willingly resigned the command into his hands; and when the latter, to whom the French King had chosen to surrender, conveyed his royal prisoner to Spain, he resented, quite as much as Bourbon did, the sudden resolution taken by that general, who, he said, wished to reap exclusively all the honour of so signal a victory. His despatches to the Emperor are not very numerous, but enough is left of them to show his dislike of Lannoy and his discontent with the Emperor, who did not reward, as he deserved, his eminent services on that memorable occasion. The Viceroy had taken Francis to Spain without his knowledge. Though the fiefs of Carpi in Lombardy and Sora in Naples had often been promised to him as a reward, the grant had not been made, owing to Lannoy's

* In the time of John II. He was succeeded in that charge by the celebrated Don Alvaro de Luna.

mischievous interference at the court of Charles. His application to set his prisoner Henri de Labret* free upon the payment of a ransom of 80,000 ducats had been completely disregarded; nor had his long and eminent services been remunerated as he had reason to expect that they would be. So loud were Pescara's complaints, and so public the offence, that both the Pope and the Signory of Venice attempted to make him forsake his duty and turn traitor. Girolamo Morono, Chancellor of Milan, and chief secretary to its Duke Francesco Sforza, whose restless ambition and fertile genius were well known all over Italy, became the soul of an intrigue which had for an object to rescue that country from the yoke of foreigners. Pescara was tempted with the kingdom of Naples, which, being a fief of the Pope, might be conferred upon him at any time, and promised the command in chief of the army that was to save Italy from the invaders. By distributing the Germans and Spaniards under his orders through the villages of the Milanese, they might in one night be destroyed by the inhabitants, and Pescara himself, a Neapolitan by birth, become the restorer of his country's liberties.

It is said that Pescara, amazed at the boldness and extent of the scheme, listened attentively to Morono's propositions, and that, allured by the brilliant prospect of a crown, he promised his co-operation in the plans of the conspirators, and went so far as to ask securities from the Pope, and insist that some learned casuists should give their opinion as to whether it was lawful for a subject to take arms against his immediate sovereign in obedience to the lord paramount of whom Naples itself was held. It is added that deeming it more prudent to ask the

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* See Nos. 154, 226, 247, &c.

duchy of Milan from the Emperor, as a reward for the discovery of the plot, than to aim at a crown purchased by such treacherous proceedings, suspecting also that the Emperor had already received full information from another quarter, he shrank from the attempt and determined to reveal the whole conspiracy. Such is the account of Guicciardini,* who knew Pescara and Morono well; but it may be doubted whether his wish to exculpate the Pope, whose councillor and general he was, did not influence his statement when he assures us that the Marquis gave his unconditional promise to Morono, and that the Pope was to warn the Emperor of the danger, and advise him to attend to the claims of his captains, so as to keep them contented. I need scarcely say that neither Sandoval nor Illescas, nor Pescara's biographer, doubted his fidelity for a moment, and that, if it be true, as asserted, that Morono's overtures were made in the presence of Antonio de Leyva, carefully concealed behind a tapestry prepared for the purpose; that Arana and Castaldo left Milan in August with a message for the Emperor, informing him of the plans of the conspirators and asking for instructions,—no such a spot can be cast on his reputation. An abstract, besides, of Morono's original confession, as preserved in the Archives of Simancas, leads us to the belief of Pescara's innocence on this particular point.

Guasto.

After Pescara's death (Dec. 1525), his cousin Alfonso, son of Iñigo, first Marquis del Guasto,†

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* *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVI.

† He was the son of Iñigo Davalos, Marquis of Basto or Vasto, as he is called by the Spaniards, third son of Alfonso, who was Pescara's father. His mother, Doña Maria, belonged to the family of San Severino. He, himself, married Doña Maria de Aragon, daughter of the Duke of Montalto. —Rivarola, *Monarquia Española*, part II., p. 442.

assumed the command of the Imperial forces until the arrival of Bourbon, who returned from Spain early in July 1526. It was during his time that the riots at Milan took place, and that the defection of the Italian infantry caused the loss of Lodi. Though a brave commander and much loved by the army, he was unable to maintain discipline. His own letters, as well as those of Leyva,* who commanded the Spanish infantry, will show to what extremities the Imperial forces were reduced for want of money, quartered as they were in the Milanese, and what efforts he and Leyva made to prevent its dissolution.

Najera. This condition of the Imperial forces is well exemplified in the correspondence of Hernando Marin, Abbot of Santa Maria de Najera, in the Rioja, a man of great abilities and unusual veracity, whose numerous reports are a model of prudence and discretion. He was Commissary General to the army of Lombardy since 1522, and had probably filled the same post at Naples during the war which Maximilian of Austria and Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain made against the French. He was temporarily deprived of his office by Bourbon, with whom he was at variance respecting the distribution of the sums which so scantily and at long intervals reached the Imperial camp; but this measure being disapproved at Court, he continued to report on all matters connected with his charge, the movements of the Imperial army, the progress of the Italian League, often tendering the advice of a clear-sighted and consummate politician.

Such are, besides others of less importance, the writers of the letters abstracted in the present calendar. With

* Few and unsatisfactory are the accounts of this veteran soldier, who was the son of Juan Martinez de Leyva. He was created Prince of Asculi, Marquis of Atela, Count of Monça, &c. See Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico*, vol. II., lib. X., cap. XXV.

the exception of what may be strictly called "English correspondence," in the shape of letters and despatches written in this country by the ambassadors of Charles and Margaret, all the rest refer almost exclusively to the campaigns of Italy, in which Henry first had a share as the Emperor's ally, and no slight influence afterwards, when, in consequence of Francis' release from captivity and subsequent formation of the Italian League, he accepted the title of "Protector," offered to him by Clement and the Venetians. Of those papers and letters, in which England is but incidentally mentioned, the editor has only abstracted that portion having reference to the operations of the belligerent armies, or the negotiations at Rome, by which the politics of England were necessarily influenced.

In the transcript of proper names a great variety will unavoidably be observed in this as well as in other compilations of the same kind. According to the nationality of the writer, whether a Frenchman, an Italian, or an Englishman, to say nothing of Germans and Spaniards, the names of the personages are written in various ways, and, strange to say, the writer himself, at times, spells his own name differently, so as to create considerable doubt and hesitation. Thus, for instance, the Duke of Milan's Chancellor signs his name "Morono," and yet his own countrymen called him "Il Morone," and the Spaniards "Geronimo Moron." The experienced veteran who led the German bands at the memorable battle of Pavia is variously called,* even by the writers of that nation, *Frantsberg*, *Frenesperg*, *Frundsberg*, &c.; whereas in one of his original despatches to the Emperor, dated the 19th of September 1527, which will be abstracted in the ensuing volume, he signs *Georgius*

* See p. 50, *note*.

à Fruntsperg. Guasto appears also under the various appellations of *Gasto*, *Basto*, and *Vasto*. Lannoy and Sessa† sometimes omit the double letters in their names, and Fernando Marin, the abbot, writes *Najara* and *Najera* indifferently. It need not be remarked that, to avoid confusion, the editor has conformed with the usual practice of enclosing between brackets the real name of the individuals, as far as they could be ascertained.

† Sesa and Lanoy.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1525.
3 Jan.
K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. Fasc. 225. No. 1.

1. Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Emperor.

Encloses copies of his letters to Madame [the Governess of the Low Countries], and to the Viceroy of Naples; also of theirs to him. They will acquaint the Emperor with every occurrence here since the departure of Mr. du Rœux*, the new line of politics which the Pope seems inclined to follow, and the arrival in this town of certain ambassadors from Scotland, besides one from France, who is shortly expected.

Since then he (Praet) went by the King's invitation to Greenwich, there to witness the usual Christmas festivities, at which the ambassadors of the Pope, Milan, and Scotland were also present. After a most splendid entertainment, which lasted for two whole days, as the guests were taking leave, the Legate happened to say, within hearing of the Pope's Nuncio,† that he had received from Rome, in date of the 12th December last, the following news:—The Viceroy of Naples, hearing the King of England's advice respecting the proposed suspension of hostilities, was not disinclined to accept of a truce till the 26th May following, each party holding his own. But the Pope, it would appear, showed a most decided leaning towards the French, and was trying to persuade the Viceroy, for the better accomplishment of the said truce, to place in his hands all the Duke of Milan's possessions in Lombardy, promising that the King of France would do the same on his side. Besides which, His Holiness had lately granted the French army passage through the Church Estates to go to Naples, greatly to the prejudice of the Emperor's interests. If the French army had not gone thither, it was entirely out of fear of the Germans lately arrived in the Viceroy's camp, not, indeed, from any hindrance or obstacle offered by the Pope; in consequence of which the Emperor's agents and ministers in Italy, who had hitherto

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* Sometimes written Rœulx, and Du Reux.
† Melchior Langus or Longhio.

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felt disposed to refer the whole matter to His Holiness, would rather not hear now of a truce made on such terms. The Legate then went on to say that he thought this proceeding of the Pope very strange indeed, and quite the reverse of what both the Emperor and the King, his master, expected at his hands. He concluded by stating he had found a way of smoothing down all difficulties, and bringing about a truce between the belligerents, which was for the Emperor and King of France to place their possessions in Lombardy, not in the Pope's hands, as proposed, but in those of the King, his master, on condition of each party retaining the towns and castles whereof they are masters at present, by means of garrisons, appointed by mutual consent, and supported by each side. Both the Emperor and King [of France] might take a solemn engagement to refrain from all mutual aggression during the said truce, whilst the King, his master, would bind himself, in case of peace not being made in the meantime, to restore to each party the said towns and castles at the expiration of the truce, so that each should find himself in exactly the same position as he was before. This, the Legate added, was his plan for settling all present difficulties. He had no doubt the French King would agree to it at once, and therefore was about to submit it to our consideration.

To the above overtures the Pope's ambassador made no answer, on the plea that he had no despatches from Rome, which was then perfectly true. He has since received them, and told him (Praet) that they do not differ much from the Cardinal's statement. His Holiness, in granting free passage to the French troops, had acted from fear, rather than otherwise. He saw that the Imperial army was not sufficiently strong to resist the enemy. Nobody could doubt his sentiments. He was as firmly attached as ever to the Emperor and King, and would further their interests in every possible way. He had no reason to love the French King, who, besides many past offences, had just now detained at Narbonne the Archbishop of Capua, whom he (the Pope) was sending to the Emperor, under a safe-conduct. Could not tell whether the Archbishop had since been allowed to proceed on his journey [to Spain]. If he had not, it was surely a very dishonest trick on the part of the French, considering that a safe-conduct had been applied for and obtained in time.

The above is the substance of his (Praet's) conversation with the Papal Nuncio ; from which His Imperial Majesty will naturally gather that the aspect of affairs is anything but encouraging. He (Praet) fancies that the detention of the Archbishop is only a scheme connived at by the Pope, who knows him to be a staunch Imperialist.

However this may be, there can be no doubt, from the Nuncio's very cold and unmeaning answer [at Greenwich], as well as from his more recent communication, and his late despatches, that the Legate [of England] is likely to assume

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the entire conduct of the negotiations for peace—a thing which he (Praet) has long suspected to be the Cardinal's chief aim, as may be seen by his former despatches. The ambassador, therefore, waited a second time upon the Legate, and told him, as graciously as he could, that he hoped His Holiness would never behave so ungratefully to the Emperor, who had done so much for him in times past, as to deliberately espouse the French cause at the present conjuncture. After which, and in order to please the Legate, the ambassador took him apart, and said: "Should the Emperor be compelled by circumstances to give up the duchy of Milan your Reverence may be sure that he would rather place it in the hands of his good father, the King of England, than in those of the Pope, or of any other living person, were it not that this would entirely alienate the Pope's affections from him, and have the most disastrous consequences on the kingdom of Naples, which might be irretrievably lost thereby, besides doing considerable injury to the Emperor's credit and reputation; for people would naturally say that when the French King entrusted such mighty matters as these to the King of England, he was sure to be well treated, and perhaps, too, had entered into a previous agreement with him." In short, the neutrality of England, under the present circumstances, would be anything but advantageous or useful for the advancement of their common affairs.

Many other arguments did the ambassador use then in the very presence of the Pope's Nuncio, to show the impossibility of the Emperor ever agreeing to such terms, and he ended by begging the Legate to spare His Imperial Majesty such ignominious arbitrage, and bring about a truce in which each party should independently hold his own.

After this conference, at which, as above-stated, the Pope's Nuncio was present, the Legate took both the ambassadors to the King's antechamber, who, having soon after sent for them, spoke more or less in the following terms. After repeating the same news from Rome that the Cardinal had communicated to them on a former occasion, adding that but for the good offices of his ambassador the Pope would have gone over altogether to the French, the King touched upon the above expedient, proposed by the Legate, and said in reference to it: "Even if the Emperor and the French King agreed to place in my hands all their possessions in Milan, I would not accept of such responsible charge; and if compelled to do so, it must be clearly understood, that I am not to support the garrisons, or be at any expense through it." To which he (Praet) replied in nearly the same arguments as he had used in his conference with the Legate, begging the King so to negotiate that in concluding the truce the whole of the Duchy of Milan should remain in the Emperor's power, or, at least, that each party should hold his own, which would be far preferable to the expedient now suggested. Hearing which the Cardinal owned to him (Praet) that he had made that

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proposal off hand, and without much consideration. He would reconsider the matter, and on his return to town discuss it again with him. This he has not yet done ; when he does His Imperial Majesty shall be duly informed.

The King then proceeded to explain the nature of the proposals made to the Legate by the Scotch ambassadors.* These were : 1st. To make a marriage alliance between the Princess and the King of Scotland. 2nd. To have the French King included in any peace made between England and their country. The Legate's reply to the ambassadors had been thus conceived. With regard to the first point : that the King had promised the hand of the Princess to the Emperor, and was therefore bound not to give her away without his full and express consent, the King besides thought it rather strange that people who were actually at war with him should come and ask his only daughter in marriage without previously making peace with him. Respecting the second article, the Legate said, that the King was so firmly attached to the Emperor that he neither could nor would undertake anything without his consent. That the points at issue between the French King on one side, the Emperor and the King of England on the other, were of such magnitude that the Holy Father himself had not been able to settle them, and it was great arrogance in people from such remote parts (*au boult du monde*) to presume they could accomplish what the Pope could not. If, however, they would treat for peace, and make suitable offers, showing the King, his master, due honour and respect, and acknowledging his pre-eminence, he would deal with them in all fairness for the love he bore their King, who was his nephew. If not, they might at once return to Scotland, and the King would send after them an army that should invade that country, ravage it, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Upon which the ambassadors begged the Legate not to take what they had said in bad part ; owned they had been very ill-advised to bring such proposals to England, and prayed him to obtain permission from the King that one of them might return to Scotland, and procure fitter conditions from their States. The permission has since been granted, and one of the ambassadors† is shortly to start by post, and return here in twenty-four days time. The King seemed to think that the whole affair would turn out well, although he had late news of the arrival of four of the Duke of Albany's galleons on the Scottish coast. He was confident he could frustrate all the Duke's schemes, and prevent his doing any mischief. He, moreover, took his oath to the ambassador—as he did also the Legate—faithfully to keep his engagement to the Emperor.

The above statement was afterwards privately confirmed by the Duke of Norfolk, who of his own accord came to the

* These were the Earl of Cassilis, Bishop Cockburn, and Abbot Myll.
† The Earl of Cassilis. He left for Scotland on the 30th of December.

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ambassador to say he was aware that the Emperor had seen letters from Scotland, wherein the said marriage alliance was mentioned as likely to take place, but the Duke swore upon his honour that the King, his master, was too loyal a Prince, and too much attached to the Emperor, ever to break his faith in that manner, and never would marry his daughter in Scotland, or elsewhere, without his (the Emperor's) consent. On the whole the prevailing opinion at court, which is also his own, is that this embassy from Scotland, as well as the preposterous demands made by the ambassadors, have been secretly contrived by the Legate, with a view to lead to a peace between England and Scotland; and, perhaps too, to show to the world that every one fears and respects the King and himself.

After this the King took the ambassador apart, and said a good deal to him about his great love and affection for the Emperor, and how much he regretted that his councillors were so unwise as to make him risk the loss of all his friends for the sake of keeping Milan. Which statement was further confirmed by the Legate, who, joining in the conversation, began to recount in detail the many remonstrances by him, addressed to Mons. du Reux on this subject, and how often he had complained to him of infractions of the existing treaties; of the Emperor's extravagant affection for the duchy of Milan; of the disorder prevailing in his dominions, and the little love borne him by his subjects. It would be far better for the Emperor to try to restore order at home, than with so weak and ill-appointed an army—as his was at present—to seek the conquest of the world.

To the above remonstrances of both King and Legate he (Praet) replied as best he could, avoiding all unnecessary recriminations, as he has been ordered to do. Many things might he have said in answer, but he refrained, from fear of irritating them, and making matters worse. Having, therefore, changed the subject of conversation, he (Praet) asked the King about the French ambassador, shortly expected here and gave him his reasons—as he had previously done to the Legate—why the said ambassador ought not to be received at court. But the King—evidently well instructed by the Legate as to the answer he was to give—replied immediately that the Emperor could not reasonably reproach him on that head, since the French King might probably make, through him, fairer proposals than through His Holiness the Pope, and that at any rate he (the King of England) would never break through the treaties of Windsor. There was no occasion therefore, on such an account, for the Emperor to doubt his friendship, since the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had often received a gentleman sent by the King of France, and Mons. de Savoie had sent another to Mons. de Bourbon, to try and bring about a peace between the Emperor and the French, and yet he (the King of England) had conceived no suspicions

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about it, knowing as he did the constant love and affection the Emperor bore him, and that he was incapable of doing anything against his interests.

Perceiving that his observations would be of no avail, the ambassador offered no contradiction, and let the matter drop. The French ambassador is daily expected in town, and those from Scotland are still here. On the other hand it is asserted that the Duke of Albany's people, immediately after their arrival, went up straight to the young King: a strange coincidence of events, which affords him (Praet) matter for serious consideration, and makes him suspect that the whole of this is a preconcerted plan. Indeed the followers of the Scottish ambassadors, now residing in this town, make no mystery about it, and say openly that their country will never abandon France, and that should the Duke of Albany return to Scotland the government of the whole country will be in his hands. Whatever may be said to the contrary, and notwithstanding all their assertions, he (Praet) firmly believes that the matter which the Legate has now nearest at heart is to conclude a solid peace with Scotland, by means of a marriage between their young King and this Princess, and that he (the Legate) hopes in course of time to find some means of liberating this King from his promise. Fears much that should the Legate continue to throw the whole burden of the war on the Emperor, as he has done hitherto; should he enter into some secret compact with the French King for the Emperor not to receive any help in the duchy of Milan; should he insist on the payment of the stipulated indemnity, or the execution at the ensuing season of the great military enterprise; or, in default of this, of the equipment of a joint army [to invade France], neither of which he thinks the Emperor can do at present, it is certain that—as Mons. du Reux cannot have failed to inform the Emperor's ministers—the Legate will get His Imperial Majesty so into his hands as to oblige him to give up the intended marriage, and accept such conditions as may best suit the King of England and himself, thereby, becoming, as it were, the arbiter of peace, and increasing his own reputation, and that of the King, his master. His Imperial Majesty will observe that the Holy Father and the Italian Princes begin to look coldly on him; that the Venetians are seeking for a delay in the fulfilment of their engagements. Two are said to be the causes of their discontent: one of them the Emperor's tardiness in granting the investiture of Milan, and the fear that he (the Emperor) wishes to retain for himself the possession of that duchy, in which case the Italian powers think he may become their master after being their neighbour; the other is, that from the excesses and atrocities said to have been committed everywhere by the Imperial troops—whether German or Spanish—every one in Italy is anxious for their departure.

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Presumes the Emperor to be well acquainted with the state of things in Germany, which is not very flattering just now. The Low Countries also are so impoverished that they can hardly provide for their own defence. Hears from a letter of the Datary to the Pope's ambassador at this Court that there has lately been a revolt in the kingdom of Naples, and that the Duke of Ferrara has lent the French King 50,000 ducats, besides one hundred waggons of artillery ammunition. Fears that should the ambassador now expected from France flatter the Legate's pride by telling him that the King and the Queen Regent of France would much rather refer the settlement of their differences with the Emperor to the King of England and to him, than to the Pope, that the Legate will at once write to the English ambassador at Rome, forbidding him to agree to any truce made in that city by His Holiness's mediation ; but will try to transfer to London the settlement of matters, and consequent negotiations for peace, which he (Praet) need not say would be highly disadvantageous to the Imperial cause. For should the Emperor refuse their offer, the King and Legate are sure to be offended, whereas if he accepts, it will be the cause of alienating completely the Pope, so that either way the measure proposed can only have the effect of depriving the Emperor of one of his allies. Thinks that unless His Imperial Majesty feels strong enough to reconquer and hold the duchy of Milan at his sole expense, and undertake at once the great military enterprise [in which England is to join] the wisest plan would be to send orders to the Imperial agents and generals in Italy, either to conclude an immediate truce, as little disadvantageous as possible to the Emperor, or to attack the common enemy so vigorously on all sides as to compel him to accept his terms, and make some sort of compensation to these people for their claims on France, and, perhaps too, discharge the Emperor from the payment of the indemnity money.

Calls the Emperor's serious attention to the payment of the said indemnity. The sum, already very considerable, becomes every day more so, and as long as it remains unpaid, the King and Legate will have an excuse to withdraw at a moment's notice from the Emperor's alliance ; perhaps too, they might be induced, through French intrigue, to seek for reimbursement by making war on the Emperor's subjects in the Low Countries and elsewhere, and although such conduct on their part would be highly improbable and unwise, for the reasons which the ambassador has given in one of his former despatches, yet it is always good to be on guard against all events, especially if the natural condition and propensities of these gentlemen, and of the Legate himself, be taken into consideration. The latter is now all-powerful in England, and never enjoyed so much favour with the King as he does now. His Imperial Majesty knows better than him (Praet) how the Legate is to be dealt with. Whoever wishes to

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retain his services must needs pay ready money, not with promises. He (Praet) has often written to the Emperor on this subject, and is now more convinced than ever that the non-payment of the pensions to the Legate and other great Lords is seriously affecting his interests. If the Emperor wishes to preserve their goodwill, means must be found of paying the Legate and the other pensioners their due. Some present might also be offered to two or three persons now coming into repute with the King and with the Legate, such as Brian Tuck (Brian Tuke), and Master Moore, and also to four or five gentlemen who are the King's favourites (*mignons*). Immediate attention should be given to the payment of arrears of the Legate's ecclesiastic pensions on the bishoprics of Palencia and Badajoz, and likewise to the designation of time and place where the above-named and other pensions are to be paid in future. If His Imperial Majesty could only consign the Legate's annual pension, amounting to 9,000 crowns, as well as the two others, on one of the rich bishoprics in Spain, which in his (Praet's) opinion is very easy, and if the Legate had the security of being punctually paid in future, he (Praet) has not the least doubt that two objects might be gained thereby, to free the Imperial revenue of such a burden as 9,000 crowns per annum, and to secure the adherence of the Cardinal, who, from fear of losing his pensions, would readily do the Emperor's pleasure. Should he act otherwise there was plenty of means of stopping the payment thereof. Assures the Emperor that, large as those sums are, they would be well spent upon the Legate, if he would only make good offices as long as His Imperial Majesty chooses to have this King for his friend and ally, and help to crush down, or at least to arrest, the power of the French King, and defend Naples, the Low Countries, and even Spain, from his aggressions, for in what regards the duchy of Milan, he (Praet) thinks there is no hope whatever of this King and Legate being ever persuaded to contribute to its defence. Far from it, he has frequently heard the Legate say that the King, his master, had done so much for us throughout this war, that were the Emperor to get peaceful possession of the whole of the duchy, he ought generously to give it up to the French King in order that he, in his turn, might do justice to the English claims. Fears that sooner or later the Emperor will be compelled to give up Milan, unless, as aforesaid, he can hold it against the enemy at his sole expense, make the great [military] enterprise agreed to with England, and pay the whole of the indemnity due to this King.

The above are important points, which require speedy decision, inasmuch as the communications between the King and Legate on one side, and the French on the other, are daily increasing. Fears the arrival of this new French ambassador bodes no good, for although it is to be hoped that these gentlemen (the King and Legate) will not openly violate the

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Windsor treaties, they can indirectly do great harm, for they are evidently weary of the war, as he (Praet) has often had occasion to report home, and all seem to think that Milan is the sole hindrance, not only to peace, but to any favourable settlement of the English claims which the French King might offer, were he to be placed in possession of that disputed duchy. To all appearances these suggestions emanate from the French; nevertheless the King and the Legate have adopted them, and the scheme has so far hit their fancy that they are not likely to give it up so soon.

Begs the Emperor's indulgence, if, stimulated by his zeal, he dare give his opinion on such important matters. His only object is to acquaint the Emperor with the intentions of these people, and what may be expected from them.—London, 3rd January 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 10.

9 Jan. **2.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 2.

The Emperor will learn by the enclosed despatches what has passed since M. du Roeux left. The annexed copy of the Ambassador's letter to the Viceroy will tell the rest. The return of one of the Scotch ambassadors has been expected for the last twenty or twenty-two days, as also the arrival of the French ambassador. The latter was at Lyons when the safe-onduct was sent him; should the affairs of France go badly, he will probably come over; if the contrary, he will remain in France, and laugh at the people here.

Has induced the Pope's Nuncio to have a communication with one of the Queen of Scotland's chaplains,* who accompanies the embassy. Being asked what hope the ambassadors entertained of peace or war with England, the said chaplain stated at length the proposals that had been made to this King and the answers he had given to each. The ambassadors' mission had three points in view; 1st, that on the conclusion of peace the Princess (Mary) should be given in marriage to their young King (James); 2d, that the French King and his kingdom should also be included in the treaty; 3d, that at the peace, and after the said matrimonial alliance, the King of England should give up certain castles belonging of right to Scotland, but latterly held by the Kings of England, the ambassadors representing that these castles cost England more than 8,000 pounds sterling yearly, and did her no good.

The first of these proposals was at once rejected by the King, on the ground that having promised his daughter's hand to the Emperor, he could not marry her elsewhere without his consent; but the chaplain thought that if this could be obtained there would be no other difficulty made, to which the Nuncio objected that in case of the Emperor

* Probably Abbot Myll.

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consenting, and the matrimonial alliance being made, the French King would not be much pleased, as he had long been wishing for a marriage between the young King of Scotland and one of his own daughters, but the chaplain seemed to think the French King would not heed it much.

Respecting the second point, the chaplain said that the French King had lately intimated to the Scotch that if he could not be included in the treaty of peace between England and them, he was willing to be left out, provided only that in making the said peace nothing should be concluded in breach of the ancient treaties and confederacy existing between France and Scotland; the chaplain, moreover, thought the Cardinal had pretty well agreed to this point, although one of no small importance to the English, unless they intend for ever after to abstain from war with France, for, as His Imperial Majesty knows well, the principal article in these ancient treaties is that the Scotch are to attack England whenever this country attempts to invade France.

As to the third point, viz., the restitution of certain castles to Scotland, the Legate would give no definite answer and showed difficulties about it, owing to which one of the ambassadors had returned the day before to Scotland for instructions in good hope, so the Nuncio affirms, that peace would be soon concluded [between England and Scotland] especially if the expected ambassador should arrive from France. This is substantially what passed between the Nuncio and the Queen's chaplain. Heard yesterday a report that the Bishop* of Baden (Bath), the King's ambassador in Rome, had written to his brother in London to say that he should not leave Rome before Midsummer, and should then bring with him the dispensation for a marriage between the King of Scotland and the Princess, which would be arranged in the meanwhile. Does not vouch for the truth of this report; thinks such a marriage would be, in time, the ruin of England, for the Cardinal cannot flatter himself by such means to destroy the ancient friendship between Scotland and France. The Scotch might for a time dissemble, and appear as if they courted the alliance of England, but in the end would be more closely united than ever to France, in order to keep England under subjection, a sort of undertaking for which they are always sure of having the co-operation and assistance of France.

Thanked the Nuncio for his information, and assured him that whatever reports might be spread here of the Holy Father's leaning towards the French, the Emperor would never believe them, certain as he is that he will not forsake him. Pressed him to write frequently to Rome in the Emperor's favour, which he has done hitherto. Is convinced that should the Holy Father be unfavourably disposed towards the Emperor, this would not be owing to the said Nuncio, who is

* John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

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a staunch Imperialist, but to the machinations of Giovanni Matheo Giberti, the Datary, who, as he (Praet) has often heard from the Legate himself, bears great ill-will to the Emperor, who, he says, has not sent him the promised gifts and hates the Spaniards above all things, asserting that at the last taking of Genoa the Spanish soldiers did great injury to himself and family. He (Praet) considers the motives alleged by the Datary very trifling, for, in the first place, the pension of 2,000 ducats which he is known to receive from the Emperor is no bad beginning, in the way of presents, and on the other hand, the excesses committed by troops at the taking of a town are inevitable in war.

Received yesterday at dinner the Emperor's letters of the 20th October, the duplicates of which he has forwarded to Madame. Though the letters are old, and things much changed since, will, as far as possible, follow the Emperor's directions. Will also forward the Emperor's remonstrances concerning John Joachim to the Legate, though with all possible caution, deeming it unwise to irritate the Legate just now, as he might easily do the Emperor a bad turn. Rejoices in the permission to speak frankly; has feared to do this hitherto, but will now say more for the Emperor's vindication than he has been able to do before. Certainly the King and Legate have this great advantage over the Emperor, that all the treaties, not only that of Windsor, but those made since, are greatly in their favour, and very difficult to be observed by His Imperial Majesty, which fact renders a truce the more necessary under the present circumstances, in order that the Emperor may have time to consider what course to pursue most consistent with his own dignity and the maintenance of a firm alliance with those who may remain faithful to him, since to be carrying on war with France and Italy, receiving no help but in words from England, and be subject besides to perpetual reproaches and recriminations, must in the end work his (the Emperor's) ruin both in money and reputation.

Has just seen the ambassador of the Duke of Milan.* The news he has are, thank God, pretty good, were it not that both the Venetians and the Holy Father are delaying as much as they can to fulfil their engagements, which is by no means a good sign. Expects soon letters from the Viceroy; if not detained in Flanders they must be already in the hands of Master Brian Tuke, who always gives him his correspondence last of all. Not so to John Joachim, who is a favourite of his, and knows well how to win the hearts of these people. The report is that he has lately laid out 500 gold crowns on New Year's Day in presents to the confessor, the physician, and other servants of the Cardinal, besides what he must have secretly given their master.

Has been for some weeks expecting the arrival of Richard

* Agostino Scarpinello.

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Boulengier. As he has had no news from Madame for 20 days, and as he hears that M. du Reux is still detained by contrary winds on the coast [of England], has made up his mind to send by him [Du Reux] these two packets of letters with their corresponding inventory by duplicate, one for himself, the other for Lallemand, the Emperor's secretary. Has left them open in order that the said Du Reux may examine their contents at leisure and report to the Emperor. Hopes that Richard [Boulengier] or some other messenger will soon come from Flanders, so that he may send him back [to Spain] with intelligence.—London, 9th Jan. 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 5.

15 Jan. **3.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 3.

In conformity with his letter of the 9th inst., sent by special messenger to Mons. du Rœulx, who was still at the port of Falemme (Falmouth), he (Praet) waited on the Legate, explained the substance of the mission entrusted to him by letters of the 20th of October last, and showed him the note which the Emperor had sent to the English ambassador* in reply [to his memorandum].

The Legate swore that the ambassador had sent him no such note, but only a summary of the Emperor's answer to his (the Legate's) proposals. He added that any written communication which he (Praet) would make to him on the subject should be immediately answered, and begged also for a copy of the said note. This Praet promised to send, but has not yet done so, firstly, because the Legate has not applied for it again; and secondly, because having on a former occasion explained to him its contents by word of mouth, he did not see the necessity of sending him a copy. Thinks there is very little chance of the Legate acting more honestly in future.

In answer to the ambassador's mission the Legate touched incidentally on Jean Jockin and his prolonged stay in England, and said that both the Emperor and his Chancellor (Gattinara) had used very harsh words respecting him to the English ambassador, at which he (the Legate) was very much amazed, for (said he) if the Emperor could not trust the King, his master, and him, who had always done him friendly service, no living soul was to be trusted. The retreat (he added) of the Emperor's army from Provence, and the march of the French King into Italy were not owing to Jockin's practice, but to the bad management of the Emperor's own ministers and generals. Jean Jockin, he maintained, was an able, frank, and well-intentioned man, more disposed to favour the Emperor than the French themselves. The Legate had never conversed with him except on general matters, as he had on more

* Richard Sampson.

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than one occasion informed him (Praet). The King, his master, would never be satisfied with the French until they had given the Emperor his due, and restored to him the amount of territory claimed. Thought it very hard and unjust that the King of England should be blamed for keeping at his court a mediator, by whose means an honourable peace might be concluded, equally advantageous to himself and to the Emperor, especially as he (the Legate) had been informed that the Emperor, or his agents, were all the time in secret communication with the French. If the Emperor was only looking for an opportunity for a rupture with his ally, the King of England, they would stand the blow with patience and resignation, since neither the King nor himself had done or would ever do anything to deserve it.

After which the Legate went on enumerating, though in milder terms, and with great courtesy, the many infractions of the existing treaties which, he alleged, had been committed by the Emperor, such as the money borrowed and not paid in due time, the pensions, and so forth, adding "the King, my master, would have more reason to complain, since after so much expenditure and trouble he gets such a reward. Had the Emperor written once in his own hand, pleading his cause and excusing his conduct, the King, my master, might have waited in patience for the payment of the sums due to him, but the Emperor had not, and therefore there was ground for complaint." He (Praet) was not to wonder if the Legate spoke so warmly about such matters. He felt the Emperor's want of faith so deeply because he considered himself responsible for having made this alliance and dragged the King, his master, into so long and expensive a war. He had trusted to the promises which the Emperor made him at Bruges,* and never dreamt that he would so soon break through the conditions of the treaty. He ended by stating his opinion, as he has on many other occasions before, that the Emperor's unaccountable obstinacy in defending the estate of Milan would one day greatly turn to his prejudice, since in order to secure that one object, he neglected all his other territories, friends, and allies.

The Legate then complained most bitterly about Madame (the Governess of the Low Countries), and those of the Emperor's councillors who were near her person, as His Imperial Majesty will be able to judge by the enclosed copy of Praet's letter to her.† Nor was the ambassador forgotten in the long list of the Cardinal's complaints and recriminations, since the whole blame of the Jockin affair was cast on him. But for his (Praet's) letters to Madame and to the Emperor, the latter would never have harboured any suspicion about that agent's protracted stay in England.

* In 1521 and during the conferences held at that town between the Emperor and the Cardinal Legate of England.

† Not extant in the Vienna archives, as probably it was forwarded to Spain.

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After such open declaration of the Legate's sentiments and views, he (Praet) thought the time was come for carrying out the Emperor's instructions and vindicating his acts. Having besought him not to take into bad part anything he might say in vindication of the Emperor's conduct, the ambassador proceeded to enumerate in detail all and every one of the events that had happened since the arrival of Jean Jockin in England, the evils that had ensued, and the mischief done, taking care to meet and answer every one of the Legate's complaints against the Emperor and Madame. So effective was the ambassador's answer that the Legate had nothing to say in reply, except that when the matter came to be closely investigated, it would be found that neither the King, his master, nor himself, had in any way infringed the treaties, but, on the contrary, had done as much as they could in behalf of the Emperor, who would never find a more faithful friend and ally.

He (Praet) did not dispute the above point any longer, and took leave of the Legate, who was marvellously kind at parting. This notwithstanding he could not induce the Legate to promise either to dismiss Jean Jockin* from court, or give a categorical answer respecting the expected arrival of the President of Rouen,† and whether he would be received or not. In his (Praet's) opinion had not the Legate already granted his safe conduct to the said President—as he has undoubtedly done—he might have sent the former back and refused to admit the latter. He fears, however, that the Legate, for reputation's sake, will try to carry through what he has begun, and that the said President will be allowed to proceed on his mission, notwithstanding the instructions which, it is said, have been sent by the King to Calais, forbidding his passage until further notice.

The topic of conversation over, the Legate entered on the state of affairs in general, and particularly on those of Italy, repeating the very same words and arguments whereof he had made use on previous occasions, as the ambassador has duly informed the Emperor in most of his despatches. After which the Legate proceeded to announce how the King, his master, and himself, bearing in mind the long distance from Spain to Milan, the unfriendly and, in his opinion, ungrateful behaviour of the Pope and the Venetians towards the Emperor, and the obstinate refusal of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) to listen to any terms of truce proposed by His Holiness, had determined to send Messire Gregory Casal into Italy, with instructions to bring about, if possible, between the Pope and Venetians on one side, and the Viceroy on the other, some sort of mutual agreement to put an end to the war. The instructions given to the said Casal are to be in the abstract as follows :—

* Giovanni Gioachino, or Joachino, called Jocquin by the French, and of whom a fuller notice will be given in this correspondence.

† Jean Brinon, Chancellor of Alençon and President of Rouen.

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Firstly,—He is to use every endeavour to persuade His Holiness, for the reasons fully detailed in his instructions, to declare openly and at once in favour of the two Majesties (the Emperor and the King of England). Should this not be feasible, to procure, at least, a declaration from the Pope that he will not sanction any invasion of the kingdom of Naples, but will resist such an invasion to the uttermost. In case of the Pope pleading poverty as an excuse for not adopting either of these courses, and of the French King invading Naples with an army, to place every possible impediment in the way of such army, refusing him supplies, and so forth. Messire Gregory is to give the Pope warning that should he refuse to comply with their request on this point, and any injury be done to the said kingdom of Naples, the King and the Cardinal, being pledged to assist the Emperor in the defence of his patrimonial estates, and to consider his enemies as their own, will be obliged to look upon him as unfriendly to the Imperial cause, to the great detriment of the Papal authority, since the whole of Germany, and even this kingdom of England, might perchance be induced to withdraw the customary allegiance to the Roman See, a matter well worthy of His Holiness's serious consideration.

As regards the Venetians, the King and Legate empower their ambassador, Messire Paceo (Richard Pace) to demand from the Signory to send at once to the Emperor's camp the money and supplies which they are bound to furnish by treaty, even more, if possible. Failing in this the King will hold the Signory for his enemy, and from that very moment stop all their trade with England.

The above measures and others contained in Messire Gregory's instructions the Legate thought were well calculated to further the Emperor's interests.

He (Praet) did not desire the above conclusion, but suggested that in his opinion it was far better to try gentle means before using threats, and that the only way of inducing the Pope and the Signory to act with energy in the affair was for the said Messire Gregoire to take with them to Italy some sort of contract binding his master (the King of England) liberally to contribute towards the expenses of the Imperial army. This the Legate would not hear of. The King, his master, had already refused to do so on many an occasion. He would honourably acquit himself of his engagements towards the Emperor, and help him with his influence and his money, at the right time and place; but as to spend too much money at present, for the defence of Milan—which seemed to be the Emperor's favourite object—that he never would do. Such, the Legate added, was the King's final resolution, and he declared it once for all. Fears there is no hope whatever, at least he (Praet) has none, of the King and Legate changing their determination on this point. Hopes to God he is mistaken on their account, but his impression is

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that the most that can be got out of them is very fine promises for the future, no assistance for the present, and that even if they should grant any, it would come too late and out of season. If the Emperor cannot find better means to support his army than the vague hopes thrown out by the Cardinal, his (Praet's) advice is to bring the war to a close, and make peace on the best possible terms.

Messire Gregoire's instructions, as regards the Viceroy, are said to be as follows : He is to say to him that the King and the Legate fully authorise him to suggest to the King's ambassadors, both at Rome, Venice, and elsewhere, any other measures that he may consider profitable to his master's interests, the said ambassadors having been previously instructed to do whatever is just and reasonable in the matter. The King and the Legate beg the said Viceroy not to be too obstinate in refusing to accept the truce proposed by His Holiness, unless he feels confident and strong enough to be able to oppose the French King with success, in which case they will rejoice to see the common enemy beaten and crushed. Otherwise their opinion is that it would be far more advantageous for the Emperor to accept the said truce—giving up to the Holy Father whatever he possesses in the estate of Milan, as proposed—rather than place the kingdom of Naples in jeopardy. Should the Viceroy object that he has not sufficient powers from the Emperor to conclude such a truce, he is to be told that the King of England, as the Emperor's good father, will take all responsibility on himself, and cause the conditions of the said truce to be duly ratified [in Spain], all this under the supposition, as before stated, that the said Viceroy has not the means of driving the French out of Italy.

The Legate further said that in order to advance the Emperor's interests in Italy, instructions had been sent to Casale to make the Viceroy the following propositions in the King's name. Should he decide to give the French battle, the King, his master, would provide, somewhere in the vicinity of Milan, a considerable sum of money to carry on the war, if victorious, or to raise a new army if he came to be defeated. In vain did the ambassador inquire what would be the amount of the sums destined for that object ; the Legate would not tell, adding that the person to whom the mission to the Viceroy was to be entrusted, would in due time inform him of the King's pleasure, and name the sum, according to the turn the affairs might take. He (Praet) does not place much confidence in the Legate's promises. There is no sign at present of any large sum of money being remitted [to Italy], and as to the 50,000 ducats which this King has there in the hands of bankers, it is too insignificant a sum for such a matter as this ; besides which an Italian merchant has told him (Praet) that part of that sum has already been given on bills of exchange upon England, for return here. Has informed the Viceroy of all that has passed, word by word, that he may

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be prepared, and act accordingly ; he will know best how to use his information.

Doubts not that the Emperor will be as much surprised as he himself is at this sudden change of the Legate's sentiments and views. After due consideration the ambassador is of opinion that the Legate really wishes to save from invasion the kingdom of Naples, to the defence of which he is bound by solemn treaties, but he hopes to do that without any further expenditure or trouble to himself than a few fine words thrown out here and there. The Legate knows that every one suspects him and this King of being in secret understanding with the French, and that in the end all the odium of this affair is likely to fall on him and work his ruin. He is, therefore, trying as much as he can by fine words and protestations of friendship to allay the suspicions of the people, and give them a different direction. Perhaps too, he hopes by these means to influence the French and make them give up all interference with the affairs of Scotland.

News of a raid across the borders by the combined forces of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Anguir (Angus), have been received in this town. The Duke's party is still very strong in Scotland. His followers have been joined by the said Earl, whom the Queen will not see, and who, since the last Christmas festivals, has crossed the borders, taken much booty, burnt many villages and houses, and done great damage to the neighbouring counties. An ambassador of the said Duke of Albany has lately arrived in Scotland, and gone straight to the young King. The Legate did not mention the affair to him (Praet) ; the news at first was kept secret, and he (the ambassador) had it from one of his regular informers. Since then the whole thing has exploded, and the people are terrified at the intelligence. They may make as many new alliances as they please, the hatred between the two nations will subsist for ever.

Has no news to forward either from Italy or Flanders. The last letters received from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) were dated 8th of December 1524, and from Madame the 20th. Imagines that the Duke of Albany cannot have found the road to Naples quite as free and open as the French described it to be. It would be, indeed, a thing to marvel at if 5,000 or 6,000 men only could conquer such a kingdom, for even supposing that the Pope offered no resistance to their passage, and that they had some friends in that country, the united forces of the Colonnese and those of the Germans and Spaniards which might be raised at Rome, would be more than sufficient to fight and put to rout such an assemblage of people as the one described.—London, the 12th of January 1524 (old style).

P.S.—Antonio de Cysenros, the courier, has just arrived with the Emperor's letters of the 20th December last, the contents of which he (Praet) has forthwith communicated to

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the Legate, or at least such portion of them as seemed to him most conducive to the promotion of the Imperial interests. The said letters, in the ambassador's opinion, bear on three different points, which he is to represent as earnestly as he can both to King and Legate; namely, 1st. the opportunity which now offers itself for the Emperor and King to strike a decisive blow against their common enemy. 2dly, the military preparations now being made by the Emperor, by sea and land; the money required for the support of his Italian army; the transport by sea of 6,000 Spaniards; the operations contemplated on the frontiers of Languedoc and Bayonne; and the contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot to be furnished by Flanders. He understands that the King of England is to be persuaded to take the field at once, and invade the French territory, the said contingent from Flanders to join the English army and co-operate the undertaking. Is to express the Emperor's opinion that more can be accomplished by the said armies united than by the great enterprise, and to state the reasons which the Emperor has for doubting the success of the latter, without, however, abandoning it altogether or seeming to agree to it.

The ambassador has not thought it necessary or convenient to acquaint the Legate with the last paragraph in the Emperor's letter relating to the said matter. His reasons for doing so have already been mentioned in his despatch sent by Mr. de Rœulx, besides which he (Praet) begs leave to say that he does not recollect having ever written so plainly on the subject as the Emperor's letter seems to indicate. All he has said is that the Legate was desirous, in the event of the Emperor being unable to undertake the great enterprise, or any like campaign, this next summer, that the King, his master, should be properly informed of it in time. And as the Legate's opinion seems to be that no such enterprise can for the present be contemplated, he (Praet) has thought best not to mention it, and when spoken to on this matter, has answered vaguely without taking any engagement, as will hereafter be declared.

The third and last point relates to the overtures made by the Archbishop of Capua, and to the contents of a certain note, also referred to, wherein the Emperor states his opinion about the conditions of the truce put forward by the Legate. He (Praet) is to say, in the Emperor's name, that, far from trusting to the said overtures and negotiations for a truce, and going to sleep in consequence, he intends to prepare for war.

In answer to the above points, which the ambassador took the earliest opportunity to expound and declare to the Legate, —as prescribed in the said letter brought by Cysneros,—the Legate made the following declaration. With regard to the first point, that the King and himself agreed with the Emperor that the present was the most favourable opportunity of striking a good blow and crushing their common enemy;

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the season, however, must be propitious. They had instructed Mons. du Rœulx, on his return, to propose a war with France the ensuing summer.

Touching the second point, the Legate highly approved of the preparations which the Emperor was making to reinforce and supply his Italian army, but he thought that the Emperor would find some difficulty to provide money for so considerable a number of troops, perhaps, too, to raise the 6,000 Spaniards, and the 200,000 ducats. He deemed it unreasonable that the Emperor should make these projected armaments the excuse for abandoning the great enterprise, and expect that the King of England should send a large army to the field with no other help and assistance than a small contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot to be furnished by Flanders. Even admitting the occupation of Milan by the French King to be a most favourable opportunity to attack him, the King of England, his master, has not the means of sending an army into France before the end of April next, owing to the inclemency of the weather at this season, and the want of forage for the horses, besides which, the defence of the duchy of Milan, which the Legate observed did not form part of the Emperor's dominions, did not seem to him a sufficient excuse for his thus giving up and abandoning the great enterprise, which was the chief article in the treaty of Windsor. The Emperor (he said) would do better to help the King to conquer what was his own than to assist the Duke of Milan; after which he repeated his wonted threats and misgivings, namely, that the estate of Milan was likely to become a source of trouble and danger to the Emperor. He (the Legate) had often foretold the King, his master, as he had also told him (Praet), that the very first letters from Spain would be full of exhortations for war, for he had observed that the very moment the French King devised any plan against the peace of Italy, the Emperor wrote to the King, his master, urging him on to declare war and invade France so as to draw the enemy out of that country; but no sooner was Italy pacified than the Emperor exhorted him to peace.

To the above remonstrances and charges preferred by the Legate, the ambassador made a suitable reply, reminding him of his own words and promises, which, transmitted from time to time to the Emperor, as it was his duty to do, had led him to expect that in consideration of the late very important events, he (the King) would feel disposed to agree to the postponement of the said great enterprise.

The Legate's answer was: "I may have told you words to that effect, but words uttered on such occasions cannot hold good now, since the great preparations the Emperor is making are a sufficient proof that it was not out of fear for the issue of the war, or any real want, that the present withdrawal from the enterprise was hinted at, but merely out of the wish of

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keeping possession of the duchy. If the Emperor, for want of means, as he asserts, cannot carry out the projected enterprise by placing on the frontiers of Spain the number of men agreed in the capitulation, he can, at least, as I suggested to Mons. du Rœulx before his departure, make common cause with us, and share the expenses of an army to invade France at the end of April next."

Such was in substance the Legate's reply, as far as he (Praet) can recollect his words. After which he went on saying: Were the ambassador empowered to treat on these matters, he (the Legate) would willingly agree to the Emperor's proposals on certain conditions. The ambassador was to exact a promise from the Emperor to maintain and keep his Italian army during the whole of the ensuing summer, and even after it, unless the French evacuated the country by truce or otherwise. During that time he (the Legate) would persuade the King, his master, to share with the Emperor the expenses of the said army, perhaps, too, to pay the greater part; but to suppose that the Emperor, by the small contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, and without a new and express capitulation to that effect, was to consider himself free from other engagements, that was an idea not to be entertained.

With regard to the third point, viz., the Archbishop's overtures for peace, and the Emperor's answer to them, the Legate observed that both the articles and the answers seemed to him very cold and unmeaning. If there had been no other transaction made between the Emperor and the said Archbishop of Capua than what appeared from the note communicated to him, very little had been effected. He wondered, however, how it was that the Archbishop had not yet arrived in England, for he had been expected long ago. On the whole (he added), the King should be consulted, and he (Praet) would get an answer as soon as possible. The ambassador, however, expects no good result from this matter, principally as regards the Emperor's wish for a speedy invasion of France. Of one thing he is sure, that even if the differences of opinion now existing between the Emperor and this King were adjusted, the English would never cross the channel before the end of April next.

The above is the substance of the Legate's answer, as made to the ambassador. It now remains for the latter to refer to conversations held with him at other times on various topics, such as Messire Gregory Casale and others. And first with regard to that agent and his instructions, the Legate spoke of him in general terms, and would not be more explicit than he had been on former occasions. The ambassador then tried Sir Gregory himself, and asked him, point blank, what his mission was, but found that the agent was not better informed. Has since advised him to call upon the Legate and say, as if it came from him (Praet), that no attention is

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likely to be paid to his mission by the personages to whom he is sent unless he takes with him the King's engagement to contribute substantially towards the expenses of the Imperial army in Italy. The Legate's answer to this message was that all matters connected with the disbursement of moneys would be entrusted to the Bishop of Baden (Bath), the King's ambassador at Rome.* But of the Legate's final decision, and of the progress of this affair, the ambassador will not fail to inform His Imperial Majesty by the very first opportunity. Meanwhile he has considered it his duty to draw out the present report, which young Du Rœulx will take straight to Spain, and not addressed as the preceding ones to his father, from fear that the wind turning favourable, the latter may have left the port before the arrival of the despatches.

The ambassador cannot pass over in silence the conversation he had with the Legate a few days since respecting the Imperial councillors in Flanders. On this occasion the complaints were louder than usual, as he said he had just heard from the King's ambassador [at Brussels] that in the opinion of those gentlemen the King of France would never have gone into Italy without the previous knowledge and consent of the King and Legate. This he asserted was a complete falsehood, and took the most extraordinary oaths upon it, making all manner of professions of his constant devotion to the Emperor's interests, adding: "I have not the least doubt that under the present circumstances, and the state of things at Milan, the Emperor will find many people ready to advise measures unprofitable to his cause." He was not one of those; he thought that if the Emperor would not maintain his Italian army to the end, it would be far preferable for him to make a truce at once than to risk everything by further delay, since the enemy, seeing the Emperor's apparent ruin, might no longer be inclined to listen to reason.

The above is a summary account of the ambassador's negotiations up to the present. Has not yet received letters either from Flanders or Italy in answer to his; but is expecting them every day, and will not fail to advise their arrival. —Date ut supra.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To His Majesty the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From Louis de Praet, Ambassador in England. Jan. 1525."

French. Original. pp. 15.

17 Jan. Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III. No. 56.

4. CHARLES DE LANNOY to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA, Governess of the Low Countries.

As she must have heard of the state of affairs in Italy, both by his letter of the 7th and by the copies of those of the Duke

* John Clerk, already mentioned in page 10.

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of Sessa, he (Lannoy) need not be long. Encloses more letters received from Sessa, and a copy of what he (Lannoy) answered the Pope. Negotiations for a league are still going on, and the Pope is trusted as if he had had nothing to do with the French King. Believes the Pope loves the Emperor, but the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti) is the man who leads him to mischief.

As all Italy seems to think that the Emperor wants Milan for himself, and not to give it up to Francesco Sforza, the Emperor has sent the investiture deed to him (Lannoy) bidding him conclude matters with the Duke, and thus reward him for his expenses and trouble during this campaign. The Duke, on his part, has promised Lannoy to do whatever the Emperor pleases, but wishes him to keep the investiture deed till the end of the present war. As the Venetians might not believe in this, and be inclined to go on with their intrigues, he (Lannoy) has sent the investiture deed to Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial ambassadors there [at Venice], that they may show it to the Signory, and then return it to him.

Mr. de Bourbon is now in this town. Count Samme (Salm) arrived a week ago with the German infantry sent by the Archduke; and Messire George Fransperg is shortly expected with the remainder. Considering the heavy expense of the Imperial army, and the great inclination to fight shown by Spaniards and Germans, he (Lannoy) is determined to take the field on the 21st or 22nd of this month, and give the enemy battle. Every one in Italy considers the Emperor's cause as his own, and publicly say that if money is wanted for the Imperial army, it shall not be their fault. Bourbon is very anxious to do service. He (Lannoy) will do him all possible honour, for he deserves it well.—Lodi, 17th Jan. 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

French.

19 Jan.
K. u. K. Haus-Hof.u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 4.

5. LOUIS DE PRAET, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

On the 16th inst. he (Praet) received by Richard letters from Madame, of old date, and in the evening of the same day some more from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) of which copies* are enclosed. Madame says in her letter that Richard has been sent hither for the express purpose of obtaining information respecting the progress of the negotiation and conveying the same to the Emperor. This, as may be judged from the ambassador's despatch of the 15th inst., might be more satisfactory; but such as it is, a duplicate of the ambassador's memorandum has been drawn out for the courier to take to Spain. As Madame's commands bear that

* The copies of these letters are not in the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

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the said Richard should be sent back without delay, he (Praet) has persuaded the Legate to allow his immediate departure [for Flanders] without waiting for the King's letters, which would have occasioned a delay of at least eight days. Will inform the Emperor at the earliest opportunity of the decision taken by this King and Legate respecting the contents of the Emperor's last letter.

Messire Gregoire Casal has started on his mission, but no further money is being sent to Italy, which, in the ambassador's opinion, is a bad sign, for certainly the 50,000 crowns which this King has in that country will be insufficient for any great undertaking. Gathers from the letters of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) that a great battle is soon expected, or else that some agreement must soon be made to stop the war, for the Imperial army is in want of money. Much good might be done if the 200,000 ducats, whereof the Emperor writes in his last, should arrive in time. May God inspire the Viceroy that he may decide for the best, for certainly it is high time that the war should be brought to an end by some means or other, the whole burden of it falling as it does on the Emperor. The Pope and the Venetians do nothing but talk very fine words but no deeds one way or the other, and, what is still worse, if the intelligence which the ambassador has just received be true, they (the Venetians) are in treaty with the enemy. Jean Jockin tells him that by letters from Lyons of the 11th inst., it is positively asserted that both the Pope and the Signory have lately entered into a league with the King of France against the Emperor and his allies. He (Praet) can hardly credit so sudden and rapid a change, for the Viceroy's letters do not mention the fact, and besides the Papal Nuncio [in England] has heard from Rome, in date of the 26th of December last, that His Holiness is determined never to forsake the Emperor and King, or do any thing to their prejudice, that he intends to remain neutral, &c. The Milanese ambassador residing at this court has re-received similar intelligence, and both have been entrusted to acquaint the King and Cardinal with their master's resolution. Time will show what truth there is in the report. If any fresh intelligence arrives the ambassador will immediately advise.

On the other hand these gentlemen here show great unconcern about the Emperor's affairs; worse still, for, instead of aiding the Imperial army, which is at this very moment preparing to give the enemy battle, this King and Legate have allowed and consented to the arrival of the French ambassador,* who reached Canterbury last night, and will be here to-morrow. Has been informed that the said ambassador is to take up his quarters near the Cardinal's palace, and at the house of his treasurer, whilst Jean Jockin is

* Jean Brinon, President of Rouen, mentioned in a former letter.

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lodged at the confessor's. So matters stand at present. He (Praet) is sure that the Cardinal owes him a grudge for having warned the Emperors against his doubtful practices. Augurs no good from present appearances. Fears more and more that if a truce be not concluded soon, the Legate will get things into his own power, so as to derive both honour and profit from the transaction, whilst the Emperor will find it very difficult to satisfy and please every one. Has often written to say that the Cardinal's vanity and ambition have caused, and will cause, much evil. Many people believe, not without foundation, that the Legate has been in secret understanding with Madame the Regent of France all throughout this war. Sees no remedy for all this unless the Emperor puts an end to the war at once. If, moreover, His Imperial Majesty wishes to remain on friendly terms with this country, the payment of the Cardinal's annual pensions must be ensured, and gratuities granted to the Lords [of the Council] and other influential persons, as he (Praet) has suggested in his former despatches. In the ambassador's opinion, there is no other course to be pursued, unless the Emperor can make up his mind to form a close and firm alliance with the French, and settle all differences by marriage alliances and otherwise. For to continue at war against so powerful an enemy, single-handed, and forsaken by all those who promised their help in Italy, to be subjected to perpetual reproach from those who give us no aid at all, and to be getting daily deeper in debt, owing to the enormous cost of the war, would be in the end the Emperor's ruin and perdition. Besides which, the unsatisfactory state of Germany, Flanders, Spain, and other countries, whose inhabitants are weary of war, is a very strong argument in favour of the course recommended. This and other like admonitions so often repeated in his ordinary despatches, the ambassador takes the opportunity to reproduce here, out of devotion to the Emperor, as his most faithful and humble subject that he is, under the impression and full confidence that his poor advice will be taken into consideration.

Must not forget to mention that yesterday (the 18th) he (Praet) waited on the Legate and gave him copy of the letters the Emperor had received from Scotland, though appearing not to believe in their contents.* The Legate took this in very good part at first, and seemed pleased with the attention, but suddenly changing the conversation and blushing slightly, said he would examine the letters at leisure, and give his opinion on their contents. On this

* Among the papers preserved in the Imperial Archives at Vienna is the minute of a letter of the Emperor, addressed to his ambassadors in Scotland, and dated the 22nd of June 1522, wherein he declares that he cannot listen to any proposals of alliance by marriage made by the Duke of Albany or the enemies of England. These, however, must have been in reference to the overtures made by the Scotch ambassadors, as detailed in Nos. 1 and 2.

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occasion, it must be observed, the Cardinal used more moderate language about the Emperor than he is in the habit of doing lately, but, nevertheless, he is not to be trusted. The Emperor is too well acquainted with the Cardinal's character and manner to require further explanation.—London, 19th Jany. 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To His Impl. Majesty."

Indorsed: "From Louis Praet, 19th of January."

French. Original. pp. 2.

20 Jan. **6.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 5.

Was about to despatch Richard with his letter of the 19th when he (Praet) received the visit of several Italian merchants who showed him advices from Lyons of the 11th and 13th instant, sent through Jean Jockin. Every one of the letters contained word for word the same astounding intelligence, namely, that on the 10th a truce, defensive and offensive, had been proclaimed at Lyons, to the sound of trumpets, between the Pope, the King of France, the Venetians, Florentines, Siennese, and Luccans. These, if true, are undoubtedly the worst tidings that could have come for the Emperor's interests, and certainly show a shameful treachery on the Pope's part. He (Praet) can hardly believe in such news, and imagines that if the report of the league be true, it must be one between His Holiness and the Viceroy [of Naples], in the Emperor's name. Positive information, however, cannot fail to arrive in a few days.

The same letters state that on the 8th instant the Duke of Albany was before Lucca with an army consisting of six or seven thousand infantry and about 500 men at arms. The Duke had compelled the Luccans to pay him a sum of 20,000 ducats, and had then marched straight on Naples. His army is certainly not large, but should the Duke, as asserted, have understandings in that country, and the Pope and Venetians openly aid him with their forces, it is to be feared that the kingdom of Naples may be conquered before His Imperial Majesty or the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) can come to its assistance. It is also reported that by the terms of the league said to have been proclaimed at Lyons, the duchy of Milan is to be restored to France, except Cremona and its districts, which are to fall to the share of the Venetians. The kingdom of Naples to be equally divided between the Pope and the King of France, except three or four towns which the Venetians claim as having belonged of old to the Signory, and which are consequently to be returned to them.

It is likewise stated that the Archbishop of Capua was at Lyons on the 13th instant. The said Italian merchants, to whom he (Praet) owes this information, though strongly

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attached to the Emperor's cause, have been taken by surprise at the receipt of such bad news, and expect to hear also from day to day of Genoa and its Doge (Antoniotto Adorno) going over to the French.

The Cardinal, who is now residing at Hampton Court, was acquainted two days ago with the above news, as conveyed in a letter of Jehan Jockin to him, and yet has made no communication to him on the subject. He (Praet) is the more surprised at it as the Legate is well aware of the ambassador being about to despatch a courier to the Emperor. He (Praet) will detain this courier until to-morrow, in the hope of obtaining an audience from the Cardinal, and endeavouring to ascertain the truth of this matter. Should he succeed and gain information at the interview, he will send a special messenger to overtake the messenger at the port and deliver to him a second despatch.

Persists in his opinion, so frequently expressed in his former letters, that the best course to be pursued under the present difficult circumstances is for the Emperor to get out of this war as soon as possible, and by whatever means he can. It would have been wiser had this been done sooner, but better late than never.—London, 20th of January 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred Majesty the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From Louis de Praet, Ambassador in England. 20 Jan."

French. Original. pp. 3.

28 Jan. **7.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 4.

Regrets that he could only send bad news by Richard. Has since received letters from Madame [Marguerite] which speak less discouragingly than the Cardinal had done. Trusts that, with the help of God, and the speedy succour, both in men and money, which the Archduke is now preparing for the Viceroy, the French King may yet be overpowered, as the Emperor may see in enclosed copy of a letter from the Archduke to the said Viceroy. Encloses another letter written to the Audiencier* by the Archduke's maitre d'Hotel, Cornille d'Espagne; also copies of two more which he (Praet) has addressed to Madame, and which will inform the Emperor of all that has passed here since the departure of Richard and the arrival of the President of Rouen. Hopes that as neither he (Praet) nor the Legate has yet heard anything of the league said to have been made between the Pope, Venetians, and French, it may turn out an idle tale.

(*Cipher:*) If a battle is to be fought, let it be before the money fails altogether. The Emperor's army is a better one

* Philippe Hanneton, Treasurer of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

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than the French, and by God's help the result might be favourable for the Emperor. Doubts whether the state of defence in which the kingdom of Naples has been lately placed will prevent the French from attacking it—a point well worthy of the Emperor's serious consideration, if, as it would appear, there are many reasons to mistrust the Pope and the Venetians; but at any rate, whether they do or not, the Imperial army is sure to do its duty, and if a victory is gained it will be an easy matter to bring about an honourable peace, or at least such a truce as would allow the Emperor to breathe, and conduct matters to his greater glory and reputation. He (Praet) deems it prudent in the present condition of affairs not to disclose one's sentiments to people so uncertain and fickle as our present allies are, unless, indeed, the Emperor is sure of getting a better bargain from his enemies.

Has frequently, since Richard's departure, asked the Legate for the King's answer as to the descent of his army into France. Hears that the King is waiting to learn the truth of this reported league between the Pope and the French, but that in no case could his army set out before the end of April. The Legate, indeed, asked him the other day—perhaps to give some colour to the delay—whether, in case of the King deciding to invade Normandy, Madame would furnish him 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, with ships and provisions, according to the words of the second paragraph of the Emperor's letter to him of the 20th of December last. He (Praet) replied that he did not think the Emperor's words would bear this construction. In his opinion the King's request could not be granted; but if the Legate wished, he would immediately consult Madame about it. This the Legate declined, assuring the ambassador that there was no necessity, and had only mentioned the matter by way of suggestion (*par forme de devises*).

(*Common writing:*) With regard to other matters in the Emperor's letters the Legate made no observation, excepting that they had given the King great pleasure, as he saw by their contents what goodwill the Emperor bore him, and what extensive preparations he was making for waging war on the common enemy. Not a word was said about the great enterprise, nor did he (Praet) allude to it, thinking, as he does, that whatever is said about it must come from them. The memorandum which the ambassador has lately placed in the Legate's hands shows too clearly what the Emperor's intentions are; he will co-operate or not to the said enterprise and invasion of France, according to the help he receives from his ally in other quarters.

The President of Rouen arrived here last Sunday, and had an audience of the Legate on Wednesday, St. Paul's Day. Believes that if the news about His Holiness proves true, the Legate will press him (De Praet) to write at once to the Emperor and ask for powers to treat for peace or truce here

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in London. The Legate knows full well that without the Emperor's express commands he (Praet) would never take part in their doings. Should such order come, the ambassador will obey and attend the conferences, when he will follow to the letter the instructions received, as well as the eighth paragraph of the Emperor's letter to him, in date of the 20th October last.—London, this 28th day of January 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor, &c."

French. Original. pp. 3.

28 Jan.
K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien.
Rep. P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 32.

8. INSTRUCTIONS given by the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET to Adolph de Bourgoyne, Sieur de Bèvres, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Chamberlain and Admiral of the Sea; to Josse Laurens, Sieur de Tardeghen, President of the Great Council; Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in England; and to Secretary Jean de le Sauch, concerning their mission to the King of England.

After offering Madame's humble commendations and greetings, and presenting their credentials, the ambassadors are to say to the King, how Madame, considering the vicinity of England and the Low Countries, the ancient friendship and intercourse prevailing between their Princes and people, the peace and prosperity mutually resulting therefrom, devoutly thanks God, our Creator, who of His great goodness has permitted the said friendship to continue.

That for the better cementing of this friendship and alliance, Madame has constantly begged the Emperor to admit into it such Princes and persons as might help to the consolidation of the same; in consequence whereof the Holy Father, the Venetians, and other Italian potentates, had entered into as firm and close alliance as possible with the Emperor and King.

That Madame has lately heard, by letters from the Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy]; by a duplicate brief of the Holy Father himself, as likewise by letters from the Duke of Sece (Sessa) to the said Viceroy (and she doubts not the King has also heard through the Pope's ambassador, at his court, and through his own servants and followers in Italy), that the Holy Father, for the better security of the Church, and other reasons contained in the said brief, has proposed to the Venetians, Florentines, Genoese, and others, an alliance or defensive league with the French King, the Holy Father never supposing, as his brief states, that he was acting prejudicially to the Emperor and King, or that the other contracting parties would thereby be led to join the French King against them (the Emperor and King).

That the French King purposes sending the Duke of Albany with 3,000 or 4,000 men-at-arms, and 5,000 or 6,000 foot, to the kingdom of Naples; to effect which the said Duke had already entered the estates of His Serene Highness the Prince

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of Lucca. That the object of the French King in this movement is said to be rather to divert the Emperor's army in Italy than to attempt the conquest of that kingdom; the forces which compose the expedition being comparatively small, whilst the defences prepared by the Viceroy are very strong.

That Madame knows full well that the Emperor will think it very strange that His Holiness, for whom the Emperor has done so much, and whom he has never once wronged, should ally himself with the French King, their enemy. That though His Holiness states in his brief that in making this alliance he has been actuated solely by his care for the welfare and prosperity of the Church, and means no wrong whatever to the Emperor and King, yet other Christian Princes, and especially the Italian Potentates, have joined it in total ignorance of His Holiness's real motives, as stated in the said brief, and without knowing whether the said alliance is to be for the interest of the Emperor and King, or not. Madame leaves the King to judge whether a defensive league of this sort, made in Italy for such avowed purpose, is likely to be beneficial to the Emperor and the King of England, his ally, and although the confederates are willing to admit the Emperor and King into their league, those who are acquainted with Italy, and the Italians, think this proposal very strange and equally fraught with danger to the Emperor and King.

That Madame knows also that as soon as the Emperor hears of this, he is sure to send for help to his good father, brother, and uncle, the King of England, in whom he has perfect confidence; and that she, therefore, considering the great importance of this event, and the prompt action necessary upon it, sends this embassy to the King, whom she holds as one and the same with the Emperor, begging him, for her own sake and that of the Emperor, to come to their aid in the present crisis. The ambassadors are to urge this point upon the King in every possible way.

Should the King reply that there are but two ways of meeting this emergency, the one to drive the French King out of Italy; or, that being impossible, to conclude some treaty—which last means the King is sure to propose—should he add that it would have been wiser for the Emperor or the Viceroy, in his name, to have accepted the overtures made by the Pope, and placed in his hands the whole of his possessions in Italy at the time, the French King consenting to do the same, than to wait till things had come to a crisis, risk the loss of Lombardy, and endanger the kingdom of Naples: then the ambassadors are to represent to the King that, when the Holy Father made that said overture all the fortresses in the duchy of Milan were, as now, in the possession of the Emperor, the French King holding nothing but the bare city of Milan, which the Emperor's troops had abandoned for the better preservation of the rest of the country, and that even

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had the duchy been equally divided between the Emperor and French King, the Viceroy could not, as a loyal subject, have placed any of the Emperor's possessions in the hands of the Holy Father without his (the Emperor's) express commands. That there is now less reason than ever there was for entertaining such a proposal after the Holy Father has formed an alliance with the French King, and that the Emperor's honour and reputation being so nearly concerned, Madame is sure that the King of England, from the love he bears the Emperor, will never advise him to listen to such a proposal, just as the Emperor would if he were in his place.

The ambassadors are to inform the King of the state of the Emperor's army, of its numbers, of the severe losses inflicted by it on the French at the siege of Pavia, and wherever else it has been engaged. That Madame considers the Imperial army sufficiently strong and quite willing to give battle to the French, and that if the King (of England) will but now assist the Emperor the French King will easily be driven out of Italy, and forced to make terms with the Emperor and King. The ambassadors are to place this most strongly before the King.

Should the King ask them what help Madame wishes to be sent to the Emperor (and in case of his not doing so they themselves are to suggest it), the ambassadors are to reply that in conformity with the treaties between the Emperor and King, and especially the last one concluded by M. de Praet, the King is bound either to send at once a powerful force into France, or to contribute liberally to the support of the Emperor's Italian army. Either measure would produce the desired effect.

Should the King prefer the former of these two expedients, the French King would be forced to withdraw the whole or the greater part of his forces from Italy ; if the whole, the Emperor would then be at liberty to enter France with all his power ; if only a part, then the Emperor's army, which is strong, could easily drive out the remainder and march upon France. If the latter expedient, namely that of a contribution towards the support of the Emperor's Italian army be adopted, the power of the French could also be greatly reduced thereby. The former, however, would be far more effective.

The better to induce the King to adopt the former of the above means the ambassadors are to offer in Madame's and the Emperor's name, to furnish a contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, according to treaty, and in order to hasten the King's preparations, they will do well to remind him, that he is bound by the said treaty to contribute to the support of the Emperor's Italian army, until his own is ready to take the field.

Should the King object that last year Madame made him a similar offer, but neither then nor now could she carry it

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out, the ambassadors are to reply, that though Madame may not have now ready money in her treasury, yet at such a crisis as this she will find means to obtain it. That she has frequently told Mr. Jerningham so, begging him to write to the King and say that as she would not fail him (the King) in the smallest matter she certainly would not do so when his honour, that of the Emperor, and indeed her own is at stake.

Should the King observe that the army which he once sent under the Duke of Suffolk was obliged to retire owing to the Emperor's troops being without either pay or provisions, the ambassadors are to reply that it has since been ascertained that Count Bueren (Buren) who commanded the Emperor's forces on that occasion had often assured the Duke of his readiness to maintain the Emperor's army, both in field and garrison, as long as the Duke would maintain his own.

Should the King further object that the Emperor's troops in the Low Countries could not be ready against the descent of his army on the west coast of France, the ambassadors are to say that owing to the long delay in the fitting out of the intended English expedition, Madame, to save the Emperor unnecessary expense, has been unwillingly obliged to keep back her contingent, which would not have happened had she known exactly the time when the King's army would set out, besides which should her troops be a little later in the field they shall remain longer in compensation. If, however, the King will now fix the exact date for the descent of his army into France, Madame's contingent shall be ready. The ambassadors may also remind the King that last time the King's army was so behindhand, that the Emperor's troops were a whole month on the frontier before military operations could be commenced.

Should the King complain of the difficulty of finding baggage waggons in the Low Countries, of the high price charged for them, and of the scarcity of provisions, the ambassadors are to reply that horses and waggons shall be found for the King at the same rate as that charged to the Emperor, that prices indeed will vary with the season, but that it will be found that the Emperor's agents have never charged higher prices to the English than to her own people. Provisions are not wanting, yet as Madame does not wish her provinces to be entirely drained of corn, she begs the King to have some sent from England, where there is plenty just now.

Should the King excuse himself from sending either men or money on the plea that the Emperor did not supply the army with sufficient troops or money when his own went to France, that the campaign had therefore been unsuccessful, and the Duke of Bourbon compelled to retire from France to Italy, the ambassadors are to answer that the

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Emperor had sent quite an adequate number of troops to the Duke of Bourbon, and that if all were not ready at the first moment, it was no fault of his, but of the bankers who were to supply the funds. No blame could attach to the Emperor from this circumstance, neither had any disadvantage arisen from it, to the common cause.

The ambassadors are also to represent to the King that though the treaty did not stipulate that the said contingent was to be at the Emperor's sole charge, yet he had readily supplied the 400,000 ducats for the maintenance of the Duke of Bourbon's army from the time of its entrance into France till its retreat to Italy, besides other considerable sums of money spent before and afterwards on account of the said expedition to France, whereas the King [of England] had only sent 100,000 crowns. That, in addition to this, the Emperor, the more to harrass and molest the common enemy, had sent a large number of German and Spanish troops, both horse and foot, to Languedoc, to which service he (the Emperor) was nowise compelled by treaty, and that for all these reasons, chiefly because the King of England has as yet sent neither men nor money, the ambassadors urge upon him to prepare his army for immediate warfare, and until it shall have crossed the channel to send succour in money to the army of Italy, as before stated.

Should the King say that the former invasion of France [by Picardy] had been a mere loss to him, and should he propose another quarter for the one now contemplated, requiring Madame to supply also the stipulated contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, the ambassadors are to reply that there is no clause in the treaty to that effect, as it would be impossible for her to transport so many horses by sea; but that in the event of a different province being chosen for the invasion Madame will send to the frontier of France the same number of horse and foot as if the King's army were to descend in Picardy; and should the ambassadors find the King favourably disposed towards this, they may propose to him, by way of suggestion, and choosing their opportunity, to send over some 3,000 or 4,000 foot to join her troops on the frontier, where they might all together inflict some serious damage on the enemy.

Should the King reject all these overtures, and propose the great enterprise, the ambassadors are to represent to him that the speedy descent of 15,000 or 16,000 men, now that the French King and his army are absent from France, will accomplish a good deal more than double that number, when he (the French King) is in his own country. The ambassadors therefore are to urge the King in every possible way to the prompt expedition of his army, without taking any engagement respecting the said great enterprise, which they may refer to the Emperor.

Should the King further excuse himself on the ground that the Emperor has not returned the money lent him, nor paid

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the promised indemnity, the ambassadors are to dwell upon the extraordinary expenses brought on the Emperor by this war, the armies he has had to maintain for the recovery of Fuentarabia; in Guienne; on the sea off Bayonne; in Italy; on the seas of Levant; for the invasion of Provence under the Duke of Bourbon; in the duchy of Gueldres, for the support of his men-at-arms, twice sent with the King's army in the Low Countries, &c. They shall beg the King to take all this into consideration, and to be assured that, but for these inevitable expenses, the Emperor would not have postponed his payments to the King, who, God be praised, is not, as the Emperor knows, in need of money at present.

Should the King still dwell upon his grievances against the Emperor, the ambassadors are to say, with all courtesy, and in the best possible terms, that for some time past Madame has had news from England as well as from the Emperor's court in Spain, showing that some ill-intentioned people, badly disposed towards the Emperor and King, envious of their friendship and alliance, and consequent prosperity, have, under pretence of good will and devotion, made many false reports of the Emperor and herself to the King, at which she is much concerned, fearing, lest in spite of their barely concealed hypocrisy, such reports should somehow influence the King. The ambassadors are, therefore, most earnestly to entreat the King to specify the charges brought against the Emperor and herself, and to declare in the most emphatic terms that neither the one nor the other has ever broken faith, but has always entertained the same love and affection for the King.

Should the King mention individual cases, such as the passage of the late M. de la Roche* through France on his way to Rome, or the coming of certain Franciscans (Cordeliers) to the Low Countries, the answer is simply this: that M. de la Roche went through France to avoid the sea passage; that the King and Legate know perfectly well his integrity; that they will find upon inquiry that he never said to the King or people of France a word that could in any way do injury, then or hereafter, to the treaties of alliance between the Emperor and King (of England) as, indeed, subsequent events, and the energy with which the Emperor has made war on France, have sufficiently proved. That the Cordeliers' had been altogether a foolish business, and that notwithstanding Madame had through her ambassadors in London immediately informed them (the King and Legate) of their arrival and mission.

The ambassadors may also observe to the King and Legate that whatever reports, if any, have been made to the Emperor respecting their conduct towards him, neither the Emperor

* Gerard de Pleine, Seigneur de la Roche.

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nor Madame shall ever be persuaded to mistrust them in any way.

Should the King say that the Emperor has not fulfilled all the conditions of the existing treaties, the ambassadors, who have a copy by them, can easily clear the Emperor and Madame from the charge of having failed in the observance of some of them. With regard to any other complaints, if they should be made, they (the ambassadors) are to report them at once to Madame. They are, moreover, to pray the King, as the true father and brother of the Emperor, to pay no heed to any such evil reports as have been, or may be, made to him, but rather to bear in mind the good faith and honesty with which the Emperor and Madame have always behaved towards him.

It is most likely that the King, to please the Legate and the Admiral, will refer to a ship captured some time ago, and which is said to belong to the latter. Should the King or the said Legate and Admiral allude to the judicial proceedings now being instituted, in that case the ambassadors will answer that both the Emperor and Madame have done all they could in the business, and recommended it to the Court now sitting. That Madame had paid out of her own pocket certain sums as caution money which the owners of the ship or their agents had been called upon to pay. Should the ambassadors find out that the Legate really takes great interest in this affair, in that case they are to offer to discharge the Admiral's agents from the payment of the said caution money.

The ambassadors are also to speak to the King and Legate concerning the granting of safe-conducts for trade between the Low Countries, France, and Scotland, and for obtaining permission from the King of France for the herring fishery; this last point is especially entrusted to the Sieur de Bèvres, in his capacity of admiral, and he is especially to state that this said fishery is the sole means of existence for many of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. The ambassadors are also to treat of the rate of exchange, of which the King and Legate are sure to complain, asserting that gold being more valuable here than in England, all their coin gets out of the country. Should the King, the Legate, or other persons speak about certain safe-conducts which we have refused to grant to one Thomas Barnaby, an Englishman by birth, and to Eustace le Doyen, a Frenchman, to bring wine and salt to this country, the ambassadors will answer that as the Emperor and the King of England had respectively engaged themselves not to allow the French or their allies to trade with their dominions, she (Madame) had refused the safe-conducts.

The ambassadors will inform the King, in the best manner they can, that Madame having since heard that the Legate has granted several safe-conducts both to Frenchmen to trade with the ports of England, and to Englishmen to go to France,

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with wine, salt, and other articles, she also, after consulting the Emperor's pleasure, and for the greater comfort and happiness of her subjects, has allowed them to do the same. Should the King show regret at this measure, which is not very likely, considering that he himself has done and is doing the same, in that case the ambassadors might ask him, as graciously as possible, whether he would wish all safe-conducts to be revoked and cancelled, and all intercourse with the enemy suspended, and if the King showed that intention, take at once an engagement in the Emperor's and Madame's name, on condition, however, that the said revocation be duly proclaimed in all ports at the same time, so that French vessels trading with England, or ours with France, have equal leisure to regain their ports, and that the King of England furnish us with salt, wine, corn, and other articles in which his kingdom abounds, the Emperor and Madame promising to provide him with the produce of their respective countries. To remedy this inconvenience, which we fully acknowledge to exist, Madame has appointed a committee to look into this affair, which is as disadvantageous to England as to the Low Countries.

In short, the ambassadors will do their utmost to obtain from the King substantial help at this present moment. They will assure him that Madame will endeavour to follow his advice in all things, just as she would the Emperor's. Should, moreover, the King make any overture or proposal on matters depending on the immediate authority of the Emperor, in that case the ambassadors are to report the same to the Emperor and to Madame at once, the King of England engaging himself not to do anything to the Emperor's detriment until his answer should be known, the Emperor making a similar promise and declaration.

Should anything be said to the ambassadors touching the Emperor's marriage to the Princess, they are to say that the Emperor knows full well that the Princess's hand has been sought from France, from Scotland, and from other places; that he too has been solicited to form other alliances; that he has never, on this or any other occasion, mistrusted the King and Legate, but has relied on them to keep the same faith with him as he has always observed towards them; that such reports will never cease until the Princess is either married to the Emperor or placed under his care; and, should the moment seem opportune, the ambassadors may suggest to the King and Legate that for the entire removal of all cause for suspicion, and for the strengthening of their mutual alliance, the Princess should be placed under the Emperor's care until old enough to be married. The ambassadors can add, as if it came from themselves, that Madame and the Legate having already been match-makers in two different cases, there is no reason for not promoting this one. She herself desires this marriage more than any other thing whatsoever, and will leave nothing undone that can bring it about.

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The ambassadors are to obtain from M. de Praet all particulars respecting the state of affairs in England, and to treat him as such ambassador holding equal powers with themselves.

Thus ordered by Madame in Council, in the presence of the Cardinal of Liège, Messire Philip of Cleves, the Sieur de Rauestein, the Archbishop of Palermo, Elder (Chief) of the Privy Council, the Count of Hoochstrate, Messieurs De Bèvres, De Berghes, De Rosenbois (Rosymboz), the Sieur D'Aigny, President of the said Privy Council, the Sieur de Noeufville, Treasurer of Finances, and others.—Mechlin (Malines), the 28th of January, 1524 (old style).

Signed: "Margaret."

Countersigned: "Du Blieul."

Addressed: "To Messrs. De Bevres and Jos. Laurens."

Indorsed: "Instructions for England in the year 1524 (1525)."

French. Contemporary copy, partly in cipher. pp. 21.

31 Jan.
K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 7.

9. The Emperor's Instructions to Louis de Praet and Claude de Cilly.

De par l'Empereur.—Instructions to our beloved and faithful councillor, chamberlain in ordinary and ambassador in England, the Sieur de Praet, and to our beloved and faithful squire and gentleman of our household, Claude de Cilly, concerning what they will have to say in our name to our good father and brother the King of England, and to Monseigneur the Legate, Cardinal of York.

The said Cilly, whom We now send to England, shall wait upon the Sieur de Praet, there residing as our ambassador, and show him the present instructions, as well as the letters of credence whereof he is the bearer to the said King and Legate, as also to the Queen, our aunt. He shall in every particular follow the advice of the said Sieur de Praet, who being, as he is, on the spot, will know best how to explain and work out our intentions according to circumstances, and to the state of affairs at the time of his (Cilly's) arrival. And in order that the said Sieurs de Praet and Claude de Cilly may better know our designs and intentions, as well as the cause of this present embassy, the following exposition of our motives shall be attended to:—

1st. Although the affairs of Italy are in rather a precarious state just now owing to the alliance made by the Pope and other powers with the King of France, yet We have not lost courage, but intend to prosecute the war as vigorously as We can against the French King, until an opportunity be found of attacking him in his own dominions, and compelling him either to the restitution of what he holds unjustly from us,

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or to a good and honourable peace, equally advantageous and profitable to the said King of England and to ourselves.

To this end the said Praet and Cilly shall represent to the King and Legate, that although it would appear that our said enemies are prospering in Italy, yet as the French King has remained so long before Pavia without being able to take it, and has lost for the last three months so much treasure and so many men, the resistance there offered to his arms, and which is sure to continue, will place him and his kingdom in much greater peril and danger than they have ever been. Indeed, the King himself, being now in Italy with all the forces of his kingdom, with his knights and nobles, the grand masters of the orders, &c., is not in a condition to defend his own dominions, if invaded, much less to make a vigorous war outside, since his own efforts would soon consume and annihilate him. The better to accomplish this ultimate object and obtain satisfaction from our enemy, it would be requisite to assail and distress him everywhere, and specially in those countries and regions wherein he is most weak. If this be done quickly, and without losing such a fine opportunity as the present, it is most likely that, though the Pope and other Italian powers may openly declare in his favour, he may be obliged to evacuate Italy with great loss, or fall on the kingdom of Naples, whereat we have ordered such provision to be made both in men and ships, that in case of his going thither, he is sure to meet with a warm reception. We hear, indeed, that our Imperial fleet in those parts and at Genoa amounts now to fifty ships of war, between caracks, galleys, and other smaller vessels, well provided with men and stores, and superior to any force the French may now put to sea. Our common enemy might thus lose a portion of his kingdom, wherein, as stated, there is scarcely a man left effectually to defend it. It is, therefore, evident that such being the position of affairs in France, We and the King of England, our ally, might now-a-days do more against it with a comparatively small force than at another time with a very powerful army.

2nd. With regard to our preparations for war, the said Sieur de Praet shall take care that his colleague, Mons. de Cilly, announce to the King and Legate, as if it came from us and from our own mouth, that in addition to the 4,000 Germans and 3,000 men-at-arms now ready on the frontier of Languedoc, without including in that number the country militia, both horse and foot, we have given orders to collect in that locality six or seven thousand Spanish infantry, with 500 men-at-arms and some light cavalry, besides the Catalonian irregulars and some good artillery; with which force it is our intention to lay siege to Narbonne, and thence march into Languedoc. Meanwhile our Spanish galleys are getting ready for sea to join our Italian fleet at Genoa; so that what with the above military preparations and others we intend to

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make in various quarters, we shall soon be in a condition to undertake some good and profitable enterprise against the common enemy, specially if our good brother, the King of England, give us his assistance, which We doubt not he will, since he has now so fair an opportunity of recovering what belonged to his ancestors.

3rd. To attain which object, as desirable to us as to our brother the King of England, the said Praet and Cilly are to request the said King and Legate, in our name, immediately to send across, and to any part of France that may suit them best, a strong and well-appointed army, wherewith to take and regain their old inheritance, as We have lately advised them through the said Praet, our ambassador; promising, in case the said King considered it necessary to invade France by Picardy, that We shall furnish him out of Flanders the same number of men, horse and foot, as stipulated in our last treaty, on condition, however, of the said armament and invasion being made immediately and without delay, so that our said armies may profit by the proposed diversion. On our side We fully promise not to lose one hour, and to get our forces ready so as to be able to attack our common enemy at the appointed time; for if the King, our brother, tarries, great injury might be done to us particularly, and to our common interests in general. The King and the Legate cannot fail to appreciate our endeavours to promote our common cause. We cannot do more than keep up a large army in Italy against all the forces of France commanded by the King in person, besides another army in Languedoc, and a considerable fleet to scour the seas, in addition to which We still propose to assist and help our good brother on the side of Flanders; all this without any aid whatever except that of our brother the Archduke [Ferdinand] who will no doubt make some good enterprise on his side, as he has promised and has actually begun to do.

4th. Should the King and Legate talk about want of funds to prosecute the war in the manner above described, the Sieurs de Praet and Cilly will inform them that, although it be true that owing to the enormous expenses We have been at, We have now no money at our disposal, yet so extensive are our dominions, and so rich and opulent our subjects, that it will be found, when required, that We are able not only to defend and protect our own, but to offend our enemies and oblige them to do reason to our claims.

5th. The said Cilly will deliver our letters to the Queen, our aunt, and such verbal messages besides as the said Praet may advise. He will tell her that We hope soon to be free from the fever and ague that has lately troubled us, though it has not prevented our attending to business. He will tell the King and Legate so, and in short adhere strictly to the first article of these instructions.

6th. With regard to the answer which the said King and Legate are sure to make to our request, the said Sieur de

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Praet, our ambassador, will take care that it reaches us as quickly as possible through his colleague Mons. de Cilly, that We may know what our ally intends to do, and be prepared in due time.

7th. The said Sieur de Praet is to take care that his colleague, Squire Cilly, on his return [to Spain], bring an answer to the letters We are actually writing to Flanders, and, if possible, that he may not be detained in England more than eight or ten days; for We are anxious to hear the King's reply to our proposals, and also to receive news from Flanders.—Madrid, on the last day of January 1525.*

French. Original corrected draft. pp. 6.

1 Feb. K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats. Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 5.

10. Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Emperor.

Was about to despatch a special courier after Richard with the good news contained in the enclosed, when Madame's letters of the 22nd Jan. last arrived with duplicate of another letter from the Viceroy [of Naples]. Sends copies of both, and regrets deeply that the contents of the last should be such as they are.

Has communicated the whole to the Legate who discoursed long about it, without, however, coming to any decision. Yesterday when expecting the Cardinal's final answer, he (Praet) received a message saying he would have to wait three or four days more, for the reasons which are specified in his letters to Madame, of which a copy is also enclosed. Writes briefly and in haste that the courier may set out at once.

From M. du Reux, and the despatches he took with him, the Emperor must have heard of the state of affairs here up to the 9th of January, and of the new proposals made by the Legate. Will send further information by Richard, and especially concerning the Legate, and whether he persists in the opinion he gave him (De Praet) the day before yesterday.

Things are going badly, and there is no hope left but in battle. May God, by His infinite mercy, bring the Emperor well through it! From his (Praet's) former letters, the Emperor will, no doubt, draw his own conclusion as to the cause of this sudden change [in the politics of England]. Thinks the best way now would be to dissemble with those to whom one is scarcely under obligation,† and await a favourable opportunity, such as some sure way of coming to an understanding with the adverse party.—London, 1st of February 1525.

Postcriptum.—Has heard a report this morning that Pavia was taken on the 23rd of last month. Has sent to Brian

* The date at the beginning is 12 Feb. 1525, being no doubt that in which the instructions were sent to England.

† Ceulx auxquels l'on nest de guieres obligé.

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Tuke to inquire the truth ; his answer was that there was no foundation in it. There must, however, be some news stirring, for John Joachim went to the Legate yesterday evening after eight o'clock, and had an interview with him. Some say that Pavia was taken by storm, which he (Praet) thinks impossible ; others say that it surrendered by capitulation ; but unless all the accounts hitherto received from thence are false, it is hard to believe that a city like Pavia can have capitulated. Provisions may have been scarce, but it would be known in the city that the Emperor's army was at hand to introduce succour and have the siege raised.

Signed : " Loys de Praet."

Addressed : " To the Emperor, &c."

French. Original, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. p. 1.

1 Feb. Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III. No. 57.

11. CHARLES DE LANNOY, Viceroy of Naples, to MADAME MARGUERITE, Governess of the Low Countries.

Has duly received her letter of the 19th January, informing him that the King of England was about to send Messire Gregory Casal to Italy for the purpose of having the 50,000 ducats delivered, and also to induce the Holy Father, the Venetians, and others to remain firm in their alliance, and help to the support of this army, so that the French may be expelled (*reboutés*) out of Italy.

This news Madame gives as reported to her, but does not vouch for its truth. All he (Lannoy) can say is, that if the English King had done his duty towards the Emperor, his ally, and remitted sooner his contribution in money, the affairs of Italy would be in a more prosperous state. The Pope would not have made his appointment with the French, and perhaps the Venetians too would have joined this Imperial army.

Has fully informed her how, on the 24th of January last, he (Lannoy) left Loris (Lodi ?) and went to lodge at Marignano (Melegnano), and thence to Vilante, 10 miles from Pavia, in order to take possession of a certain town and castle called Sant Angelo, a very important place on account of provisions. The Marquis of Pescara took charge of the said enterprise, with seven banners of Spanish infantry, and acquitted himself so well that, having arrived before the town on Saturday last, on the ensuing morning he took it by storm, and made the garrison prisoners, consisting of 50 men-at-arms, 200 light horse, and between 300 and 400 foot, chiefly hackbootiers (*haggebutiers*). We intend to-morrow to lodge at four miles from Pavia, and hope to be able to make the enemy raise the siege of that city.

A great misfortune has happened at Genoa, as Madame will see by the letter of Ambassador Soria, of which a copy is

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enclosed. He (Lannoy) has decided to send thither, in great haste, Commander Figouroelle (Figueroa?), with four banners (*enseignes*) of infantry, and another captain who is in that neighbourhood with 500 or 600 foot. Has authorised the said ambassador (Soria) to take whatever money may be required out of the 200,000 which the Emperor is about to remit [from Spain].—Ghisterin, 1st Feb. 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

French. Original. pp. 3.

3 Feb. **12.** Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats. Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 6.

Wrote to the Emperor on the 1st inst. Has just received by the bearer letters from Madame containing duplicate of the capitulation between the Pope and the French, which he encloses.

Went to-day to the Legate to communicate the above and hear his decision respecting his late overtures. The Legate said that the Pope after all was not so much to blame as might be thought at first, since he had taken no offensive steps against any one, and only sought to render his own territory more secure, and this principally in consequence of the imperative and threatening terms in which the Emperor's agents in Italy had addressed him. The Legate, however, owned, that, in his opinion, the Pope had acted thus because he wished to see the French King in possession of Milan, and the Emperor at Naples, so that through their mutual jealousy he might manage them both. The ambassador replied, as before, that this alliance between the Pope and the French King, far from being only a defensive one, as it had been alleged, was thoroughly offensive, since it mostly related to the duchy of Milan, and might eventually affect the Emperor's interests in the kingdom of Naples. That the 3rd article of the treaty by which the Holy Father and the French King engage themselves mutually to defend their persons and possessions was very significant, and that the last but one, inviting other Princes to join the league, was couched in too vague and general terms to be satisfactory. The Legate agreed that the vagueness of the articles was rather suspicious, but he did not think that the mutual defence was meant to extend beyond Italy. As to the invitation made to other Princes to join the league, the Legate said it was out of the question, and that he would never advise the King, his master, or the Emperor, to accept the offer, for it would not lead to peace, which might be brought about in time without any meddling from the Holy Father. To which he (Praet) replied that, in his opinion, the best way for obtaining peace was for the King [of England] to contribute with money towards the support of the Emperor's Italian army. This had been amply done (the Legate said) by Messire Gregory Casale, whose mission, he hoped, would produce good effects, not only at the Imperial

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camp, which he was ordered to visit, but also at Rome, near His Holiness, for whom he had taken letters of credence. Indeed, he added, but for the good offices of the King's ambassador at Rome (Dr. Clerk), the Emperor's affairs would be in a worse plight than they are now. His advice, therefore, was to go on dissembling with the Pope until things were in better train, and, above all, to keep on good terms with the Pope's ambassador here. He (Praet) was to entertain and coax him, without appearing to have any mistrust. In short, though the conference lasted a long time, and the ambassador replied to every one of the Legate's remarks as best he could, yet he was unable to guess what his real sentiments are, for he seemed at one time to disapprove of the Pope's behaviour, and immediately after said that he did not blame him for what he had done, but that he could have acted better: all which is very much in contradiction with the instructions which, he says, have been given to Messire Gregory Casale. Fancies the Legate is very much embarrassed from fear of his past acts and words coming perchance to the King's knowledge, for if they should it will be found out that they have greatly tended to produce the present evils, and perhaps too have been done and said without the King's sanction.

The President of Rouen is still here [in London], but has not yet, according to the Legate's account, entered upon business. However that may be, the President yesterday despatched his third courier [to France], since his arrival 11 or 12 days ago.

The accounts from Pavia, with other small matters, will be communicated to the Emperor by bearer.—London, the 3rd of February 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 3.

5 Feb.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III. No. 58.

13. CHARLES DE LANNOY to MADAME MARGUERITE, Governess of the Low Countries.

Has received her letter of the 22nd Jan., also the copies of the Emperor's letters to his ambassador in England (Praet), and the answer made by the English King through his ambassador at the Imperial court. No news yet about the money which the Emperor has promised to send, and which is much needed, as on the 10th inst. there will be 100,000 ducats due to the infantry alone of this Imperial army.

Movements of the armies.—Left Lucerago* on the 4th, and arrived as this camp, two miles from Pavia, this morning. The French King is at Mirabel. Mons. de la Palisse, with the vanguard and the Switzers, at the monastery (*cloistre*) outside Pavia.† We yesterday detached a company of Spanish

* Thus written in the copy. Bergenroth has Lardirago. See the letter of Lannoy, dated from this place on the 3rd. *Calendar, &c.*, p. 69.

† La Certosa.

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infantry, mostly gunners,* to guard that portion of the Park of Pavia, which is close to our camp, and next to which the enemy has erected a bastion (*bastillon*). After dinner the Marquis [de Pescara], Alarcon, the Marquis of Civita Sant Angelo, and himself (the Viceroy) inspected the avenues to the camp, and came up to the gate of the Park, when the two marquises and Alarcon dismounted and proceeded to reconnoitre the said bastion, with their escort, and took possession of it after slaying some of its defenders, and putting the remainder to flight. On their return to the camp about 4,000 or 5,000 of the enemy came [to the bastion] to regain possession of it and avenge their comrades, but they were repulsed [by the Spaniards] with great loss, principally among the Switzers, of whom there were 5 or 6 banners. A spot has been selected, whither we intend to go to-morrow morning early; so near it is to Mons. de la Palisse that we can offend him with our artillery. It is impossible for us to advance any further unless we enter Pavia. The enemy appears resolved to accept battle, and we accordingly expect to fight it out in a few days.

Chevalier Gregory Casal arrived yesterday, bringing letters from the King of England and Legate, with credence on three different points, the first of which relates to the late expedition to Provence. It was true (say the letters) that the King had been informed that the enterprise of Provence had failed in consequence of his (Lannoy) not having made sufficient provision, but although the report was very generally spread, neither the King nor the Legate had attached any faith to it, knowing how good and affectionate a servant of the Emperor and of them he (Lannoy) was, with plenty other complimentary words of the same kind.

The second point is that the King of England had hitherto avoided, as much as possible, to have anything to do with Italian affairs; but perceiving that if the French ever gained footing in Italy, it would greatly turn out to the Emperor's disadvantage and to his (Lannoy's) disrepute, he now begged that every effort should be made in that quarter, and that we should immediately offer the enemy battle, adding that, the better to ensure success, he had given order that 50,000 ducats which he had at Viterbo should be handed over to him (Lannoy) to distribute among the soldiers.

The third point in the letters brought by Casale is that the King of England has actually requested the Pope to be friendly to the Emperor's cause and his own against the King of France. In case of refusal the said Gregory Casal was to tell him (the Pope) that the King of England will become his enemy and do him all possible injury.†

* Bergenroth's copy in Brit. Mus. Add. 28574 reads *collunteniers*, which I believe to be a mistake for *coulveriniers*, in Spanish *culebrineros*, or men employed in the handling of culverins, a sort of very light artillery used in those times.

† "Il a charge de luy dire des choses jusques à donner à entendre de luy faire le pis qu'il pourra."

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Messire Richart Pace writes from Venice to say he has received orders from England to speak to the Signory and press them to join their forces to those of the Emperor, wherever they may be now.

The 50,000 ducats he (Lannoy) has accepted, and consequently Sir Gregory has written to Rome for them.

Respecting his own personal affairs, has told him (Casale) the truth, as he did on a former occasion at his passage through Ast (Asti).*—At the Camp, two miles from Pavia, 5 Feb. 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

French. Original. pp. 3.

6 Feb. **14.** The Marquis of Pescara to King Henry.

S. E. L. Suelt.

In answer to his message by Messire Gregory Casalis he (the Marquis) can only say that he wishes to serve the Emperor and the King, as he has done hitherto. Their affairs being common he doubts not but that they will assist him in case of need. Desires no other reward for his services than that his goodwill should be made known to the King. Is now encamped two miles from the enemy, and expects to meet him in battle very shortly.—From the Camp, near Pavia, 6th February 1525.

Signed: "El Marques de Pescara."

Addressed: "To His Majesty the King of England."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter from Pescara to King Henry VIII."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

10 Feb. **15.** Charles de Lannoy to M. de Praet.

S. E. L. Suelt.

Wrote last announcing the arrival at the camp of Messire Gregoire de Cassal, who left, however, four days ago. Wants very much the 50,000 ducats [promised by England], as the Pope's agents are getting every day more decided for the French cause. The Imperial Camp is a short mile from Pavia; the French are on the other side of the city, and so close that they can hear at night the cry of the sentries at the outposts. Would already have attacked the enemy, had not their camp being very strongly fortified. On the very day of his [Lannoy's] arrival, Antonio de Leyva sallied forth from the bulwark of San Salvatore, and killed five hundred of the enemy. The said Leyva sent to ask for powder and ammunition, which was forthwith sent to him, and entered Pavia the day before yesterday, at which the French are nowise pleased. Will do all they can to draw the enemy out of his camp and make him fight. Thinks the French will come to trouble if

* "Quant à mon particulier je luy en ay repondu la verité comme j'avoye bien informé le dit Messire Gregoire passant par Ast."

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they do remain in their present position, between the Imperial army and the city of Pavia. Has already inflicted very severe losses upon them, for the Spanish gunners (*culveriniers*) know their craft, and go to work with much ardour.

Has received his letters of the 16th last, and also a copy of that which he (Praet) has written to the Emperor. Asks for further news that he may hear how matters stand in England. —From the Camp close to Pavia, 10 Feb. 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "A Mr. Loys de Flandre, Sieur de Praet, Ambassadeur en Angleterre."

Indorsed: "Copie de la lettre du Viceroy à l'Ambassadeur."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

12 Feb. **16.** The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof. u. Staats. Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 9.

De par l'Empereur, &c.—We now send our Squire Claude de Cilly, bearer of the present, with the enclosed instructions to be strictly observed by you [Louis de Praet], our resident ambassador in England. But besides the matters contained in the said instructions, there is another point upon which We command you to make particular inquiries at that court, and inform us, as soon as possible, of what you may learn about it, that the said Squire de Cilly may bring us an answer on his return.

The point in question is touching our marriage with the Princess [Mary] of England. You must be aware of a rumour being afloat that the Scotch ambassadors in that court have lately proposed a marriage between their young King and the said Princess. We now hear from Italy that a gentleman of the King of England had arrived at the French camp and been in close communication with King [Francis]. It is rumoured that the object of his visit was likewise the Princess's marriage, and that after seeing the King several times, he had been sent back in haste. Now, We command you to ascertain as secretly as you possibly can, and without awakening suspicion, what truth there may be in the said report; and if you should find out that the Scotch ambassadors have in reality made such offers of marriage, to address, conjointly with the said Squire de Cilly, and in the mildest possible form and language, the following remonstrances in our name:—

(*Cipher:*) You will tell the King and Cardinal that, although by the existing treaties the Princess, our future Empress and Catholic Queen, is not to be given away until she has reached the age of twelve, and after we have sent [to England] our ambassadors, with sufficient powers to contract our marriage by words of presence, and after she or her father have sent us a similar embassy, yet the Estates General (*Cortes*) of

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these our kingdoms, and ourselves, are very desirous of seeing the said Princess as soon as possible [in Spain], that she may be nurtured and educated according to the manners of Castille, and learn the language of the inhabitants. As the said Princess, our future wife and Queen, is fast approaching the age of puberty, she might, after the said solemn formalities had been complied with, come to our kingdom, and live among our subjects, whereby our mutual love and affection would be fostered and greatly increased.

You are to ask the King and the Cardinal graciously to grant this our request, assuring them both that We shall esteem it as a great favour on their part, inasmuch as We know well that the King is nowise bound to it by treaty. And this request you are to make in our own name, and in the best manner you possibly can, without awakening their suspicions or letting them know that you are aware of any similar overtures having been made in another quarter. By which means you shall be able to ascertain whether the said King and Cardinal have accepted, or intend to accept, the offers of the Scottish ambassadors; for were it so, We should shape our future conduct so as not to be placed between two fires.

What We write to you is very private and confidential, trusting that you, as our good servant and faithful vassal, will do everything in your power to procure the desired information on this particular, and, when obtained, will transmit it to us by the said Squire de Cilly, who has orders to return as quickly as he can, and bring also despatches from Madame, our aunt.—Madrid, 1st of February 1525.*

P.S.—After the above was written, the Sieur de Rœulx arrived, bringing your letters of the 17th and 22nd November, 2nd of December, 2nd and 9th January, by which, as well as by what the said Sieur du Rœulx has verbally related to us, we have understood the state and condition of affairs in that kingdom, and also the great and very loyal services you are doing us [at that court] whereat we feel very grateful.

As the English ambassador residing at this our court [Dr. Sampson] has lately given us a memorandum of certain offers and proposals made by the King, his master, We have caused an answer to be drawn up, whereof We enclose you a copy, that you may better conduct our affairs in that capital, and reply to any objections that might be made thereupon. Respecting the affairs of France and Scotland, you will do us great service by informing us, as soon as possible, of any new incidents that may come to your knowledge. With regard to the war and to our marriage with the Princess, you shall adhere strictly to your former instructions and to those lately sent by Squire Cilly. You will in fact do whatever you may deem most convenient

* The date in the heading is 12th Feby. 1525.

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and advantageous under the present circumstances and times to keep up and foster the friendly relations now existing between the King of England and ourselves, as well as the strict observance of the treaties by which we are mutually bound.—Date ut supra.

French. Original draft, mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 3.

12 Feb. **17.** The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof.u. Staats. Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 9.

Sends his equerry, Claude de Cilly, to England with these despatches. Needs not enter into particulars, which are contained in the instructions. Louis de Praet must be guided by circumstances. Has full confidence in him. Wishes he could send money, but has found it impossible for the present. Has assigned salaries to his ambassadors, and will send what is due to him (Louis de Praet) as soon as possible. Has another reason for sending Cilly to London besides what is stated in the instructions, namely, that he may obtain a true and categorical answer touching his (the Emperor's) marriage with the daughter of England. He (Louis de Praet) must know the report in circulation, viz., that a marriage between the Princess and the young King of Scotland is in contemplation. Has heard by a letter from Italy that a nobleman bearing important despatches, on the subject of this marriage it is said, from the King of England to the King of France, had arrived in the French camp, and returned in all haste to England. Wishes him (Louis de Praet), therefore, to do all he can, without exciting suspicion, to find out whether there is really any foundation for such reports. Should there be any, the Emperor wishes Louis de Praet and Cilly, carefully concealing any suspicions they may have, to represent in his (the Emperor's) name to the King and Legate that "*though by treaty the Princess, future Empress, and Catholic Queen, is not to be given away to the Emperor before attaining the age of twelve and after his (the Emperor's) ambassador has arrived in England with full powers to contract by proxy the marriage between him and the Princess, and after the King's ambassadors have been sent to Spain for the same purpose; yet that the Estates of his (the Emperor's) dominions and himself being so greatly desirous to have the Princess sooner among them, especially now that she is approaching her twelfth year, and "can be solemnly affianced by proxy," that the Princess may be early acquainted with the manners and customs of Castille, for the strengthening of the love between the Princess and himself, "prays the King and Legate to grant this his request, and inasmuch as this will be an act of favour and not of

* The whole of this paragraph between asterisks is in Gattinara's hand. Upon the whole this minute is but a duplicate, with additions and corrections, of the preceding one.

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obligation, he (the Emperor) will be more than ever bound to them (the King and Legate)," desiring nothing more than to observe faithfully all his treaties with England.

This proposal must be placed in the most favourable light possible, and the answer reported to him (the Emperor) by Cilly on his return to Spain. By this means it will clearly be perceived whether there is any wish for the marriage with Scotland, for should there be such a wish, he (the Emperor) must at once look to himself, as the King has done, or else he may, placed between two stools, fall to the ground (*pour non demourer entre deux selles*). Wishes his ambassador to write very fully to him, and to see that Cilly returns as soon as possible and brings the letters from Flanders.

Postscriptum.—Since writing the above has received the letters sent by the Seigneur du Reux, who has fully informed him of the state of affairs in England, and of Louis de Praet's zeal and loyalty, for which the Emperor heartily thanks him.

Encloses for Louis de Praet's guidance the English ambassador's proposals in the King's name, and his (the Emperor's) answers.

Wishes Louis de Praet to keep himself "au courant," of the affairs of France and Scotland, and inform him (the Emperor) of them, to carry out the instructions given to Cilly touching the war and the marriage, and to cement, as firmly as possible, the friendship between the King of England and himself. Trusts entirely to his (Louis de Praet's) judgment.—Given at Madrid, February 12, 1525.

Addressed: "A l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre."

French. Minute. pp. 3.

21 Feb.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III. No. 59, f. 9.

18. CHARLES DE LANNOY to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

Has written on the 10th and 18th inst. No letters from the Emperor; no news either of the 100,000 ducats he was to remit, or of the money which Gregory Casal was to send from Rome. The army is in great want. Three months' pay is owing to the Spanish infantry; to the Germans one month on the 25th inst. Has found means of distributing half a gold florin to each man, and promised another half for to-morrow, but whence this is to come is more than he (Lannoy) can say.

Last Saturday, after dinner, the garrison of Pavia made a sally. Jennyn (Giovannino) de Medicis with his company went out to skirmish against them, but was beaten back with loss. The said Jennyn received a hackbut shot, which disabled him. He is said to be badly wounded, and has applied for a safe-conduct to go to Piacenza by water.

The French King has fortified his camp, and we hear from prisoners, and by intercepted letters also, that he has been

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advised not to offer or accept battle, but to remain in his strong position until we are compelled, from want of money, to break up our camp. In consequence whereof, and perceiving that whatever we did, we could not force him out of his entrenchments, yesterday, early in the morning, 2,000 Spanish infantry, divided into three columns, attacked the enemy's camp, took one of their bastions, and penetrated over the trenches into it, slaying 500 of them, and taking 1,000 or 1,500 prisoners. They took also part of the enemy's artillery, nine guns, slaying all those who served them, and, among others, the Sieur de Susanne, lieutenant of the master of the artillery, and a nephew of the Seneschal d'Armagnac. No more prisoners were taken on this occasion, because our men gave no quarter. Some of our Spaniards penetrated into a large tent (*grand pavilion*), where they slew fifty or sixty men. The name of the owner has not yet been ascertained, but he must have been a prince or some person of great rank, for the tent (they say) was full of silver and gold vessels, cups, flasks, and so forth. The Marquis of Pescara, who was at the time over the trenches, told his trumpeters to sound the signal for retreat, and our men came back to the camp.

Yesterday evening we gave them another alarm with 1,000 hackbutiers (*collubreniers*) by two different sides. Does not know yet what loss we have inflicted on the enemy, but it must be considerable. No opportunity is lost of causing the enemy injury, and if we had only money to engage pioneers, which we have not, makes no doubt we should already have forced the French King in his entrenched camp.

Lodewick Palvesin (Luigi Pallavicino), who had taken service with the King of France, came the other day to the district of Cremona with 2,000 foot and 200 light horse. When the Duke of Milan heard of it he sent against him an equal force, which defeated him and slew 300 of his men. Palvesin (Pallavicino) then retreated to a town called Casalmajore in the Cremonese, but the Duke having again sent against him Messire Alexandre de Bentivoille (Alessandro Bentivoglio), with the garrison of Cremona and three guns, Casalmajore had been taken by storm, and the whole garrison, including the commander and himself, made prisoners of war; a good piece of news for this army, whose provisions might have been cut off had the enemy gained a footing in the Cremonese.

About this time Julle (Julio) di Capua, who is governor of Alessandria, hearing that 17 banners of Italian infantry in the service of France were quartered at a village called Castras,* he went thither, defeated them, slew many, and made the rest prisoners.

* Near Bosco, not far from Alessandria, as stated in a letter of the Abbot of Najera to the Emperor, of the 3rd Feb., abstracted by Bergenroth, *Calendar, &c.*, Vol. II., p. 697.

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The Duke of Albany (John Stuart), after collecting some forces at Ponte-Couronne (Ponte-Coronna) in the land of the Orsini, is gone to Rome with a slender escort, in order there to have an interview with His Holiness. The enterprise of Naples, on which he (the Duke) is intent, is full of danger for that kingdom, deprived as we are of means to succour it, and, indeed, of resources of all kinds. There is no other road open for us than try a battle, however to our disadvantage it may be.—From the Imperial Camp near Pavia, 21 Feb. 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lanoy."

24 Feb. **19.** GEORGE DE FRANSBERGH,* Captain General of the Lanskennets, to FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III. No. 157.

Account of the battle of Pavia, followed by a list of the slain and prisoners among the French nobility.—Dated Pavia, 24 Feb. 1525.

French. Copy executed in 1786 *by a clerk in the Archives named Wynants.*

25 Feb. **20.** LOUIS DE PRAET, Imperial Ambassador in London, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 15.

Has written several times, the last by Richard, and by a gentleman of the Archduke Ferdinand, named Meneses. Fancies that this time, at least, his letters have crossed the sea and reached their destination.

On Sunday the 12th inst. one of the agents of the Fouchers (Fuggers) arrived in London; he left the same day in the afternoon for Bristol or Plemua (Plymouth), intending to embark for Spain; and was also the bearer of a letter of his (Praet's) advising news up to that date.

It happened, however, that on the very day of the agent's departure, he (Praet) called on the Cardinal, who gave him all manner of good and rejoicing news.† Owing to which circumstance the ambassador thought of again writing a few words, which he did, sending an express with the letter to overtake Fugger's agent on the road. After journeying all night, the ambassador's man was stopped by the servants of Maistre Moore, who taking away from him the packet of

* The name of this captain is so variously written in the State Papers of the time as to render it very difficult to ascertain its true spelling and pronunciation, some authors giving it as Fransperg, Frensberg, Frendsperg, Freundsberg, or Fronsperg, whilst Bergenroth, himself a German, writes *Frundsberg*. Dr. Lanz, in his *Correspondenz des Kaiser Karl V.* (Leipzig, 1844), frequently has *Wranspergh*. I should have hesitated in adopting any of the above readings had I not found in the Archives of Simancas a Latin letter of that celebrated captain of the German lansquenets at Pavia, addressed to the Emperor, and dated 19 Sept. 1527, in which he signs: *Georgius a Fruntsperg*. This, in my opinion, dispels all doubts as to his real name; although, on the other hand, it will be observed that many of the personages whose letters are abstracted in the present volume signed their names in two and even three different ways.

† "Qui me compta tout plain de bonnes nouvelles." Those of the victory at Pavia (24th of Feb. 1525), did not reach London until the 9th of March, and therefore those contained in Pace's letter of the 11th of February must be meant. *See* Brewer, Letters and Papers, &c. vol. iv., pp. 508 and 542.

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letters, conducted the bearer to that functionary's lodgings. This was on Monday morning; Moore was still in bed, and the packet of letters, closed and sealed, was delivered into his hands in the very presence of the man who was in charge of them. Though the said Moore knew that the letters were written by him [Praet], as the messenger told him, and moreover saw by the superscription that they were addressed to His Imperial Majesty, he, notwithstanding, bid the man not to stir from the house, and went off immediately to the Legate's apartments, where the said packet was unsealed and its contents read. There happened to be among the letters a confidential and private one for Mons. de Bouclans (Jean Lallemand), wherein the ambassador spoke about the Legate and censured some of his doings; which he (the Cardinal) opened and read, as well as other letters to Mons. de Hoochstraete* and Treasurer Marnix,† which the ambassador had that very morning forwarded to Brian Tuke, the postmaster-general, for transmission to Flanders. On the inspection of which letters the Legate immediately sent an express after the said agent of the Fuggers, forbidding his passage, with express orders to all the ports and harbours of this kingdom not to allow him or any other courier of the ambassadors to cross over to Flanders. He (Praet) has reason to fear the said agent has been stopped on the way, and the packet of letters taken from him; but hopes to God that both Richard and Meneses, who also took despatches, have long before this reached their destination.

To excuse and colour his acts the Legate pretends that immediately after the arrest of the messenger and seizure of the letters by the servants of Moore, the packet was opened and its contents examined by them; when finding that the letter addressed to Mons. de Bouclans contained certain calumniating expressions about the Legate, they, of their own accord, submitted the whole to Moore's inspection, who called immediately on the Legate and reported on the affair. His Imperial Majesty may judge whether a similar story can have any foundation. Even if it were true, those who did the trick ought to have been severely punished for it, and the letters returned to the ambassador with proper apologies. Nor was there any excuse for opening the other letters, which the ambassador, as above stated, was sending to Madame through the postmaster-general, Briantuck (Brian Tuke). The affair passed as the ambassador has just related, and the man himself declared, in the presence of three witnesses, all of them subjects of His Imperial Majesty, summoned for the purpose, that they may give evidence in case the courier, who is an Englishmen by birth, should hereafter deny the facts.

* Antoine de Lalaing or la Laing, Seigneur de Montigny, and Count de Hoochstraeten, Knight of the Golden Fleece and Chef des Finances des Pays Bas.
† Jean de Marnix, Seigneur de Thoulouse, treasurer of Margaret of Austria.

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Before he (Praet) knew anything of this matter, the said Legate sent for him on the ensuing Wednesday,* when, in the presence of the Duke of Nortfock (Norfolk), of the Marquis [of Dorset], of the Bishop of London (Tunstall), and of the said Masters Moore and Briantuck (Brian Tuke), he exhibited the said packet of letters unsealed and open, and said in a very angry tone : " Monsieur l'ambassadeur, albeit you have behaved most shamefully to me, I shall not alter my conduct towards the Emperor, and will take the same interest as before in his affairs." The ambassador's answer was he had no idea that reporting faithfully to Madame and to her councillors what he thought about him (the Legate) and pending affairs, could be considered a crime, especially when his duty was to promote, by all means in his power, the Imperial interests. And he proceeded to remind him of the conversations they had had together for the last eight or ten months concerning Jean Jockin's practices and several other matters ; telling him besides, as he had previously informed Mons. de Hoochstraete, that he had no objection to state in writing his reasons for doubting his (the Legate's) sincerity. He would, with the Emperor's permission, address a memorandum to the King [of England] showing how the Legate's late practices and deeds had done considerable damage to the Emperor, and were the cause of the difficulties raised in the estate of Milan.

Upon which, and after a good deal of talking and disputing, the Cardinal ended by owning he had done most of what the ambassador imputed to him, though it was out of zeal and affection for the Emperor. But since he (Praet) was so bad an interpreter of his deeds and sentiments, he would take the earliest opportunity to write to His Imperial Majesty, offering his excuses and asking for the punishment of those who had so offended him ; at the same time commanding the ambassador never to appear again in the King's presence or his own ; and not write to the Emperor or to Madame.

(*Cipher :*) By what precedes His Imperial Majesty will be able to judge whether the Cardinal's intentions and designs have been for a long time as good as he professes. In the ambassador's opinion he has tried, by using very bad language and heaping all sorts of injuries on his (Praet's) person, to make him say or write things which might furnish occasion to injure the Imperial cause. This he has been unable to obtain, the ambassador having always replied modestly and in courteous terms to his injurious reproaches. By opening and reading the ambassador's letters he has tried to discover some expression or sentiment which might afford him good footing for his plans ; whence it will be seen that the ambassador's suspicions, often expressed in his correspondence, that both the Cardinal and Briantucke opened and read his despatches to the

* Perhaps a mistake for *Tuesday*. *See* above.

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Emperor, as well as Madame's letters to him, are not without foundation.

Great injury has been done to the Emperor's honour and reputation by such an act. For a thousand years past there is no instance on record of ambassadors of allied and friendly Princes having their correspondence violated and divulged, much less of their being forbidden to write to their Kings and masters. For one of the first clauses inserted in a treaty of alliance, such as Princes are in the habit of making between themselves, prescribes that their correspondence and that of their ambassadors should be respected; without which mutual obligation all such treaties would fall to the ground, and the contracting parties lose all confidence in each other.

He (Praet) cannot say for certain whence comes the blow aimed at his person. It may proceed from people who bear him no goodwill without his having done anything to deserve it. Whoever may be the originators of it, there can be no doubt that they have done greater injury to His Imperial Majesty than to himself. Indeed it might be fairly presumed, as before stated, that the Cardinal had done all this in the hope of finding in the intercepted correspondence some expression or fact which would enable him to play the Emperor a bad trick, since he is known to have been, and is still, in treaty with the French.

The Cardinal has no doubt forwarded to the English ambassador at the Imperial court copies of the intercepted letters, thereby to ruin, if he can, De Praet's reputation. Most likely he has also prevailed upon this King to write in his own favour and against the ambassador. Hopes the Emperor will do justice to his motives, and will not allow his faithful servant and vassal to be thus overruled and ill-treated, as this would be a bad example to those who after him had the charge of ambassador. Besides which, Christian Princes,—among whom the Cardinal's unjustifiable act is already becoming known,—are pricking up their ears to hear how His Imperial Majesty will take this affront made to his ambassador, in order to shape their conduct accordingly, and do as the Cardinal has done without incurring the Emperor's indignation.

Even now the Cardinal insists upon the ambassador not writing home or to Flanders without his reading first what he has to say in his own defence, a most unwarrantable condition, to which the ambassador has not thought proper to submit, as it would have been highly dishonourable for the Emperor. Besides which it is certain that if the Cardinal saw in the said letters anything he dislikes, he would stop them, and he (Praet) would never have an opportunity to disclose and reveal the motives of the Cardinal's extraordinary conduct in this affair. But so little afraid is the ambassador of his sentiments being made known, that he begs His Imperial Majesty, if necessary, to send the Cardinal a copy of this despatch.

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The ambassador has likewise been prevented from seeing the King, who, without hearing his excuses, has undoubtedly been persuaded to write against him. He (Praet) humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to recall him as soon as possible to his presence, under good guard and escort, that he may verbally relate many things he has to say, and which cannot be put on paper, as they refer to others who are also good servants of the Emperor. After hearing which, if His Imperial Majesty finds that he (Praet) deserves death, or any other punishment, whatever it may be, he will submit and bear it patiently, as the case demands, he being the Emperor's natural subject. If, on the contrary, as he (Praet) has reason to hope, His Majesty finds nothing reprehensible in his conduct, and that he has acted as a loyal and faithful servant, he begs for the continuance of the Imperial favours, and that his honour be saved from blemish, since the seizure of his letters cannot in any way be attributed to imprudence or neglect on his part.

This request of the ambassador the King and Cardinal cannot well refuse; yet, for greater security, His Imperial Majesty would do well to retain and keep the person of the English ambassador at his court until he (Praet) should be allowed to proceed on his journey home. Madame also ought to be written to do the same with the one accredited near her, and with Maistre Pace, now residing in Germany. He (Praet) will write, if he finds an opportunity, and acquaint her with the whole affair.

Certainly whoever will reflect on the discourses which the said Cardinal and many others have often held about the Emperor, about Monseigneur [the Archduke Ferdinand], his brother,* and about Madame herself and the members of her Privy Council; whoever will examine the reports drawn up by the English ambassadors respecting His Imperial Majesty and the above-mentioned personages will surely conclude that the warnings and cautions he (Praet) has given, and the doubts and suspicions he has expressed, are all founded upon fact, as he will be able to prove in due time. His would be, indeed, a very dangerous office to fill, if ambassadors were precluded from writing to their own masters and Kings, or to those about their persons, what they heard and saw at foreign courts, giving occasional advice, according to conscience.

There are three things, however, which cause the ambassador greater annoyance than any harm done to his own person. One is the injury inflicted upon the Emperor's honour and reputation, which is of such nature that there is no record in history of a similar one for upwards of one thousand years.

* "Et certes qui regardera bien les propos que le dit Cardenal et plusieurs autres ont tenu de vous, de monseigneur *votre fils*, de Madame et de la pluspart de votre conseil," etc. In this passage *fils* is undoubtedly a mistake for *frère*, as the Emperor, who was only 25 years old at the time, was not yet married; no doubt his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, is meant.

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The second is that the ambassadors of France here residing have been fully informed of the whole affair, and will not fail to make their profit by writing thereupon to the King their master, who will communicate it to the Pope and to the rest of the Italian powers. To make his case better (he, the King of France,) will probably assert that the measures adopted by the Cardinal were directed, not so much against the ambassador himself, as against His Imperial Majesty, out of the mistrust these people have in him. He (the King) will have no difficulty in persuading his friends to that, since the appearances are so strong in his favour. When the Sieur de Beaurain last passed through this kingdom, without seeing this King, Jean Jocquin immediately spread the rumour throughout France and Italy that it was entirely owing to the King refusing to see him.

The third cause for annoyance, and that which vexes him most, is that this King has thereby cast an indelible spot on his reputation, and will lose his credit with the other princes of Christendom; for the truth of the matter is that he [King Henry] bears great affection to His Imperial Majesty, and hates the French, his natural enemies, as he (Praet) has often written home; and though he may occasionally have spoken about the Emperor in angry terms, is upon the whole well inclined towards him, and would have acted otherwise had he not been ill-advised [by the Cardinal], and had the ambassador been able to report on certain matters according to truth.*

His Imperial Majesty knows the ins and outs of the whole affair much better than he (Praet) can describe, and therefore there is no need for him to dwell any longer on the subject. The whole business lies at the Emperor's pleasure and discretion; for if the Cardinal's purposes, words, and acts, as detailed in some of the ambassador's letters, and briefly explained in the enclosed memorandum; if those about which Mons. de Beaurain cannot fail to have reported to His Imperial Majesty, and many more which he (Praet) intends to disclose, when in the Emperor's presence in Spain, do not appear a sufficient ground for an ambassador and loyal servant to form a judgment and express his opinion about the said Cardinal, in the manner he has done in his private letters to Mons. de Hoostrate (Hoochstraten) and Mons. de Bouclans; in that case he (Praet) is ready to confess he has done wrong, which is the point the Cardinal most insists upon, since the Cardinal evidently prefers matters going in that direction to having the affair properly investigated and discussed. So much so, that the other day he, of his own accord, said to the Pope's ambassador at this court, that if he (Praet) would only retract his words, he (the Cardinal) should be satisfied and matters might remain as they were formerly. He evidently is sorry for what he has done, but nevertheless

* "Par faulte que ne l'ay peu advertir des choses à la verité."

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the ambassador, happen what may, will not retract any one of his words and sentiments about him, unless His Imperial Majesty, after mature consideration of the reasons and motives above stated, decide that he is in the wrong; in which case he will offer no opposition, but will make any apologies required, since it is but just and proper that the Emperor's pleasure, not his own, should be done in an affair of this kind. He (Praet) has every reason to expect that the Emperor, unless his views and opinions are totally changed of late, will pronounce judgment in his favour. It might still happen that the Emperor, though approving of his ambassador's conduct in this affair, would like to dissemble for a time with the Cardinal, in order to gain his point; in which case the best thing to do, in his opinion, is to recall the ambassador, under the plea that he (the Emperor) wants to hear from his own mouth the reasons he may have had to express such opinions. He (Praet) will bear with patience the Emperor's decision, and do anything he is ordered, provided no blemish is cast upon his honour, which is the only thing he prizes more than his life.

(*Common writing:*) Begs His Imperial Majesty to take the above sentiments of his faithful servant in good part, as dictated by his affection and zeal for the Imperial cause. —London, 25th February 1525.

Addressed: "To His most Sacred Imperial Majesty."

French. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 10.

25 Feb. Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 35.

21. CHARLES DE LANNOY, Viceroy of Naples, to the EMPEROR.

The King of France has spoken from his prison, and shows great confidence in the Emperor's magnanimity, as Commander Peñalosa has by him been entrusted to represent in his name. His Imperial Majesty ought to thank God for thus having his enemy under his power. He (Lannoy) will keep good guard on the prisoner. Begs and entreats the Emperor to make haste about his coronation, and send him instructions through Peñalosa how to act.

The Marquis [de Pescara] has done so much service on the occasion that he well deserves the Emperor's munificence. Begs that the estate of Carpi be bestowed upon him, since its late lord [Alberto Pio] has behaved so shamefully. If he (Lannoy) can only lay his hands on the traitor he will be locked up in a place of safety, where he can no longer do mischief.

The son of the late King of Navarre is a prisoner in the Marquis' hands. If His Imperial Majesty be pleased to have him ransomed, the Marquis will profit by the price, which must be considerable. If otherwise, a proportionate reward ought to be given to him by way of indemnity.

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Novi might so be granted as a fief to Antonio de Leyva, who has served on this occasion as usual. It is a small town within the territory of Genoa, which the Duke of Milan and the Doge claim equally as their own. By giving it to Leyva, with a title of marquis, all disputes would be at an end.

With regard to Alarcon there is every reason for the Emperor to do him honour and reward him for his services. As through the rebellion of Camillo Oussine (Orsino) the whole valley of Trenta, in the Brussa? has become Crown land, it might be granted to him as a fief, since the estate is not a large one and only yields 800 ducats per annum, out of which he [Alarcon] will have to pay the expenses of three [unmarried] sisters. Something else might be added with a larger revenue, such as an *encomienda* of Santiago, or some such office as His Imperial Majesty might be pleased to confer on him.

The Abbot of Najera has done his duty. He might be remunerated with the bishopric of Mondoñedo, now vacant at Rome by the death of its late holder.

Commander Pinaloze (Peñalosa) has served well for a long time. If the company [of light horse] vacant by the death of the Marquis of Civita Sant Angelo be not given to his brother the Marquis de la Toyalda, as it is but just that it should, since Sant Angelo died in the Emperor's service, he (the Viceroy) begs to propose and recommend for the vacant post the said Commander Peñalosa.

George Fransberg (Fruntsperg), Marc Sitig, and Count Salme have equally well behaved on the occasion, and are well deserving that the Emperor should write to them letters of commendation and approval.—Pavia, 25th Feb. 1525.*

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "A sa Majesté de l'Empereur Roi d'Espagne."

French. Copy. pp. 2.

25 Feb. **22.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Wrote yesterday (the 24th Feb.) advising the victory and the capture of the French King, who was made a prisoner with two slight wounds in his face, as it was believed at first by all those who were close to him and saw the blood drop, but in reality with no wounds at all, save a contusion in the leg, and a mere scratch between the fingers of his hand. The Marquis of Civita Sant Angelo has been found to-day among the dead, with several slight wounds, and a tremendous gash in the face caused by a spear or double-edged sword. Most likely he forgot to put down his vizor whilst charging. He

* The original of this letter was published by Lanz, "*Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V.*," Leipzig, 1844, vol. I., p. 152. Another letter of Lannoy to the Emperor written, probably, on the very day of the battle, is in the same volume, p. 150.

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was a very valiant knight, and a good servant of His Imperial Majesty.

Commander Peñalosa takes the list of the dead and wounded among the most important of the enemy, and will besides relate the particulars of the battle, at which he was present. The King has given him a safe-conduct to pass through France, accompanied by one of his gentlemen, and has also permitted that Don Ugo de Moncada, who was a prisoner at Saluzzo, should come here on parole.

The King shall be kept under a strong guard either at this castle [of Pavia], or in a small but very strong tower, called Pecignyton (Pizzighitone) on the banks of the Ada, between Lodi and Carmona (Cremona). The other prisoners of importance, whom the Viceroy is now trying to recover for a suitable consideration from the parties who took them, will be destined to various fortresses. It is for His Imperial Majesty to decide what is to be done with them, and what with the kingdom of France, which is entirely at our mercy, having lost its King and all its nobility.

Has received the Imperial letter dated the 10th January, and is very much astonished to hear that some of his (the Abbot's) have not reached their destination. They must have been lost at sea.

Remittances have arrived to the amount of 100,000 ducats in very good time, though the sum is insufficient to pay the arrears due to the garrison of Pavia and to the rest of the army.

The letters which His Imperial Majesty has lately written to the Pope and to the various Italian Princes will, he has no doubt, be of some avail now that God has been pleased to grant him such a signal victory. That portion of the enemy's army that was at Milan evacuated the city, and went to cross the Tessino (Ticino) at the highest point they could towards Novara. Immediately after the citizens [of Milan] went up to the castle in great glee, and made their allegiance to the governor. Hieronymo Morone is also gone thither to-day, for the purpose of attending to the government of the city.—Castle of Pavia, 25th Feb. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Pavia. From the Abbot of Najera. 25th of February."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

26 Feb. **23.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador at Rome, to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. 1. Hist. d. Esp.

Congratulates him on the victory of Pavia, the news of which was communicated to him (Sessa) by the Pope himself,

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with the greatest possible satisfaction and contentment. No time is to be lost, but there [in Spain] as well as in England, the greatest efforts must be made to ensure success. The experience of the past shows how matters ought to be conducted at present. He (Sessa) will use all his influence with the Pope, and will not fail to advise of anything that occurs in the meantime. As to the Duke of Albany, he shall, if he comes, meet with a proper reception.—Rome, 26th of February 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Duke of Sessa. 25th February."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

2 March. **24.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. Ga. a. 1. Hist. d. Esp.

Wrote on the 27th by way of Monago (Monaco), announcing the most signal victory obtained by the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) on the 24th, the details of which, as well as the list of killed and wounded, and prisoners among the French nobility, Commander Peñalosa took through France to Spain. Many thanks be given to God, and to the glorious Apostle St. Mathias, on whose festival this great battle was fought, and His Imperial Majesty born!

Through this victory His Majesty will be enabled at once to settle the matters of Christianity, and give the law to the whole world, so that God's service may be done, and all Christians live at peace with each other. His Imperial Majesty must nevertheless take possession of Marseilles, because, in so doing, the corsairs and sea-robbers who take refuge in that port shall no longer scour the Mediterranean. In the meantime orders might be sent to the mother of the French King and to her Council not to allow any vessels to cruise in sight of the coast of Provence, for there is every reason to think that the French fleet will soon break up, and, if not disarmed, its vessels might be manned by corsairs likely to do great injury to the Spanish trade.

All Italy holds it as certain that His Imperial Majesty will come this summer to be crowned, as there can now be no obstacle to his journey by land or by sea. Should the Emperor decide upon taking a sea route, a certain number of caracks can soon be fitted out at this port (Genoa), besides which he (Soria) has received orders from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) to get the Imperial galleys and those of Genoa ready.

Has that very day forwarded to the Viceroy 25,000 ducats out of the 100,000 lately remitted from Spain in bills, and Stephano Grimaldo has promised besides to advance the 25,000 more upon the second instalment.

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(*Cipher:*) Although this Doge and Community [of Genoa] have served well, and spent considerable sums of money during this war, yet they have not upon the whole behaved as they ought towards His Imperial Majesty's faithful servants and ministers. For whilst victory was still uncertain, and they themselves under the Emperor's protection, they are known to have treated with the King of France, and contemplated the union of the Adorni and Fregosi factions under a new republican government, all of which was done or attempted without His Majesty's consent or the advice of his ministers. They have, moreover, concluded a truce with the French King without previously informing the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] or him (Soria) of it, for the sole purpose, as it is understood, of improving their own private affairs. Respecting their plans of interior government the ambassador at first thought it fit to dissemble, and seemed almost to approve of their secret dealings; for, after all, were the proposed fusion of parties to be accomplished, it might prove beneficial to the Imperial cause. Such was the ambassador's view of the affair at the time, as he had occasion to write to the Viceroy, but since then has come to the conclusion that the said fusion is impracticable, considering the turbulent and factious spirit of these citizens, when divided by their feuds and partialities.

He (Soria) mentions the above facts that His Imperial Majesty may know what has lately occurred, and how far the people of this city may be depended upon. As far as the Doge is concerned, the ambassador believes his intentions to be good, and himself well-disposed towards the Imperial cause; but he is in bad health, and surrounded by people who are anything but friendly to the Emperor. In this way he has often listened to their exhortations, and tolerated the secret negotiations above alluded to, rather, perhaps, with a view to gain time and maintain himself as long as he could in the Imperial service than with any positive intention of deserting it, though many people in this city and near his person are known to be of a contrary opinion, and, as above stated, to have continually urged him to declare for the French.

(*Common writing:*) The Viceroy has written to him (Soria) to negotiate with Andrea Doria, if he will enter the Emperor's service with his galleys, and on what conditions. Has spoken on the subject to one of Doria's relatives now at Genoa, and will advise as soon as his answer is known.

The French fleet sailed yesterday bound for the coast of Romania, there to take on board most of the troops under the Duke of Albany, and convey them to France. Such, at least, appears to be their avowed intention. He (Soria) thinks the fleet is bound for Marseilles.

The King of France has written to the Marquis of Saluzzo, bidding him to set Don Ugo de Moncada at liberty, and let

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him go wherever the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) may be at present; but the Marquis has answered that a brother of his, taken prisoner at Pavia, must be released first.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope and the rest of the Italian powers are afraid that His Imperial Majesty may show resentment at their late conduct, and wish to chastise for their misdeeds. He (Soria) tells them that His Imperial Majesty will forget and forgive every offence and say to them, *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia.* It would be advisable that all the Imperial ministers and agents in Italy should dissemble and use a similar language, but he hears they do not.—Genoa, 2nd of March 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Genoa. Lope de Soria. 2nd of March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

2 March. **25.** Cardinal Colonna to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1553, f. 142.

Congratulates him upon the victory just obtained over the French. So does His Holiness the Pope, who as Vicar of Christ on the earth, ought not to rejoice at the defeat of a Christian King and the inevitable destruction (*strage*) of so many thousands of Christians; and yet such has been his joy at hearing the news, that it may plainly be observed on his countenance. He (the Pope) sincerely hopes that so signal a victory will be the harbinger of peace, and that the Christian Princes, with the Emperor at their head, will soon undertake a campaign against the infidel.—Rome, 2 March 1525.

Signed: "Pom. [peius] Cardinalis Columnensis Vicecancellarius."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ ac Invictissimæ Cæsareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "Al Rey. 1526. Del Cardenal Colonna."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2½.

3 March. **26.** Francesco Sforza [Duke of Milan] to the Emperor.

S. L. 1553, f. 146.

Congratulations on the victory of Pavia.—Milan, 3 March 1526.

Signed: "Francesco Sforza."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesareæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "Del Duque de Milan. 1525."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

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5 March. S. Var. De.

27. The DEMANDS made by the EMPEROR to the KING OF FRANCE.

The following are the conditions demanded by the Emperor :—1. The duchy of Burgundy. 2. The counties of Vermandois and Boulogne, the River Somme, and the *ressort* of Flanders. 3. The renunciation of all the rights he may have to the duchy of Milan, besides his Neapolitan pension. 4. The surrender to the King of England of the duchies of Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony, with the *levées*.

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

[7] March. Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Pap. d'Etat-Neg. d'Ang.*, Vol. I., f. 32.

28. The VINDICATION of the ENGLISH.*

In order that too long a silence may not disturb the sincere friendship and good understanding existing between His Imperial Majesty and the King of England, his faithful ally, the following statement of facts concerning the accidental arrest of one of the Imperial ambassador's servants and consequent seizure of the letters whereof he was the bearer, is now submitted to the Emperor's consideration. It is well known that very often, and for the greater security of the citizens of this town, patrols are sent out to walk the streets in search of burglars, thieves, and other criminals who generally come out in the hours of darkness.

On the 8th of February last a general watch and patrol of this sort was ordered for the 11th.† On the preceding day the most Reverend Cardinal [of York] sent for M. de Praet, Imperial ambassador at this court, as he wished not only to impart and communicate to him, in the presence of most of the King's councillors, the good news he had just received from Italy through the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, Maître Pace, and others who had written to him, but also to talk over and discuss with the said ambassador the affairs of His Imperial Majesty and of the King, his master, and devise means to forward the same to their common honour and profit. The conference took place accordingly, and Mons. de Praet, after warmly thanking the Cardinal for his good intentions and for the interest he showed in the Emperor's affairs, took his leave and went away, apparently much satisfied with his reception, and pleased with what he had heard.

On the night of the 11th, close upon the hour of twelve, a man on horseback‡ endeavoured to cross the line of patrolling watchmen, by whom he was at once arrested. Being asked who he was, and what his business could be at that late hour of

* This memorandum, entitled "Justification des Anglais," bears no date, but must have been sent to Spain and the Low Countries soon after the occurrence and Praet's despatch on the subject. *See* above, No. 20.

† It will be observed that there is a slight difference as to dates, &c. between this statement and De Praet's letter of the 25th February. *See* above, No. 20, p. 50.

‡ "Riding after midnight to Bryneford." *See* Knight's letter to Wolsey, ibid, p. 508.

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night, he answered hesitatingly,—as if conscious of his guilt,—that there was no one among those present who could bring a real charge against him; which evasive answer having naturally raised the suspicions of the watchmen, he was immediately searched, when a packet of letters bearing an address in French, was found on him. Not knowing the French language, and thinking the man might be a spy, the watchmen opened the packet and handed it over to one of their comrades who happened to be a clerk (ecrivain), that he might say what was inside. Finding the contents of the packet to be written almost entirely in cipher, of which he knew nothing, the clerk passed the papers over to an advocate* who was close by in another patrol. The advocate, however, was not better acquainted than the clerk himself with the secrets of diplomacy or the affairs of Princes, and, therefore, the packet was forthwith sent to Maître Thomas Morus (Moore), the King's councillor, who chanced to form part of another patrol a little further off. Maître Moore saw at once that the packet was addressed to His Imperial Majesty by his ambassador residing at this court; but observing that the seals had been broken and the letters read or very much tumbled, he kept them by him until the next morning early, when he placed them in the hands of the most Reverend Cardinal [of York]. The letters being, as before stated, unsealed and opened, the Cardinal had no scruple in perusing them, when, to his great astonishment, he found their contents to be the most absurd, false, and malicious reports that could be imagined about his own person, thus confirming the many warnings which he (the Cardinal) has from time to time received respecting the person of the said ambassador (Mons. de Praet), who has been represented to him as a wicked and treacherous man, always prone to do mischief, and by false and calumnious accounts to spread dissension and mistrust between Princes so closely united as the Emperor and King are. Finding, however, by the perusal of the said letters to the Emperor that the ambassador had sent others the day before, through an agent of the Fulquers (Fuggers), and not expecting to be better treated in them than he was in those he had before him, the Cardinal gave orders for the said letters to be also seized. For the first batch having been intercepted owing to a fortuitous accident, or rather to an act of Divine Providence, and the ambassador's wicked intentions having thus become manifest, it was desirable to lay hold of the second, in order the better to discover the secret of the ambassador's blameable behaviour, that Princes so closely allied to each other, as the Emperor and the King of England are, might guard against the insidious acts of so wicked a personage, and that the machinations originated in his hot brain might never disturb so sacred a union, now stronger than ever. No

* Said elsewhere to have been a King's solicitor. *See* Knight's letter in Brewer, vol. 4th, p. 508.

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greater injury indeed could be done to the King of England than to presume or hint that the alliance and friendship so firmly established between the two said Majesties, and which is the only one the King maintains, and is daily trying to increase, can be anything but true and sincere.

The most Reverend Cardinal having, by the perusal of the said letters, discovered the ambassador's malicious intentions and practices, has deemed it necessary to inform the Emperor, as soon as possible, of the whole affair, from fear that the said Mons. de Praet, who has since been desired to abstain from communicating with the Imperial court until further order, should in the meantime invent some new lie, to the prejudice of the Princes' mutual alliance, and thereby damage the interests of Christianity at large.

The intercepted letters above alluded to contain, among other paragraphs equally injurious to the Cardinal, the following one relating to the Pope and the Florentines:—*The most Reverend Cardinal of York said to me that if the Pope and the Florentines refused, by fair means, to comply with the proposed terms, they were to be compelled to accept them by force, especially the Holy Father, who might be threatened with deprivation of his dignity and other similar threats.* In answer to which false and calumnious report of his sentiments and words the Cardinal states that from the time he was appointed to his present dignity until now he has always considered it a crime *læsæ Majestatis* to speak disrespectfully about the Pope.

In another of his letters to the Emperor, Mons. de Praet introduces certain obscure and ambiguous sentences concerning Gregory [Casalis], now an envoy to the Imperial camp, by which it might be inferred that the Cardinal had publicly boasted of his doings, and said that in case of victory all the glory ought to be attributed to him, a sort of idea which never by chance has crossed his mind.

In one of his letters to Jean Lallemand, the Emperor's secretary, the ambassador says: *If we can only gain this battle all will go well with the Emperor, our master, provided he can afterwards disengage himself from the ties of his friends and confederates, to whom, I do not hesitate to say, he owes but little gratitude, &c.*, which words seem very much opposed, and contrary to the great friendship hitherto subsisting between the two Princes.

The ambassador further says in his letter to Mr. de Hooghstrate: *When things fall out well the Cardinal does not know what to say; if they turn out otherwise he tells me wonders about his own doings and exertions, as if he and his subordinates had done everything, and the efforts made in another quarter were good for nothing. I hope to live long enough to see our master properly avenged of this man, who is, in a great measure, the cause of all the evil now befalling His Imperial Majesty; and if ever I get an*

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opportunity, I will not fail, with the Emperor's permission, to lay the whole affair before this King, and show him what injury the Cardinal has done to the common cause, for I can assure your Worship that I keep every circumstance in my memory. The Cardinal really thinks that his unlimited affection for His Imperial Majesty deserved a better treatment than the revengeful spite thus shown in the above words. When these and similar expressions are found in the intercepted letters, it may be safely concluded that the writer has not spared all manner of injurious qualifications when describing the acts of the Cardinal, as if he could, in such delicate matters, have acted contrary to the wish and orders of his master, who, besides being a Prince full of wisdom and experience, is as much, or perhaps better, inclined to favour the interests and promote the welfare of his ally, the Emperor, than his own.

The Imperial ambassador, therefore, could not have conceived anything more injurious or dishonourable than such false and malicious reports sent to the Emperor or to his councillors respecting men and things of this country, tending, if believed in, to create suspicion and mistrust between two friendly Princes, and in the end to break their alliance asunder.

If His Imperial Majesty, after such an exposure of his ambassador's conduct, wishes that a man of so suspicious a character, or rather a declared enemy of both Princes, should still continue to represent his person in England, the Cardinal begs leave to state that nobody here will dare to transact business with a man of so pernicious a character and so bad an interpreter of people's words and sentiments.

The Emperor, in short, must feel convinced that the seizure of the ambassador's letters, which, as aforesaid, was not owing to any deliberate scheme or preconceived purpose, but only to the natural wish of discovering the origin and extent of the above malicious reports, must be held as providential, since it will stop the venomous influence of such wicked counsels, tending to destroy the alliance between the two Princes, and to work the ruin of the universal Christian republic.*

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 6.

Arch. du Roy^me^. de Belg. *Neg. d'Ang.*, p. 64.

29. JUSTIFICATION DES ANGLOIS.†

Notwithstanding the French King's crafty design (*ruse*) to have Naples invaded by a body of troops under the com-

* A note at the end of this memorandum, in a contemporary hand, adds the following :—"The Emperor, in his letter, dated Toledo, 26th of March, tells Praet not to trouble himself about what the King and Cardinal have written on this subject. That he always held him as a loyal and faithful councillor, and had written to the King [of England] complaining of the breach of hospitality committed on his person. That he shall be avenged of the Cardinal in proper time and place, but must wait and have patience."

† The same paper as the above, to which is appended the following memorandum, without title or date. It is probably the same to which Dr. Sampson alludes in his letter, dated Madrid, 1st of April 1525, and which was forwarded by the Cardinal

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mand of the Duke of Aliban (Albany), it is quite evident that his intention was to oblige the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), to quit the neighbourhood of Pavia, and hasten to the defence of the threatened kingdom. These plans of the French King, however, were defeated by the Viceroy, who, collecting together all his forces, decided to attack the French in their camp. The King of England was delighted to hear of this, as it was a sign that the Viceroy's courage and tactics would ultimately prevail against the common enemy. Yet there is a rumour afloat that there exists a secret agreement (*convention*) between His Holiness and the French to act in common, and so manage their respective forces that they may obtain the success of their enterprise, from which it may safely be concluded that the French King would never have undertaken the above-mentioned invasion [of Naples] had he not made with the Pope a previous engagement to that effect.

The motives generally attributed to His Holiness for thus making common cause with the Fr nch King, and behaving so insincerily towards the Emperor and the King of England, are, among others, the permission granted to the French to pass through the Piacentino, the duration of the present war, and perhaps, too, his own kind nature (*bienveillance*), or his personal ambition. Meanwhile the King, my master, confidently believed in my words, when I assured him that no reverse whatever, not even the loss of his capital, Rome, no interest or ambition, whether personal or national, would ever induce His Holiness to desert the Emperor's cause. This language of mine, and the assurances that came continually from Rome that the Pope was friendly to the Imperial alliance, prevailed upon the King, my master, to treat and conclude certain stipulations which he now finds impossible to carry out.*

Time has come to speak to His Holiness in plain terms. For if it be true, according to general report, that for many years past his consummate experience of affairs, great discretion, and particular love of Catholic religion made people augur favourably of his pontificate, and expect he would do more than any of his predecessors for the peace and tranquillity of the world at large, as well as for the honour and exaltation of the Holy See, there can be no doubt that the people's hopes have been baffled. For the path which His Holiness has chosen to take is likely to lead to the ruin of the Christian commonwealth, as well as to the destruction of the Holy See. In view of so many dangers as surround the Pontiff, I cannot refrain, out of love and affection to his person, from declaring, with due humility, the reasons I have for

in vindication of his conduct towards De Praet. As it refers entirely to the affairs of Italy before the battle of Pavia, and to his efforts to detach the Pope from the French alliance, it may be safely concluded that it contains the substance of despatches addressed to Dr. John Clerck, Bishop of Bath and Wells, at that time ambassador in Rome. See Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. iv. pp. 444 and 544.

* "C'est dans cette confiance de sa Sainctcté que le Roi, mon maistre, a resolu de traiter et conclure ses affaires, qui presentement ne paroit point pouvoir s'observer, comme l'on avoit souvent ecrit et promis."

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doubting whether his conduct in the present state of affairs is either wise or prudent. I beg you to take the first opportunity to remonstrate with His Holiness, and inform him of my sentiments, as expressed above. You will tell him that the King, my master, has always been inclined to a lasting peace among Christians, and tried everything in his power against the disturbers of the said peace, so that he might afterwards turn his arms against the Infidel.

Nobody knows better than myself the extreme joy of the King, my master, when first he heard of His Holiness' exaltation to the pontificate, and when I assured him that his love of peace would by no means be inferior to his own, and when I intimated that God had evidently vouchsafed in these troubled times the election of a Pontiff equally sound in soul and body (*sain de corps et d'esprit*) who might, conjointly with the Emperor and King, labour during many years in so grand and meritorious a work. In short, there is no need for me to enumerate the services and merits of the King, my master, when he stemmed by his writings the torrent of heresy, at a time, too, when the demon was likely to split and divide the whole Christian republic, he being ready still, if required, to employ his sword and his pen in defence [of Catholic religion].

It is with extreme sorrow that the King has heard of the havoc and ruin achieved by the Infidel in the island and capital city of Rhodes, as well as in Belgrade, which may be rightly considered as the two great bulwarks of Christendom. One may easily imagine to what dangers Christian Princes may henceforwards be exposed through the growing power of the Turk. This is precisely one of the reasons for the King, my master, to push the war with vigour, having always preferred a slight advantage over his enemy and an honourable peace, so that all Christian Princes might turn their arms against the infidel, to the continuation of the destructive war amongst Christians. All wise people are already feeling the chains and miseries (*les fers et misères*) that are likely to come down, not only upon Hungary, but upon Naples, Italy, Rome, and upon the whole Christian community, if the Turk is allowed to profit by the dissensions of the Christian Princes. It is also much to be lamented that, when the Lutheran sect is making such progress in Germany, and is likely soon to spread over Flanders, France, Spain, Scotland, and England, and over all the rest of the Christian world, and when people expected that His Holiness would apply a prompt remedy to such enormous, pernicious, and execrable evil, their hopes should be frustrated; for certainly, if that be the case, as reported, there is no knowing what will happen.

All things considered, neither His Majesty the King nor myself can persuade ourselves that a Pope whom God has gifted with prudence, courage, and other fine qualities may so forget himself as to treat, either through fear or moved by

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his own personal interest and those of his family, with a Prince who, by his boundless ambition, is keeping up war instead of risking his life and substance for the weal of Christianity. Should His Holiness entertain the above sentiments—which it is to be hoped he does not—and ally himself to a Prince who may well be called the origin and cause of this present war among Christians, the following results may be anticipated: In the first place, since there has been some hope of peace by the intermediate agency of His Holiness, had he been firm in his determination, and brought it about, or rather had he, for the sake of religion, opposed the plans and designs of those who are the principal disturbers of that peace, His Holiness may be sure that had the enemy, by his mediation and assistance, gained possession of Naples and Milan, the Emperor would never have been persuaded to listen to proposals of peace, and the King of England, on the other hand, would have employed all his forces to prevent the enemy from reaping the fruits of his victory, and to have the Emperor re-established in his honour, rights, and possessions;* a thing which the King, my master, besides the love he bears the Emperor, is the more bound to do that when the treaty of Windsor was signed he (the Emperor) was sole master and supreme lord in those countries [Naples and Milan]. So that, instead of putting an end to the war, the King, my master, would prosecute it with greater vigour, and make it, if possible, more ruinous than it is at present. The responsibility of such an act would entirely rest upon His Holiness, as it would be disagreeable to God, dangerous to the Christian republic, dishonourable for the past, and execrable not only in present times but for the future.

Secondly. Were the King of France, a prince so ambitious of territorial aggrandisement (*ambitieux de l'Empire et des roiaumes*), to become the master of Naples and Milan, all the rest of Italy would soon fall under his rule, partly from fear, partly by stratagems and deceit, and he would thus become the true lord of the Roman Empire. Meanwhile the Pope, seduced by his promises, would only act by his orders, and be, perhaps, a little better treated than one of his ordinary chaplains,† whereby the humiliation of the Holy See would be accomplished. His Holiness the Pope has too much wisdom not to see that such dishonourable policy would always be remembered in the annals of history, and that people of future ages would say he (the Pope) was the cause and origin of all the evil that ensued.

Certainly it is a matter of serious consideration, the cowardice and fragility of the greater part of the Christian

* This passage, as appears in the copy before me (f. 68 v°.), is rather obscure; it stands thus: "Premièrement comme il y a eu apparence d'une paix prochaine par l'entremise et l'autorité du souverain Pontife, s'il eut resté ferme et constant, ou s'il eut été l'auteur de la paix, ou plutot si de toutes ses forces pour le bien de la Religion, il eut resisté aux desseins des pertubarteurs de la paix, sa Sainctete doit estre asseurée, etc."

† "Et serait traicte un peu plus honorablement que quelqu'un de ses chapelains.'

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community, in thus allowing the Lutheran heresy to spread over Germany, and infest a country belonging almost entirely to the Emperor or to his brother the Archduke. And if it were found that the Pope, by his ingratitude to the Emperor, had contributed to increase the spreading of the said heresy, is a matter which he and his brother (the Archduke) have done everything in their power to arrest, it will be an excuse for the subjects of those two Princes to do and say what they think most detrimental to the Church and to its chief. Whence it will naturally follow that all those countries of Germany now-a-days so inclined and leaning [towards the said heresy] will embrace that abominable sect, and shake off entirely the yoke of obedience to the Roman Church, which, once shaken in its foundations, will never get assistance from Italy or France, however friendly those countries may show themselves. In fact, to say the truth, I perceive the same inclination in several ecclesiastics of this kingdom, secular as well as regular, who, I am afraid, are inclined to follow so deplorable an example.

It would, therefore, be far more advantageous for the Pope, if, with his usual prudence and tact, he were to deal with Princes in a manner to increase the esteem and honour of the Apostolic See, by securing the friendship of the Emperor,—one of the most powerful Princes in Christendom, and whose dominions are more widely spread,—rather than making a bitter enemy of him, and be the cause of the ties of obedience to Rome being loosened or perhaps entirely broken; which last eventuality is well worth consideration, since at the time I write the danger is very imminent, and I know His Holiness is aware of it.*

Respecting Germany, the Pope's wisdom, on one hand, and the ability (*industrie*) of Cardinal Campeggio on the other, give hopes that the Lutheran heresy will be little by little weakened and ultimately extirpated. But if the people once become aware of the Pope's present sentiments and leanings, if the report be true that he is in league with the French against the Emperor, besides the danger which Cardinal Campeggio himself is exposed to in that country,† it is impossible to say what harm may not be done; for the Turk, whose power is very formidable, will have a fine opportunity, seeing the forces of Christendom divided, to attack Hungary; that kingdom being weak and surrounded by Princes at war with each other (whether they be the vassals of the Emperor, or his allies,) will be unable to resist so fierce an invasion, and France itself, engaged in other wars, will not be in a condition to defend Italy or Rome. His Holiness, therefore, as a good father who wishes to procure the tranquil-

* "Car dans le temps que j'ecris le peril est pressant et je sçais mesme que sa Saincteté le prevoit."

† "Oultre le dangier que court le Cardinal."

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lity and welfare of the Christian family, and to apply a remedy against the said heresy (*peste*), ought to put aside his own private interests and devote all his attention to the increase and spread of Christianity, or, rather, to its preservation, at the present time, for, to say the truth, and confessing it to His Holiness with all due respect, I think there can be nothing so displeasing in the eyes of God as to see his ministers and the supreme head of our religion engaged and implicated in the terrible feuds of Christian Princes. For it seems to me that it was precisely after similar treaties of defensive and offensive alliance, concluded between Christian Princes by the mediation of the Holy See, that God sent down greater calamities (*accabla*) upon the Christian religion. As a general rule, such conventions, originating in the private interests of the Popes or in those of their relatives and friends, have never to this day been successful, and have only contributed to vilify the Holy See; since all the efforts which one single man made at great cost were in his lifetime, or soon after his death, completely destroyed, to the great detriment and loss of the Holy See, and I need not observe that such treaties and conventions have been the cause of the Lutheran and other sects rising against the Apostolic See.

I am fully convinced that all and every one of the evils above enumerated is known to His Holiness, and that he is very far, as reported, from embracing the cause of the French King; and yet the matter is so important that, as a devoted friend of the present Pope, I consider it my duty to declare my sentiments to him, point out the great dangers by which we all are surrounded, and to which I trust he will soon apply a remedy much more efficacious than what we ourselves could devise.

Therefore, in order that you (the ambassador) may know what the King and myself think of this matter, I will tell you that there are three means to be employed to deter the French King from his ambitious projects on the kingdom of Naples, by which means all obstacles will be easily surmounted. I beg you to expound them to His Holiness on the King's part and my own, as a friendly advice, always supposing that affairs are in the state they are reported to be.

The first and most important is for the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) to persist in his intention of collecting as large a force as he can, and give the enemy battle before they have time to strengthen their position; for the King, my master, hears from different sources that the French King has not only sent orders to Mons. de Lautrec to join him in great haste, but also for all the infantry and cavalry in the Duchy to collect round him, as he is fearful of the Imperialists giving him battle. This is the time for action, and not let such opportunity slip, for, if successful against the common enemy, not only the kingdom of Naples and the whole of Lombardy

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would be sheltered from his insults, but the Duke of Albany's expedition would be totally defeated. The French King, unable to hold the duchy of Milan, would abandon it, and probably consent to any terms of peace that might be proposed to him. And although this Italian quarrel does nowise concern the King, my master, either by treaty or particular convention with the Emperor, yet such is his sincere affection for His Imperial Majesty, that, provided the battle be fought, he will give immediately to his army, by way of reward, 50,000 crowns (*ecus*) already destined for that purpose, and which are in the hands of Sir John Russell, now on the spot.

2ndly. The second means may be reduced to this; In case of the said Viceroy deeming it necessary to abandon his present position, the better to defend Naples, threatened by Albany's forces, the King's advice is that Lodi, Cremona, and other strong places in the Duchy should be provided with numerous and well-appointed garrisons. This, coupled with the foregoing instructions, which you are requested to communicate to His Holiness, might induce the Pope to abandon the cause of the King of France and pass over to the Emperor, since he will easily perceive that every event has been provided for, and that he need no longer fear the King of France. Similar steps are to be taken with regard to the Venetians, who will be induced to join their forces to those of the Emperor, so that the Pope may, if not openly, at least tacitly, give his help and concourse to the Imperial cause, stopping the defiles of the Bolognese, so as to prevent the French couriers from reaching the royal camp. If so, the King will be unable to go to Naples, his army will be in want of provisions, and easily defeated, or at least so much molested that the King will be compelled to raise his camp and return to France, to his shame and dishonour.

3rdly. If neither of the above plans can be easily executed, the opinion here (in England) is that recourse must be had to the expedient proposed by the Pope some time ago, namely, that the Viceroy and the Imperialists place in his (the Pope's) hands all the strong places they hold in the Milanese, during the time of the truce, and whilst the preliminaries of the peace are being settled, since the King of France, according to the Pope's own statement, is willing to do the same with such towns and territory as he holds in the Duchy, and promises, besides, to evacuate Italy and retire with his troops the moment the truce is signed. In case, however, of this last condition not being stipulated in some other form, it is, I am told, His Holiness' intention to have the agreement renewed. In this manner, the truce, once accepted on both sides, the kingdom of Naples is sheltered from insult (*a l'abri de toute insulte*), and the duchy of Milan will not be lost, but, on the contrary, restored to His Imperial Majesty after the truce or such treaty [of peace] made in consequence as will ensure the Emperor its full possession. The French King,

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no longer in a condition to conquer Naples or keep his footing in the Milanese, will be enabled to retreat into France safely, and without great personal dishonour; and in the meantime, before the expiration of the truce, a treaty of peace may be concluded between the belligerents.

That the King's intentions in this matter may be better understood and appreciated, Mons. Pace, the King's first secretary, has been despatched to Venice to exhort and encourage the Signory to join their forces to those of the Emperor, as agreed between them; and Sir Gregory Cassalis is to go to the Viceroy's camp and communicate to him the nature of his charge according to his instructions, a copy of which is appended. The King has likewise sent Sir John Russell to the Duke of Bourbon to help him with his counsel and advice, if he should stand in need of it; also to inform him as soon as possible of the course of events. The King would see with pleasure Mons. de Bourbon at his court, that they may devise together—in case of the truce not being concluded—the best means of harassing and molesting the common enemy.

You will remark also that, among other things contained in Master Pace's instructions, one is that he is to tell the Signory that unless they do observe their treaty with the Emperor, and refuse the French passage through their territory to invade the kingdom of Naples, the King, my master, will no longer consider them as the Emperor's friends and allies, but as his declared enemies, and will treat them as such on every occasion.

You will remonstrate with His Holiness, and tell him, in my name, that since the danger is so great and so imminent, I entreat him, if he loves God, and wishes for the welfare of Christianity, to accept the advice I tender him, and set to work with all diligence, or rather, if he prefers it and finds it more convenient, to make at once close alliance with the Emperor and my King. Should he reject my counsel, and were some great calamity to ensue, neither the King nor myself nor any of those who are sincerely attached to His Holiness will be responsible for it before God and man, and all the fault, dishonour, and penalty likely to follow will fall on the authors. You will, however, explain this to His Holiness with all possible prudence and circumspection, and if you find him so devoted to the French cause that it is impossible to separate him from it, it will be perhaps better and wiser not to disclose to him the King's secret intentions, from fear he should immediately apprize the French King of them; but you will nevertheless make him understand, by solid argumentation and potent reasons, the dangers which, as before stated, threaten the Holy See and the whole Christian community.

By letters from the Emperor to his ambassador at this court (Praet ?), of which a copy is enclosed, we learn that he has

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remitted bills of exchange to Italy to the amount of 200,000 ducats. The King of France, on the other hand, is very confident of success, not so much by force of arms, as by the long duration of the war, and the want of money and provisions, which, he thinks, will in the end oblige the Imperial army to break up and disperse. Some bills of exchange which the Emperor was remitting to his army have, it appears, been intercepted, which, it is added, is a very serious loss for the Imperialists, and may greatly contribute to the success of the enemy, unless provision be made in another quarter. And as the King, my master, is unwilling that such brave army should disperse and be destroyed for want of funds, he has decided, with the advice of his Council, to remit certain sums in Italy. As money, however, cannot be easily transported from one place to another without great risk and danger, and as bankers, who are very timid,—not knowing how the affairs of Italy will end,—hesitate to give bills of exchange, an agreement has been entered into with Antonio Vivaldo of Genoa, and Nicolas Dodo of Venice, to furnish 40,000, 50,000, and even 100,000 ducats on the conditions and at the rate of discount agreed between the said Secretary Pace, now at Venice, and the agents and partners [in Italy] of the said Vivaldo and Dodo.

The ambassador must be well convinced that the King's intention has always been to succour the Imperialists to the utmost of his power, so that the army, otherwise fatigued by the length of the war, should not lose courage, but rather be in a condition to fight the French. It is for that purpose that the King orders and commands you to distribute at once and without loss of time, whether there be battle or not, and provided you consider the sum sufficient to prevent the breaking up of the Imperial army, the 50,000 ducats which have been promised to the Viceroy. Moreover, if you saw that the success of the enterprise depended chiefly on such assistance in money, and that 30,000, 40,000, or 50,000 ducats would be required, you will also give them, over and above the said sum of 50,000 above mentioned, borrowing the same from merchants, if they can be found, to be reimbursed [by the Emperor]; or if you still saw that the necessity was very urgent indeed, you may give them even without any such stipulation and as a gift.* And in order that the Emperor's affairs may be better conducted, Master Pace, now in Venice, has been ordered to communicate with you the progress of his negotiation with the Signory.

You will perceive by the Emperor's letter that he is determined to defend Italy against the tyranny and oppression of France. This would be of great weight with His Holiness,

* "A charge de restitution, sinon il faudra les donner librement, pour secourir cette necessité presente."

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if his intentions were good, for he need no longer be in suspense at the least vain appearance, and be influenced by fear or despair, for it is evident that during this present campaign the French King has not conquered one single strong place or achieved anything of importance, besides which the Pope must be fully convinced that neither the Emperor nor his allies are wanting the means and the courage to defend from the common enemy their estates, their honour, and their glory, even if the present campaign were lost.

Lastly, you will try to persuade His Holiness that whatever the French or other people may say respecting an agreement already made, or about to be made, with their King through the agency of the person lately sent by the Queen Regent, or through any other, nothing shall be done without the consent and approval of the Emperor, or without the knowledge of His Holiness, to whom all the honour and glory of the negotiation, if successful, will be attributed.

French. Copy. pp. 20.

Arch. du Roy^me^. de Belg. *Neg. d'Ang.*, p. 64.

30. A Latin Translation of the above Paper.

Indorsed: "Couleur soubz le quel les Anglois veullent justiffier la saisie des lettres du Sieur de Praet, luy estant ambassadeur de l'Empereur XX. XXV."

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 19.

8 March. K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 11.

31. The King of England to the Emperor.

My most beloved Son:—After my most cordial commendations and thanks to God for your happy convalescence, about which and other good news concerning your person I shall be glad to hear from time to time, the object of the present is to desire and request that you will give favourable audience and as firm a credence as you would to my own self, to my ambassador, Doctor Sampson, now residing at your court; who, among other charges respecting the many important matters now pending between us, has that of representing to you the indiscreet, unloyal, and ungrateful proceedings of Mons. de Praet, your resident ambassador at this my court, whose conduct has been very different from my paternal affection, acts, and proceedings towards you and your affairs, and from the equally goodwill and intention of my most beloved Cardinal. Which business is such, and so nearly touches on the continuance of the good understanding and harmony existing between you and me, that I have not the least doubt that you will see to it, and have the said Praet punished as our mutual amity demands, and in such a manner that I may be made certain that the conduct of your ambassador has been so displeasing to you as to myself. And that you may know, my most beloved son, how much I

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take this affair at heart, I here place my signature and seal, which are well known to you, begging our Lord to keep you under his safeguard.—In the hand of your good father, brother, and uncle, "Henry."

Addressed: "A mon mieulx aime fils et frere l'Empereur."

Indorsed: "Henry the VIII., King of England, to the Emperor."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

8 March. **32.** The CARDINAL OF YORK to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 10.

Sire:—After my most humble commendations, and my daily prayers to God, on my knees, for your convalescence, as well as for the continuance of your good health and prosperity of your affairs, the object of the present is humbly to beseech that your Majesty will take into consideration my services, poor and insignificant as they are, and the unchanging affection which I have always borne, and still bear, towards your royal person and the advancement and good issue of your affairs, about which I can assert upon my honour, faith, and loyalty that I take as much interest as if they were my master's own. Neither have I ever done anything, that I know, to the prejudice of those very affairs, or the person of your Majesty, as some ill-intentioned people may have had the boldness to surmise, which assertion, most confidently put forward, gives me courage humbly to request that your Majesty, for the purgation and discharge of my poor honour and reputation, will cast off and reject the indiscreet, disloyal, false, and abusive reports and advices of the Sieur de Praet, your resident ambassador at this court, whom I have all the time, and for your sake, treated as favourably and affectionately as if he were my own brother, causing the said Praet to be so far reproved and punished that the King, my master, and all the Princes of Christendom may be convinced that if I have well shown my services, goodwill, and affection, your Majesty, as a noble and virtuous Prince, cannot fail to consider my cordial good wish, zeal, and intentions to be pure. I doubt not, Sire, that you will not allow your very loyal servant to be thus treated and made a subject for scandal without any cause or for it. And that your Majesty, Sire, may fully understand and appreciate my present petition, I hereby append the signature that you know. R.—In the hand of your most humble servant, "T. Cardinalis Eboracensis."

Addressed: "To the Emperor, &c."

French. Original. pp. 2.

9 March. **33.** THE COMMISSIONERS to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 14.

Tuesday, the last day of February, the Commissioners wrote from Calais advising their embarkation, which took place soon after, having crossed the Channel to Dover on the same

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day; whence, and under the attendance of the Treasurer of Calais,* who had orders to accompany and escort them, the ambassadors reached London on Sunday the 5th inst.

The Saturday before Mons. de Praet came out 12 miles from town to receive the ambassadors, who, after exhibiting their credentials, asked his advice as to the best way of fulfilling their charge. He (Praet) was very glad at their coming; their mission, he said, was very necessary at the present time for the common interest of the Emperor and King. He hoped everything would turn out well, but was in great perplexity owing to the King and Legate having taken a dislike to him, and otherwise showed their indignation for the reasons fully detailed in his last despatch.

On the same Sunday the ambassadors were met three miles from town by Monseigneur de Lille (Lisle) the King's bastard uncle,† at present Admiral of England, followed by a suite of gentlemen, who paid them all manner of attention and courtesy, though he (the admiral) intimated to Mons. de Bevres that he had orders from the King not to allow the said Praet to appear before his presence, or come to town. He might go forward or remain behind, as he liked best, but on no account was he to be allowed to enter London at the same time as the embassy. He (Bevres) was rather perplexed at this intimation, but wishing not to displease the King on this matter, went up to Mons. de Praet, and in the best manner he could, declared to him the King's intention and wish, when the Imperial ambassador prudently withdrew on one side and remained behind, the ambassadors continuing their journey [to London] and being conducted by Mons. de Lille to their lodgings opposite to St. Pauls, close to the King's residence.

That very day the ambassadors, wishing to show their diligence and zeal, begged the Treasurer of Calais to call on the Cardinal now residing at court, and request he would appoint an early hour for them to pay their respects and acquaint him with their charge. The Cardinal, however, had anticipated the ambassadors, for immediately after their arrival [in London] he sent them a message by the said treasurer, to appear before him the next day, at nine in the morning. The order having been countermanded owing to certain pressing business of the Legate, the ambassadors then decided that the President [Laurens] alone should call after dinner and inquire when it would be the Cardinal's pleasure to receive them, which he did, as agreed. After the usual compliments, and Mons. de Praet's late affair being brought under discussion, the Cardinal failed not to show his anger and displeasure, in such violent terms that he (the President) cannot see really how he and the King are to

* William Lord Sandys.
† Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward IV.

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be reconciled and satisfied thereupon, unless His Imperial Majesty and Madame take up the affair, and send new instructions to that effect, for any excuses they (the ambassadors) might offer in his (Praet's) behalf would only irritate them and make them quite unmanageable. The Cardinal fixed Tuesday next for an audience of the King, but when it came to be settled whether the audience should be public or secret, the Cardinal remarked that a secret audience was far preferable, because at a public conference all the ambassadors would be present, and hearing what they had to say, could not fail to apprise their respective governments. Besides he could not say whether the ambassadors would leave the council chamber in perfect agreement, and therefore, all things considered, thought that the audience had better be held secret.

On the evening of Tuesday the ambassadors were conducted to the King's presence by certain noblemen and gentlemen deputed for that purpose. They were affably received by the King, when, after the usual presentation of their letters and credentials, the President (Laurens) began to expound his charge in the following manner: He described the many services which Madame had done to the common cause by maintaining the alliance between her nephew, the Emperor, and the King of England; the distress in which the Imperial army in Italy was for want of means; the inconveniences and dangers likely to ensue, as well as the loss of reputation to both the Emperor and King, if the said army should be obliged to abandon its present positions. He concluded by requesting the King, in Madame's name, to lend his assistance to their common cause by sending a large army across the sea, to which she would add 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, wherewith to invade the kingdom of France, on both sides, so as to compel King Francis to come to terms, and make some agreement equally advantageous to both Majesties.

After which the President proceeded to request that the time fixed for the Princess's delivery should be anticipated as much as possible, giving the many reasons Madame had to express such a wish in the Emperor's behalf and for the better issue of their common plans.

The answer made by the King and Cardinal to the above requests was: That the former point was no doubt of great importance for both monarchs, deserving great attention, and one which ought to be the subject of future conferences. Notwithstanding what ill-intentioned people might have said to the contrary, he (the King) was in the same steadiness of purpose as heretofore. It would not be his fault if some good enterprise were not made, at a convenient time, and provided His Imperial Majesty did the same on his side. The season had not yet come to take the field, as the time appointed by treaty was the end of May. He considered the most urgent necessity

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now-a-days was to succour Pavia or compel the enemy to raise the siege.

With regard to the second point the King said: The Princess, his daughter, was still young; she was his own treasure, and that of his kingdom; she was not of age to be married; and, besides, he had reasons to believe that the Emperor had not charged the ambassadors to make any such request. He concluded by saying he was much pleased to see them at his court; that enough had been said on either side for a first interview, and would refer the Commissioners to the Cardinal for the ensuing day (Wednesday the 8th), when the above two points and any others they might bring forward should be discussed at leisure.

Accordingly on the appointed day, the Commissioners called on the Cardinal, at his lodgings in town, when having placed in his hands the letter which the Seigneur De Carmonailles, Madame's ecuyer tranchant, had brought that very morning, Praet's affair fell under discussion; for no sooner had the Cardinal read Madame's letter, which turned exclusively on that subject, than he began to complain in the most bitter terms of the said ambassador, who (he said) had been writing in very improper terms about him, not only to the Emperor and to Madame, but likewise to Mons. de Hoochstraete and Maistre Jehan Lallemand, the Emperor's secretary, adding that neither the King, his master, nor himself would have any more to do with the said Praet. Hearing which, and remembering what the King himself had said to the same purpose on a previous day, the Commissioners inquired, as graciously as possible, whether he [the Cardinal] considered it necessary that another ambassador should be sent in his room; his answer was, "If the Emperor and Madame wish to have an ambassador at this court, they must needs send a new one to represent them, for certainly the King, my master, shall never again admit Praet to his presence, or consider him as the Emperor's representative." After which declaration the Cardinal went on reproducing his accusations in a manner that would take too much time to transcribe.

Nothing was then left for the Commissioners but to express their deep regret that matters had come to such a pitch, as well as the hope that some expedient might hereafter be found to calm his irritation. Such was Madame's wish, and, determined as she was to do the King's pleasure in this particular, she was about to recall the said Praet and order him go to Spain, where the whole affair would be properly looked into.

To the above declaration and promise the Cardinal made no answer whatever. The Commissioners own that their perplexity is daily increasing, as they see no possible remedy to the evil, for this very day, when, after the receipt of such rejoicing news* as those conveyed in Madame's letter to the

* Those of the victory at Pavia.

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King, the Commissioners applied for an audience, they were dryly told there was no necessity for them to see the King, and that if the letter was sent to him (the Cardinal) it would be quite sufficient. The Commissioners then communicated with Mons. de Praet, who perceiving that he will never recover the King's grace, and cannot here be of use either to the Emperor or to Madame, has decided to withdraw from this court, and quit England, as soon as he has orders to do so, in which case the Commissioners need scarcely point out the urgency of having some honourable man to fill his place as soon as possible.

After this the Commissioners went on expounding, as above, the three principal objects of their charge, namely, the sending of an army across the sea, the anticipation of the period at which the Princess is to be given away, and, lastly, the means that could be employed to allay the suspicions and do away with the mistrust at present existing [in our mutual relations], begging the Cardinal to declare whence the said suspicions and mistrust originated, and who was the cause of them.

The Cardinal thanked the Commissioners for the frank and open manner in which they spoke, saying he was ready to answer, but would begin by the third and last article. He then asked, "What causes have you to mistrust us?" The Commissioners' reply was, that there were, among others, three different and chief causes to mistrust the sincerity of his professions. One was the protracted stay in England of this Jean Joackin, a servant of Madame, the Regent of France, who had now been in England seven or eight months. Another was the arrival (in London) of the President of Rouen (Jean Brinon), a person of quality and rank, who could not have left his country except for legitimate and important reasons. His answer was, "I have never treated with the said Joackin, or concluded anything with the President, though I have often conferred with him. True it is that when the Bishop of Capua (Schomberg) came to this country, there was a talk [between them] of the said Bishop writing to the King of France to advise that he should send a man to this court and another to the Emperor. In case of the French King accepting the proposition, he (the Bishop) was to write a letter bearing a cross at the top by way of signal, which the Bishop did, and Joackin thus came [to England] in virtue of the said letter. But as he had no letters or powers from the Regent, no attention was paid to his suit. The President [of Rouen] then came, properly instructed and with sufficient powers to treat, offering, in the Regent's name, an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, besides all arrears due on the said pension, and some territory for the King, my master, (which, however, was not designated), provided he would consent to treat."

The Commissioners' reply was, "Even supposing the affair to have passed as described, it seems to us as if the King of France ought to have sent another agent to the Emperor,

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and as if he (the Cardinal), in due observance of the treaties, ought not to have listened to any overtures before that formality had been complied with."

The second cause for mistrust was that although from the beginning of the war the Emperor had always kept his army at great cost,—the Commissioners mentioning the sums that had been spent in the service,—although Pavia had been closely besieged for upwards of six months, and the Imperial army had been in great distress, the King of France absent and his kingdom without defenders, yet the King of England had not stirred or made any sign of invading France.

By way of a reply to the above accusation, the Cardinal enumerated several blunders and faults which he said had been committed by us in Spain, as well as in Flanders and Italy, which would take too long to relate, and to which they, the Commissioners, made a suitable answer.

With regard to the third cause of complaint and mistrust the Commissioners urged that although Madame had often been requested to grant safe-conducts to merchants and ship-owners, who had offered very large sums of money for them, she had constantly refused, notwithstanding that the Low Countries had suffered so much for want of salt that the price had lately risen from six or seven livres to 60 and 80. Meanwhile what was the King doing? He was granting safe-conducts to all those who applied for them, either to Englishmen to visit the French ports, or to Frenchmen to frequent his own, just as if there had been no war between the two nations.

The Cardinal's answer was that we had begun first by granting them to the Piedmontese, seeing which, the King, his master, had done the same. After a good deal of argumentation on either side, the conversation again fell on the first point, viz., the army to be sent across the channel into France, and the Cardinal said at once: "The King, my master, is quite ready to cross over under the following conditions:

1st. Madame is to furnish 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot.

2nd. The army to enter France by way of Normandy.

3rd. The Emperor to procure sufficient money to keep up his Italian army.

4th. The King of England to be made certain that the said Italian army will be kept and maintained until his own passage into France, and even during the time he may be there, without [the Emperor] making peace or truce with the enemy in the meantime, but, on the contrary, attending to the war in person."

Upon which the Commissioners' answer was thus conceived: "We came here to ask for succour and help. If the King's intention is to grant our request, it must be on such conditions as we can accept in the Emperor's name. The first is altogether unacceptable; the people of the Low Countries have been so heavily taxed for the last five years, on account of the war, that it will be next to impossible to get anything

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more out of them. Were the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot to be furnished, according to agreement, there would still be the necessity of providing for the defence of our country against Mons. de Gueldres and the French, besides raising a large number of troops to cover so extensive a frontier as that of France, Holland, Brabant, Luxembourg, Namur, Haynaut, Artois, and Flanders."

With regard to the second point, the Commissioners observed that even in case of the said contingent being furnished, a force consisting of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot would not be able to join an English army descending into Normandy, owing to the great distance between that country and their own, the difficulties of the road and the passage of such rivers as the Somme, the Ardeche, and the Seine. But the Cardinal replied that the King would send 10,000 English infantry as far as Vallenchiennes (Valenciennes), there to meet our forces, and accompany them through France until they effected their junction with the King's army in Normandy, which proposition the Commissioners offered to refer home for consultation, although in reality they saw no chance of its being accepted.

Respecting the fourth point, the Commissioners stated that although the bills of exchange for 200,000 ducats which the Emperor was sending to his army in Italy had fallen into the hands of the enemy, yet the money had not been lost, and it was probable that similar bills had been sent through another way. If the King would remit a decent sum of money the Commissioners had no doubt the Imperial army in Italy would be maintained on a war-footing. The Cardinal's answer was, that if Madame agreed to make remittances to the amount of 50,000 crowns, the King would contribute with an equal sum, to which the Commissioners replied unanimously: "Madame has not the means to do that; nobody will lend her money, though she is willing, for the stipend of the said 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, to sell or pawn her own rings and jewels."

To the fourth and last point, concerning the securities and pledges to be given by the Emperor of keeping up his Italian army and not making peace with the common enemy, the Commissioners observed, in reply, that since the Emperor had hitherto rejected all the overtures and solicitations made by the French King, it was not to be presumed that he would now grant what he had constantly refused.

Respecting the delivery of Princess [Mary] the Cardinal having said, as above, that she was too young, that the English people looked upon her as the treasure of the kingdom, and that we had no hostages to be sufficient security for her, the Commissioners naturally inquired what hostages the King would want. Upon which the Cardinal said, "You might give us some towns and fortresses in the Low Countries." The Commissioners cut him short by saying, "That could never be; and we think that, even, if offered, your

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Eminence would not accept of them. He then asked for Monseigneur (l'Archiduc), and he was also answered in the negative, on the plea that Monseigneur was already emancipated and his own master.

The conference this day ended by the Cardinal giving his assurance that an early day should be appointed again to discuss the above points, when he would do everything in his power to persuade the King, his master, to grant the Emperor's requests. He then invited the Commissioners to attend mass at the Franciscan convent with the King, and dine at court. They might, after dinner, pay their respects to the Queen and Princess, all of which was done according to orders.

To-day Madame's letters of the 6th instant have been received, containing the glorious and happy news lately arrived from Italy. After giving thanks and praises to God for so signal a victory, the Commissioners have celebrated that happy event by lighting bonfires in front of the Embassy, and opening casks of wine for every one of those who passed by. Calling afterwards on the King—who had just received the news through a courier of the Duke of Milan—the Commissioners found him in very high spirits, with his countenance beaming with joy, and expressing his joy in a manner that no Prince in the world could do better. "Now is the time" (he said) "for the Emperor and myself to devise the means of getting full satisfaction from France. Not an hour is to be lost."

It must not be omitted that when, after dinner, as above said, the Commissioners went to pay their respects to the Queen and Princess, they again met the King, who, in her presence, told them all manner of complimentary and affectionate regards to be conveyed to Madame. That with the Cardinal's permission and advice they addressed the Princess a short peroration in Latin, to which she replied in the same tongue, with as much assurance and facility as if she were 12 years old; and she did and said many other gracious things on the occasion, of which they purpose giving an account at a future time.

On the previous day the Commissioners had received Madame's letters of the 18th and 27th February, as well as those of the 1st instant, enclosing copies of those written by the Duke of Milan and Viceroy of Naples. Respecting the particulars mentioned therein, the Commissioners will not fail to do their duty, and bring them forward at the earliest opportunity, firmly believing, as they do, that these glorious events will lead to the settlement of many affairs upon which the Cardinal seemed rather untractable.—London, Thursday, the 9th of March 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoigne," "J. Laurrens," "Jehan de Lesauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 9.

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9 March. **34.** CLEMENT VII. to MERCURINO GATTINARA.

S. Pat. Re. Bul. Suelt. L. 1, f. 114.

Congratulations in consequence of the victory at Pavia. Has given commission to Baldassar Castiglione, his Nuncio at the Imperial court, or in his absence to Giovanni Cursio, the Florentine ambassador, to be the interpreters of his sentiments.—Rome, 9 March 1525. "Sadoletus."

Addressed: "Dilecto filio Mercurio de Gattinaria, carissimo in Christo, filii nostri Caroli electi Imperatoris Hispaniarum Regis Catholici magno Cancellario."

Latin. Original.

9 March. **35.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp.

Carissime in Christo fili noster et[a]. Etsi diebus superioribus, cum bellum in Italia maxime arderet, nos miserantes duram huius nobilissimæ regionis conditionem, ac gregi nostro dilecto pastorali cura affecti, aliquamdam viam ad communem pacem tendebamus, sublatisque inter Serenitatem suam et Regem Francorum dissidiorum causis concordiam suadebamus; tamen postquam Deo Omnipotenti aliud visum est, atque eius nutu ac numine arma nuper propter compositionem dimissa sunt, super victoriam detracta, id quod evenit evenire nos quidem lætamur, ut ad arbitrium et providentiam tuam cum magna tua gloria bello feliciter confecto, ipso Francisco Gallorum rege capto, et in tuorum ducum potestatem redacto, salutis et quietis omnium spes et ratio delata fuerit. In qua constituenda hoc tibi magis elaborandum est quæ sunt in te divina beneficia majora, &c[a].—Datum Romæ, die nona Martii MDXXV. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. "Ia. Sadoletus."

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo electo Imperatori, Hispaniarum etc[a]. Regi Catholico."

Indorsed: "1525, 9 March. Gratulatoria de victoria quam Cæsar adeptus est de Rege Gallorum apud urbem Papiæ."

Latin. Original in vellum. p. 1.

10 March. **36.** JOOS. LAURENS to AUDIENCIER PHILIPPE HANNETON.

Arch. d. Roy[me]. de Belg. *Neg. d'Ang.* Tom. II.

President (Laurens) is not in the humour to write news, which you may besides see by our joint despatch to Madame [Margaret]. This is merely to say that I entertain hopes of soon making good cheer with you.—London, 10 March 1525.

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed: "A Monsieur Philippe Hanneton, Audiencyer et premier Secretaire de l'Empereur."

French. Original. p. 1.

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10 March. **37.** The Cardinal of York to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u.Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 14.

Sire, etc.—The King, his master, has by the same gentleman bearer of the present, received letters from the Archduke, announcing, among other news, the battle fought by the Emperor's Italian army against the French, in which the Imperial arms have been completely successful, and the King of the French made prisoner. Whereat the King, his master, and he (the Cardinal) have experienced the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, and congratulate the Emperor on so signal and important a victory, likely to result to the common advantage of both Majesties; whereby they shall be able not only to recover all their rights, most unjustly detained by the said King, but to establish also on a firm and solid footing the peace and tranquillity of the Christian world, as the King has expressed in his letter, and Doctor Sampson, his ambassador, has been entrusted to say and report on his part.—From my Palace at Westminster, the 10th of March 1525.

Signed: "T. Cardinalis Eboracensis."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Royal Majesty of the Emperor, etc."

French. Original. p. 1.

10 March. **38.** Louis Praet to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 22.

Soon after writing his letter of the 25th February last, intelligence reached the capital that the agent of the Fouchers (Fuggers), to whom he (Praet) had entrusted part of his official correspondence, had also been arrested at one of the ports by the Cardinal's express orders. After seven days' detention the agent had been released and allowed to prosecute his journey, a fit passport being provided for him. The ambassador's letters had been returned to him unopened, as far as he could judge from their outward appearance.

(*Cipher:*) Nevertheless he (Praet) has not yet obtained permission to write home, except on condition of his letters being examined first, which, of course, he has refused to comply with; but as the said agent of the Fuggers, and a servant of the Abbot of Mydelbourg (Middleburgh), who left soon after, must by this time have reached Spain and fully informed His Imperial Majesty of the above said occurrence and of other matters, he (Praet) will no longer dwell on the subject, except to say that the whole affair has now been by the Cardinal's fault divulged throughout the Christian world. In fact he (Praet) would never have thought that a statesman of the Cardinal's abilities and experience could have been so fickle and inconstant [in his affections]. The more he thinks about it, the greater is the injury which, in his opinion, has been done to the Emperor's honour and reputation; for the moment has arrived for his faithful servants and ministers to learn what favour and help they are to expect at his hands,

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when attacked, as he (Praet) has been, and wounded in the most sensitive part, which is his honour. This is exactly what the Cardinal is now aiming at, since he is confident, or appears to be so, that upon his own report of the case, and without hearing the arguments of the opposite side, the Emperor will decide in his favour, and leave his ambassador at the Cardinal's mercy, to be punished as he may think proper. He (Praet) cannot say whether these threats of the Cardinal's are only intended to overawe him, or whether he really believes that the Emperor will pronounce in his favour; certain it is that he expresses full confidence in his success. However this may be, he (Praet) trusts in the Emperor's prudence and wisdom, that he will not allow the arguments of these people to get the better of his reason. Indeed, if the King and Cardinal held the Emperor's honour and reputation in such esteem as they profess to do, they would never have made the aforesaid application, for it will be more to the Emperor's honour to have him (Praet) punished, than to leave that punishment at their discretion, for were it so, all people would say that it was passionately done, and in order to satisfy their own private revenge; whereas if, after hearing his excuses, the Emperor pronounces against him (Praet) and inflicts the deserved punishment, it will be made public and notorious that the Imperial ambassador has committed a fault and is punished for it.

He (Praet) has also heard that the Cardinal intends to take advantage of a short note of his to Jehan Lallemand (the Emperor's secretary), pretending that it contains expressions highly injurious to this King's character. He cannot say for certain what a private and confidential communication of that sort, written to an absent friend, may say respecting the Cardinal's behaviour on this occasion, but this he can confidently assert, that there is nothing in the said note that can be deemed injurious to the English monarch. People, when writing to friends, are in the habit of expressing their thoughts and opinions about men and things in a lighter manner than they would when addressing their superiors. His (Praet's) words and sentiments may also have been misinterpreted by his enemies, but even if they have, the ambassador will be able to prove, when in the Emperor's presence, that his note to Secretary Lallemand, as well as his other letters and despatches, contained nothing untrue or injurious, considering the time and circumstances.

Since the above was written, Mons. de Beures and the President have arrived [in London], and, according to the instructions they bring from Madame, held a conference with the Cardinal, wherein the ambassador's case was introduced. Not having, however, obtained any answer to their overtures, he (Praet) is thinking of undertaking the journey to Spain, as soon as he has obtained Madame's permission. Hopes that his departure from the English court will turn out to the Emperor's

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profit, as his stay would only prolong his own sufferings and bring discredit on the Emperor.

Has been told by an honourable English gentleman that the Cardinal would give anything not to have acted as he has done in this affair, especially since the arrival of the grand and most happy news just received in this capital. The Cardinal has, indeed, reasons to repent of what he has done, but His Imperial Majesty is wise and prudent, and cannot fail to make good use of his victory according to time and circumstances.—Date *ut supra*, 10th March 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph, mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2.

10 March. **39.** ADOLPHE DE BOURGOGNE, J. LAURENS, and JEAN DE LESAUCH, Commissioners in London, to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 13.

Called after dinner on the Cardinal, who was with the Pope's Nuncio and the Scottish ambassador. On their departure the Commissioners were introduced into the council chamber, where, in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk, of the Bishop of London, of Milord Tallebault, and Messire Richard de Wingfeld (Wingfield), besides a secretary called Maistre More, the Cardinal asked them their advice as to what he had better do in view of the happy news lately received in England. The Commissioners replied they had not come to give advice, but to receive it, yet since the Cardinal wished to consult them on the subject, they would openly declare their opinion.

Their advice was, that as the victory lately gained [in Italy] was for the King's and Emperor's common interest, they were bound to make [in England] the same religious demonstrations, thanksgivings, &c., that the Emperor had ordered to be made in Spain and in his other dominions.

2ndly. That in order to remove all cause of suspicion they ought to send away the French ambassadors residing in London.

3rdly. That the King ought to send immediately a large and well-appointed army into France, to conquer and subdue part of that kingdom before the French had time to breathe and recover from their last disaster.

The Cardinal's answer, in reference to the first of the above points, was that bonfires and other rejoicings had already been ordered throughout the country, and that the King in person would, on the ensuing Sunday, go to Saint Paul's for the purpose of thanksgiving. The Cardinal himself would officiate and chant at the mass, after which he would grant full and complete absolution from sin to all bystanders.

With regard to the second point, the Cardinal stated he had no objection to dismiss the French ambassadors, if we

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wished it. Without any further remark, the Commissioners declared themselves satisfied with the Cardinal's answer on the above propositions in the form of advice but would not insist on the latter, preferring to wait for the instructions which Madame will no doubt send them, since they have no doubt that, by insisting upon it, the point can easily be carried out.

Respecting the third point, the Cardinal said that the King, his master, wished to land at the end of May on the coast of Normandy, provided we assisted him with 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot; that the Duke of Norfolk was first to cross over, at the head of 10,000 men, march on Valenciennes, where the English artillery was, and thence proceed to those places on the coast where the King's landing might better be effected.

The better to know the Cardinal's intentions, and without appearing to approve or disapprove the march upon Normandy of the said 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, the Commissioners asked whether it would not be better that the said Duke of Norfolk, with his 10,000 men, during and before the King's landing, should lay the French territory waste, and get possession of some fortified towns and castles such as Guise, St. Quentin, and others.

The Cardinal's answer was, that that could not be done for several reasons: 1st. Because the country to be invaded could not afford sufficient food for men and beasts; 2nd, were the King to land on the coast at the time that a town was being besieged by the allied forces, one of two things would happen, either the English army would be obliged to raise the siege, a thing likely to bring dishonour on his arms, or else the King might be exposed to great danger from want of cavalry to precede him and guard his flanks during his march into the interior; 3rd, were the cavalry to overrun the country before the King's arrival they were sure to be fatigued and exhausted, so as to be of little use when wanted.

Upon which the Commissioners inquired, "Would not the King give us 4,000 or 6,000 foot, under the command of Mons. de Bueren* to make some good enterprise in France?" "He could not" (the Cardinal replied), "because having already spent a very large sum of money, the King has need of all his resources to defray the present undertaking. Yet if you will be satisfied with 2,000 men, I have no doubt the King will send them towards Easter."

Such was the Cardinal's formal declaration on this point, hearing which the Commissioners took leave of him, under the excuse that they wanted to consider his proposals, and would soon return an answer. They are now waiting for instructions, and will not in the meantime allude to this or to any other point under discussion until they hear from

* Floris d'Egmont, Seigneur d'Isselstein and Count of Buren.

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home. Should the English agree to send over the said Duke of Norfolk, with his 10,000 men, one month or six weeks before the King's landing on the coast of Normandy, the Commissioners wish to know whether the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot demanded shall also go that way. Should they refuse, and Madame object, as it is most probable she will, to our men going into Normandy by themselves, the Commissioners must be instructed how to act, and what to say in reference to that question and others that might arise from the same cause.—London, Friday, 10 March 1525, at 11 o'clock of night.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoingne," "J. Laurence," "Jehan de Lesauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays d'en Bas."

French. Original. pp. 3.

11 March. **40.** The Commissioners in London to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 3.

Considering the bad state of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, that the King of France would not raise the siege of Pavia, but had sent the Duke of Albany with a considerable force, in horse and foot, to invade the kingdom of Naples, imagining that in the long run the Imperial army would disband for want of money, provisions and so forth; perceiving that, in spite of the dangerous state of the Emperor's affairs, the King of England made no preparations or signs of attacking France, Madame determined to send an embassy to ascertain the said King's intentions, and see whether it would not be possible to invade France with a good army, thus compelling King Francis to evacuate Italy, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. Out of maternal love [for the Emperor] Madame sent her ambassadors to the King of England, with instructions to negotiate, which they have done ever since, talking over the matter with the King and Legate in the way and manner detailed in the said instructions, as described in their joint despatch [to Madame] of the 10th inst., whereof they now send a copy.

Since that time, however, news has come of the battle having been won, and the French King taken prisoner, whereby Madame's ambassadors have been thrown into such doubt and confusion that they really do not know what to say, or how to conduct their negotiations. Owing to this they have hit upon a plan and device to gain time and consult Madame. Should the Legate press them any further, or bring under discussion the intercourse of trade, the administration of justice [in maritime affairs], the business of coin and currency, and other similar matters, the ambassadors will simply temporize, using the most civil and courteous words possible, but not agreeing to any terms, nor taking any engagement,

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until they receive [from home] proper instructions to act.—London, Saturday the 11th of March 1525.

P.S.—That His Imperial Majesty may better estimate the causes which have influenced the King and Legate to take such a spite against Mons. de Praet, the ambassadors enclose copies of the letters written by him to the Emperor, to Madame, to Mons. de Hoochstraette, and Maistre Jehan Lallemand.*—*Date ut supra.*

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

14 March. **41.** Archduke Ferdinand to his Brother, the Emperor.†

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 41.

Congratulates him upon the victory at Pavia, the news of which have no doubt reached by his messenger, the bastard of Roeux, and by another one whom the Viceroy [of Naples] despatched in all haste. Very much regrets not having been present at the battle, but was prevented by the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Bohemians, and other Princes of the empire, with whom the French were known to be in connivance, as appears from the numerous letters seized at their camp before Pavia, and which have no doubt been transmitted to Spain. It is in consequence of the above practices that the Duke, at the head of a large body of Switzers, amounting to thirty-two banners, and of some Lutheran peasants, invaded the duchy some time ago, and took possession of two small towns and one castle. But, with God's help, and the assistance of the Suabian league, he hopes soon to be able to arrest his progress, as, besides the forces which the League is to place at his disposal he has already under him a force consisting of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse.

With the advice of France, and for the better furtherance of his hostile plans, and also in order to oblige us to recall our Italian army, the Duke [of Wurtemberg] had written to the Bohemians to say that we and the Suabian league were prepared to attack them, this being the reason why at one time the said Bohemians thought of invading our dominions with 50 or 60 men. We have since despatched a messenger to them, to destroy the bad impressions produced by the Duke's letters, and assure them of our wish to maintain the league and confederation existing of old between them and our house of Austria. We wait for their answer.

The King of France was likewise in treaty with Count Christofle Frangebambz,‡ who, with his own retainers and the assistance of the Turks of Bosnia,—a province bordering upon Croatia,—was to invade Carniola, Stiria, and others of our dominions. The Turks, in consequence, made a raid, and

* None of the letters here alluded to is to be found in the Imperial Archives or those at Brussels.

† Published at full in Lanz, "*Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V.*," p. 154.

‡ Christopher Frangepan, an Hungarian noble.

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penetrated into our territory, without, however, causing much damage, owing to the preparations we had made beforehand. An Italian gentleman, who was at the bottom of this intrigue, and who seems to have been an agent of France, near the person of Count Frangebambz, was the other day taken prisoner by our Governor of Marran, in Friuli, and brought here (Innsbruch). It is from him that we have learned the secret dealings of the French in those parts.

This and other business of equal importance has prevented him from crossing over to Italy and being present at the battle. But since the King of France is a prisoner in the Emperor's hands, with the greater part of his nobles, his advice would be to seize the present opportunity, and at once invade his kingdom, so that neither he nor his successors may in future do harm. Has sent to M. de Bourbon to ask what his plans are, and whether he intends to enter France and make some good enterprise there with the assistance of the King of England ; for if he does, as soon as he is disengaged from the Duke of Wurtemberg, which he hopes to be in a very short time, he shall not fail to invade France by the frontier of Burgundy.—Dysproug (Innsbruch), 14th of March 1525.

P.S.—Has to inform His Imperial Majesty that the Lutheran sect is so spreading throughout the Empire, not only in the towns, but among the peasants, that they are assembling by tens of thousands, proclaiming that they will not grant their natural lords more rights than those they are willing to acknowledge; that Divine Law and the word of the Scriptures do not tolerate their being subjected to other men ; and, in short, that they wish to be free. The first sectarians came out from Alsace and from the county of Ferrette, but they have since spread and increased in such a ratio that their numbers are now estimated at 200,000 and upwards, and they have made a common purse [for the expenses of the war], and obtained the promise of some artillery from the Duke of Wurtemberg, that being the reason why some of the Archduke's own vassals, even in this county of Tirol, have lately become so unmanageable.

Signed : " Ferdinand."

Addressed : " To the Emperor."

French. Copy. pp. 2½.

14 March. S. E. L. 1553, f. 144.

42. CARDINAL DE SALVIATIS to the EMPEROR.

Congratulates him upon his victory over the French King. —Rome, 14 Nov. 1525.

Signed: " Jo. Cardinalis de Salviatis."

Addressed: " Sacræ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: " To the King. 1525. Cardinal de Salviatis, 14 March."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

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16 March.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 4.

43. The COMMISSIONERS IN ENGLAND to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

Have received Madame's letters of the 10th, 12th, and 13th instant, together with the account of the French King's losses [at Pavia] in killed and prisoners. Render hearty thanks to God for His favours to the Emperor.

Have sent by the Sieur de Carmonailles a memorandum answering all Madame's questions, as proposed in her letter of the 10th, concerning their arrival and reception at this court, the conduct of their mission, the affair of M. de Praet, &c., besides the impression here created by these great and glorious tidings from Italy.

Inform Madame that on Saturday last London was illuminated, and on the ensuing Sunday High Mass celebrated by the Legate in St. Paul's Cathedral, at which the King and Queen, a great number of nobles, the ambassadors of the Pope, the King of Scotland and themselves were present.

Had audience of the Legate to-day, when they expressed their gratification at the imposing manner in which Divine Service had been celebrated, four bishops and six abbots having officiated with the Legate.

Expressed surprise that the French ambassadors should be still here, their powers being over since the capture of their King. Reminded the Legate that, according to the treaties, he could not treat with the said ambassadors without the Emperor's consent.

The Legate replied that the ambassadors were aware of this, and that the King, his master, was about to dismiss them; their safe-conduct, moreover, was about to expire, and the King did not mean to renew it.

Told the Legate that they had heard of his being in daily communication with the Scotch ambassadors, and begged to know whether peace or truce was yet concluded with Scotland. To which the Legate replied that he was ready to state the whole truth. The embassy had two chief points: To ask the Princess in marriage for their young King; and to treat for peace between the two kingdoms. With regard to the first, they were told that the Princess was already promised to the Emperor, and that the King did not mean to give her away to any one else. Respecting the second point, involving also the wish that the French King and the kingdom of France should be included in the treaty of peace, the Scotch ambassadors were informed that the King could not agree to such a proposal, as it would involve a breach of the treaties between the Emperor and himself. The said ambassadors having no power to treat on any other terms, the Earl of Cassilis had returned to Scotland to obtain different ones. No decision had yet been taken, owing to the great dissension prevailing among the nobles of that kingdom, some holding with France and some with England. The Legate hopes the Earl may now

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return within a week, and the Commissioners shall be duly informed of every step in the negotiation.

Complaints concerning certain legal and commercial matters.

Have heard from the Cardinal, as they had previously from the King, that an embassy is about to be sent to the Emperor, consisting of the Bishop of London, Mr. Richard Wingfield, Mr. Robert Wingfield, Captain of Calais Castle, and Mr. Fonwillem (Fitzwilliam ?), Captain of Guisnes. That the King also contemplates writing to Madame [Margaret], and begging her to supply him with 3,000 or 4,000 horse to accompany his invading army, at his (the King's own expense. That is consideration for all past favours, and the amicable relations between the two countries, the King also expects that Madame will supply him with 3,000 foot, the Emperor having promised this once through M. de Praet. That the King intends to invade Normandy in person, and has ordered his captains to have three batteries of guns ready for transport there, and to forward besides all other preparations for war, as he (the King) does not mean this time to be diverted or prevented from invading France.

The Commissioners objected that it would be a very difficult matter to obtain the people's consent to such a plan, much less to convey troops from the Low Countries to Normandy, the distance being so great. Were told, in reply, that the project was feasible if Madame and her people were only willing to help. That the King had every confidence in her, and begged that her contingent of troops should be got ready and sent off at once, as the time and season for such enterprises was drawing near, &c.

In consequence of which, and that they may the better meet the Cardinal on his own ground when the subject again comes under discussion, the Commissioners beg Madame to send them positive directions how to act, under the assurance that whatever the Legate's overtures may be, they will not enter into any engagement without previous reference to the Emperor, as prescribed in Madame's letter of the 13th August; but they would prefer being immediately recalled, as it would be a great saving of time and money. Should she not wish them to treat further with the King and Cardinal, there is no need for them to remain in London. If on the contrary, they must have safe-conducts, fresh powers and ample instructions to continue the negotiations.

Beg Madame to appoint M. de Praet's successor immediately, the King and Legate being so set against him (De Praet) that there is no hope whatever of a reconciliation.

Enclose copies of the letters sent to the Emperor through M. du Reux.—London, the 16th of March 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoigne," "J. Laurence," "Jehan de le Sauch."

French. Original. pp. 4.

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16 March. **44.** The Duke of Najera* to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 13. f. 14.

Offers congratulations for the victory gained over the French at Pavia. God has placed his enemy in his hands. It is time that he (the Emperor) should put his hands on the infidels.—Amusco, 16 March 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Al Rey. 1525. Del Duque de Najera."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

16 March. **45.** Jo. Laurens to Philippe Hanneton.

Brit. Mus. *Add.* 28,574, f. 175.

Congratulations on the victory of Pavia.

Respecting the Middelbourg (*sic*) business,† he sees little hope of success; first, because he (Laurens) does not dare speak to the Scottish ambassador in favour of the person they both know, and also from fear of awakening the suspicions of the English. Besides, he thinks that he (the Abbot) has no powers to treat about the intercourse of trade.

Begs for instructions as to what the Commissioners are to negotiate, or else to be recalled, as they are doing nothing in London.—London, 16th March 1526.

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed: "To Monsieur l'Audiencyer."

French. Original. p. 1.

24 March. **46.** Adolf de Bourgogne, Laurens, and Le Sauch to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

Have received Madame's three letters of the 16th, 19th, and 20th inst. that came by the courier now going to Spain, as well as by another who arrived after him. Waited that very morning on the Legate, and informed him how Madame, wishing to return a speedy answer to his overtures about the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, had summoned all her nobility and grand masters (*tous les grands maistres et sieurs*), to consult them and hear their opinion on the subject, as the matter required serious consideration, the Emperor being expected to defray the expenses of the armament, and the men having to go as far as Normandy, a distance of 60 or 80 leagues off [from Flanders]. The Legate's answer was, after much commending Madame for her zeal and devotion to the common cause, that this was the time to make the invasion of France, before the enemy recovered breath, so that the

* D. Antonio Manrique de Lara, second Duke of Najera. Amusco is a castle in La Rioja, where the Duke's Spanish estates were chiefly situated.

† Evidently the same Abbe of Mydelbourg or Midlebourg mentioned in one of Praet's despatches (No. 38, p. 84). The object of his visit to England is not explained in this correspondence; he probably came on business relating to the Low Countries.

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Emperor and the King, his master, might severally retake what was their own, and the Emperor have besides Languedoc and Provence, so as to be able to communicate with his Italian dominions by land.

Have also presented to the Cardinal certain memorials and petitions, such as that of Mons. de Lannoy in favour of his Receptor Mons. de Rollencourt; that of Madame de Rœulx, and of various gentlemen of Artois and of the county of Guisnes, for the recovery of goods and prisoners made during the last war by certain English captains. The Cardinal asked them for a memorandum of the said prisoners and their names, as well as of the places where they now were, promising that he would speak to the captains of the King's army, and, if unjustly detained, would give orders for the immediate release of the prisoners.

After this, the Cardinal having alluded to certain law cases in which Englishmen were concerned, the Commissioners answered that, according to his wishes, they had already conversed with Mons. de Londres (Tunstall) thereupon, and given him complete satisfaction respecting the lawsuit (*procès*) of Jehan Cadel and other English subjects.

The Cardinal then came to the subject of the currency, intimating that Madame ought to have the value of English coin lowered in the Low Countries, whilst the price would be augmented in England, and that the valuation made by the Staple of Calais ought to be kept in all matters relating to trade. The Commissioners' answer was that on this last point no complaint had been made, and that before the last Christmas vacations certain decisions had been given in favour of one Thomas Semel (*sic*), an Englishman, whose property had been estimated according to the valuation of the said Staple, and that therefore they (the English), had no reason to complain. Besides which, as the King was now sending two ambassadors to Madame, the affair could be discussed there. To this last the Cardinal objected, saying that he was unwilling to commit such a charge to the English ambassadors, but intended to send soon two or three trusty personages to discuss the matter with them (the Commissioners). But on their remonstrating, and saying that they preferred treating with him, as he understood affairs much better, was more open to reason, and quicker in his resolutions than any other man at court, he (the Cardinal) did not insist. The Commissioners then went on to say how Madame had on different occasions assembled the States with a view to settle the currency [in the Low Countries], but that the deputies had never agreed, most of them being of opinion that any measure taken in time of war would be ineffectual; that if the price of gold was lowered all specie would go into Germany and other countries, and none would remain in the Low Countries but what was of very low standard, as experience had shown in the case of silver money.

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The Cardinal replied that all causes of complaint (*murmuration*), must forthwith be removed, which could not be accomplished except by giving to the English coin an equal valuation in both countries. Upon which the Commissioners begged him to consider that if the price was lowered, gold would go out of their country. He (the Cardinal), who no doubt looked to the interests of the Emperor's subjects as keenly as he did to those of his master, the King, might perhaps propose means to remedy the above evil, which, in their opinion, was inevitable. This last observation remained without an answer on the Cardinal's part, except that if things remained as they were, all the angelots of England would pass into Flanders; he (the Cardinal) knew the way for all the gold in our country coming over to England, which was to give it a valuation in harmony with the currency. Their reply was that many people held their coin so tight that it would be difficult to get it out of their hands.*

The French ambassadors went away last Tuesday, under the guidance of the Treasurer of Calais. They (the Commissioners) have written to the Emperor by this messenger, informing him of that and other news up to the present date, but are greatly afraid that he, the courier, will not be able to cross over so soon for want of a vessel, for Mons. du Rœulx having freighted the only *zabra* that was in port, there is none now ready for sea, though one is every day expected [from Spain] with letters from the Emperor.—Londres, 24 March 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "Laurens," "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 3.

25 March. **47.** Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 18.

Wrote the other day by the bastard Du Roeux, mentioning the vile trick that had been played upon him by seizing his correspondence. By the same conveyance His Imperial Majesty must have received letters of Mons. de Beures and of the President of the Grand Council [Laurens], describing that occurrence, and relating the conversations which the King, and, singularly the Legate, have held with them respecting that same affair and other public matters. What has since happened His Imperial Majesty must have equally learned through the despatches of the said ambassadors, to which he (De Praet) entirely refers.

* "Et alors luy deismes qu'il y avoit quelques qui tiennent les pièches si serrées qu'il y auroit bien a faire a les legierement arrachier."

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(*Cipher:*) To judge from the said Cardinal's words and expressions, there can be no doubt that his intentions and deeds,—had he an opportunity to manifest them,—would be the same that he (Praet) has announced in his late despatches, and His Majesty heard through his ambassadors and agents in Italy, as well as through the said Mons. de Bevres and President.

(*Common writing:*) The Emperor is beneficent and wise. At the present moment, with God's help, and the assistance of his good servants and subjects, he may be said to have in his own hands the monarchy of the world, provided this last victory over the French be well followed up. (*Cipher:*) His Imperial Majesty, indeed, cannot fail to overrule now those who wanted to keep him down. Whether he makes peace with his enemies or prosecutes war, the Emperor is always sure of having the best part. As long as the King and principal nobility of France remain prisoners in his hands, nobody will dare go against his will; for it is not to be presumed that so valuable a pledge as the French King and the Duke of Albany, if taken, is ever to be surrendered or given up to any [of his allies], whatever may be their solicitations or demands to that effect. His Majesty, therefore, has now ample means of making his own case good against any one of his allies and confederates who should attempt what is unjust or against his interests. (*Common writing:*) There can be no doubt that by such means Italy shall enjoy a long peace, during which His Imperial Majesty, the Duke of Milan and others of his servants and allies, will be able to accumulate money and make friends so as to defend themselves against any future aggression. For as long as the French King remains a prisoner in the Emperor's hands, which, in his (Praet's) opinion, ought to last a good long time, the kingdom of France will not be in a condition to pick up quarrels with its neighbours, but, on the contrary, will with great difficulty escape utter destruction. Of which event there is every probability if the lords on this side of the Channel (*ces seigneurs de deça*) will only work with goodwill and listen to advice, since they never had or will have a better opportunity to crush their enemy. Certainly, if in past times this King did service to His Imperial Majesty, he has now been fully and abundantly rewarded; for in less than four days he has been freed of the three greatest enemies he had in the world, the King of France, Richard de la Poulle (Pole), and the Duke of Albany, getting besides so grand an opportunity of recovering that to which he pretends to have a right.

In his (Praet's) opinion, His Imperial Majesty ought to help and assist this King in his undertaking for many a reason. (*Cipher:*) Should the English obtain some good footing in France, His Imperial Majesty will be greatly benefited by it, since his enemy will be weakened and thereby prevented from doing further mischief, which is the

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safest course to secure permanent peace. On the other hand, both French and English are sure to court the Emperor's alliance, from fear that he should favour one at the expense of the other. He (the Emperor) will be exempted from the payment of the indemnity, not a small matter, considering its amount; and last, not least, a fierce and perpetual war shall be kindled between the two nations, which will secure for the Emperor the esteem and respect of both Kings. (*Common writing:*) Such being the course of policy adopted, there can be no doubt that His Imperial Majesty shall thereby be enabled to have Mons. de Bourbon indemnified to his utmost content, that the whole of Languedocq, Bourgogne and the River Somme shall be recovered, the affairs of Italy comfortably settled, and France's pretensions to the kingdom of Naples effectually put out of the way.

(*Cipher:*) Should the Emperor dissemble a little longer with the Pope and Venetians, and go to Italy this very summer, or as early as he possibly can, the aforesaid object would be accomplished, for the rumour only of this last victory is sure to put down all contradiction in that quarter. The Emperor's Spanish subjects, good and loyal as they are, will offer no opposition to a journey of such paramount interest, but will vote all the money required for it. Indeed, if peace is to be made, nothing can help so much towards it as the Emperor's presence in Italy, not even the circumstance of King Francis being a prisoner in Spain. If, on the contrary, war is to be prosecuted, the Emperor will have there a well-appointed army ready to meet the enemy, and invade France, with Italy at its back and Germany on one side to send such reinforcements as may be required. The Emperor, besides, will be in no need of money; will put order to the German dissensions; keep the Switzers in awe,—no small object to be attained in the event of war with France;—and ultimately gain such credit and reputation [in Europe] as no Prince ever enjoyed; thus conferring on Christianity at large the boon of a lasting peace.

With regard to late events [in England], he (Praet) has nothing to advise, not having seen either the King or the Legate ever since the seizure of his letters, besides which, Madame [of the Low Countries] as well as Mons. de Beures and President (Laurens), her resident ambassadors in this kingdom, cannot fail to have acquainted His Imperial Majesty with every occurrence worthy of report. (*Cipher:*) In his opinion affairs are conducted here in a very negligent and careless manner, and without the activity and zeal the present occasion demands. God, by His infinite mercy, has made the Emperor arbiter of peace and war, and placed him in the position he (Praet) always wished to see him, fully avenged of his natural enemy, secured against the attacks and devices of other Princes, and on the eve of attaining that summit of glory and honour which shall command general

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esteem and respect. So fine an opportunity, therefore, ought not to be lost.

On his own personal affairs, he (Praet) can only say that he is every day expecting letters from Madame, with the order of leaving [England] and going to Spain. She writes to say that, considering the Cardinal's ill-will and animosity to the ambassador, and in order to avoid further troubles and dangers, it would be advisable that he (Praet) should quit London at once, cross over to Flanders, and, taking advantage of the first fleet sailing from Zealand, land on the Spanish coast. As the distance between this capital and the nearest point of embarkation (Dover) is upwards of 80 leagues by land, and as by remaining here he (Praet) would be confined to his rooms, without either seeing or conversing with any living soul, Madame's advice seems good; for were things to turn out badly, the error now committed would be greater than the first, and have worse consequences. Therefore, unless he receives orders to the contrary, he (Praet) is determined to cross over to Zealand as soon as possible, there to wait for the fleet sailing to Spain; humbly begging His Imperial Majesty not to credit any injurious reports about his person and acts [that might be circulated by the English ambassadors at the Imperial court], until he (Praet) can personally make his excuses.—London, 25 Mars 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

P.S.—Recommends again the affair of Messire Anthoine Rinaldi, from whom the late Bishop of Badajoz (Bernardo de Mesa) and Treasurer Vargas borrowed large sums of money whilst in England. As both those individuals, since deceased, have left property enough to answer the claims of the said banker, it is but just that he should be repaid his advances, thus encouraging him to render similar services in future to the Imperial ambassadors in England.—Date ut supra.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "To The Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, &c."

Indorsed: "To the Emperor. From Sieur de Praet. 25 March."

French. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 5.

25 March. **48.** The COMMISSIONERS [in England] to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

By the bastard Du Reulx, who passed through here coming from Pavia, and was present at the battle, the Commissioners have duly informed the Emperor of their mission [to England], the instructions received from Madame, and what has been done since their arrival. They have since held another conference with the Legate, as will be seen by the duplicate of their joint letter to Madame, here enclosed,

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which the said Du Reulx takes with him. Are waiting for instructions from Madame, who, for the sake of the Emperor's honour and prosperity, has summoned to her court the greater part of the nobles and grand masters in those parts, to have their advice, &c.

Madame has no doubt informed the Emperor of the King's intention to send certain ambassadors to her and to Spain. Cannot say what the object of their mission is, only that "Messieurs de Londres et de Wingfield"* will take their departure in five or six days, and that those † to Madame have left already.—London, 25 March 1525.

No signature.

French. Copy. pp. 2.

25 March. **49.** The Emperor to M. de Bourbon and to the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy).

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 47.

You will see by the enclosed that we earnestly request the Queen Regent of France to send us the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalons). As she might be disinclined to comply with our wishes, you will let us know what answer she makes to M. du Rœulx,‡ whom we now send to her for that purpose. Should the said M. du Rœulx be unsuccessful in his mission, you are to speak about it to the King of France, and say how much we wish for the release of that Prince, and that we promise due account shall be taken and a compensation allowed. But in case of the Queen and King still persisting in their refusal, you are to tell them, in our name, that unless the Prince is better treated than he has been hitherto, the French noblemen now prisoners in our hands will be dealt with in a similar manner.§—Madrid, 25 March 1525.

French. Copy. pp. 1½.

26 March. **50.** The Emperor to the King and Cardinal.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 19.

Has received the King's letter of congratulation on the recovery of his health and on the glorious victory just won over their common enemy. Knew the King would heartily rejoice with him on hearing of the event. Has given long audience to the King's ambassador, and heard what he had to say concerning M. de Praet, but cannot in all reason be otherwise than deeply wounded at the insult shown him in the seizure of that ambassador's correspondence. Cannot believe that so good and loyal a subject as M. de Praet is capable of making either groundless or mischievous statements. Begs the King to hear the ambassador in

* Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall and Sir Richard Wingfield.

† Sir Robert Wingfield and Sir William Fitzwilliam. They arrived at Mechlin (Malines) on the 26th of April. *See* Brewer, Vol. iv., Part i., p. 575.

‡ Ferry de Croy, better known as the bastard Du Rœulx. See above pp. 9, 12, 39. He was the son of Adrian, Sieur de Beaurain and Rœulx.

§ Published by Lanz, *Correspondenz*, etc., p. 156.

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his own defence, as he (the Emperor) would were the positions reversed. Assures the King of his (the Emperor's) unfailing attachment to him.—Your good son, brother, and nephew, Charles.

26 March. **51.** The Emperor to Cardinal Wolsey.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 20.

Has received his letters, together with those from the King, and given audience to Dr. Sampson, the English ambassador. Has been grievously insulted and in a manner which he should hardly have deemed possible between friendly powers. Has written in consequence to the King what he thinks fittest and most desirable in this matter for the maintenance of his own honour and dignity.—C'est de la main de . . . . .

French. Original minute. pp. 2.

26 March. **52.** The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 19.

Has received since Cilly's departure the good news of the victory given him by God over the King of France and his army; will not enter into details, as the King, the Legate, and himself (De Praet) have doubtless already heard the particulars. Encloses a list of the personages known, up to this time, to have been either killed or taken prisoners, which list he is to show to the King and Cardinal, acquainting them also with the discomfiture of the White Rose (La Pole), and the danger threatening the Duke of Albany; also how greatly he (the Emperor) thanks God for having given him this victory at a moment when his friends rendered him so little help.

Encloses copy of a letter from the Queen Regent of France. She must desire peace more than ever, now that it is the only way of restoring the King, her son, to liberty. He (the Emperor) has always desired peace, as Louis de Praet knows. Thinks it the greatest blessing that could be bestowed on him, provided only restitution of what is respectively their due were made to him (the Emperor), to the King of England, to the Duke of Bourbon, and to their other allies. Would much prefer obtaining peace by treaty than having recourse to arms. It sounds badly to make war upon a prisoner unable to defend himself. Has therefore determined to negotiate with all magnanimity, and is now sending the Sieur de Beaurains to the Queen Regent and to the King of France, to acquaint them with the conditions proposed by himself (the Emperor), the King of England, the Duke of Bourbon, and other of his allies and subjects, and to learn their resolution thereupon. Has ordered the King of France to be treated in the meanwhile with all due honour. Will duly inform the King of England of whatever the said M. de Beaurains may be able to accomplish by his mission. As soon as he (Beaurains) has seen the Duke of Bourbon and the Viceroy, he will write to Praet

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and send certain instructions, which he (Praet) is to follow as if they came directly from the Emperor himself.

Wishes Praet to assure the King and Legate of his (the Emperor's) goodwill towards them. He is to tell them also that the Emperor has no intention whatever of disarming, and hopes they will not do so either; on the contrary, he is quite determined—and so should they be—in case of the peace not being made, and their conditions rejected, to push on every preparation for war; for the French will naturally try to cause all possible delay in order to gain some breathing time; and it would be very unwise, on the faith of a few fair words from them (the French), to let this grand opportunity slip. Should the English wish to begin operations at once, although the Emperor's opinion is that by waiting a little while they would be more thoroughly justified in the eyes of the world, he (the Emperor) will give up the point, and accede to their wishes. He will write immediately to Madame to furnish the required aid in men and provisions. Should Madame prefer not to take a binding engagement on this point, so as to gain time, and see how things turn out, in that case the whole case is to be referred to the Emperor; and Praet, when addressed on the subject, can offer to write to Madame to know her pleasure, who, in her turn, will consult the Emperor. Relies upon his ambassador's ability and experience not to compromise him (the Emperor) in any way, or take any engagements, but to maintain the alliance with the King, his uncle, on as firm a footing as ever.

Should the English try to draw the ambassador into negotiations concerning the prosecution of the war, and propose that an adequate force should be kept on the Flemish frontier at the Emperor's expense, as was lately offered by Cilly, in that case he (Praet) is to say that the prospect of the Emperor's affairs has been totally changed since Cilly's mission, and that he can enter on no further negotiations until the Emperor sends him fresh instructions, but that the English can instruct their ambassador at Madrid to treat on all needful points there. This is the course the Emperor wishes his ambassador to pursue until tidings arrive from the Duke of Bourbon, the Viceroy, and M. de Beaurains.

Has heard from the Abbot of Middleburgh's messenger of the seizure of Praet's letters. Is seriously displeased at it, feeling the great insult thereby offered to himself. Has disguised his resentment until having Praet's own account in writing; will then write at once to the King, his brother, and complain of the Cardinal. Doubts not that the English ambassador here will also write to the King and Cardinal on the subject, as he has been requested to do, and will report what he (the Emperor) thinks of so flagrant an insult. Does not intend this matter to pass over unnoticed, God having given him the power to maintain his dignity. Wishes Praet to advise him whether there is a way, not involving any serious compromise

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to himself, of making the Cardinal suffer for this; also whether he (the Emperor) shall write to Madame to recall M. de Bèvres and the other ambassadors. Should Cilly not have left, he is to bring answers to these letters, and also to those enclosed for Madame.—Given in our city of Madrid, the 26th of March 1525.

Indorsed: "L'Empereur à Mr. de Praet."

French. Original minute. pp. 4.

26 March. **53.** Martin de Salinas* to the Archduke of Austria.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salinas*, f. 127.

Muy alto y muy poderoso señor.—Your Highness must have been informed of the great diligence used by Alonso Gutierrez de Meneses in coming from those parts. He is now returning [to Germany], after delivering his charge, and speaking to His Imperial Majesty and to the members of his Council of Estate in the very words of his instructions. The said Meneses was in Portugal when the news of the battle of Pavia arrived. Many are sorry, and I among the rest, that your Highness was not present at it, but many there are at this court who throw the blame of His Highness's absence on a certain individual whose name Meneses will tell *vivâ voce.*

To-day, the bastard Du Rœux† arrived in this town (Madrid), though too late for the journey he had in contemplation, because many days before his arrival His Imperial Majesty was fully acquainted with the news of the victory [of Pavia]. At the same hour Alonso Gutierrez de Meneses was despatched, from whom your Highness will hear of the Emperor's good health and news of this court. As the said bastard (Du Rœulx) or perhaps Dr. Borja are likely to start soon [for Germany] I will write by them.—Madrid, 26th March 1525.

Addressed: "To His Highness the Archduke Ferdinand."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

26 March. **54.** Margaret of Austria to Cardinal Wolsey.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 48.

Is writing to Mons. de Beures, to the President of the Council (Laurens), and to Jean de le Sauch, her ambassadors in London, respecting her intended proceedings after the manner in which the King of England has recently answered their overtures. They (the ambassadors) are to ask permission to return, leaving Le Sauch behind until the Emperor, to whom

* This was no doubt Martin de Salinas, who, in 1522, was ambassador of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, at the Imperial court.

† The original has: De Urries, which is evidently a mistake for Du Rœulx or Du Rœux. He probably wished to be the bearer of the news to the Archduke. There must, however, be some error in the date, for if he arrived at Madrid on the 26th, the draft of the Emperor's letter to Bourbon and Lannoy (see No. 51) must have been antedated.

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she is now writing, determines to send another ambassador [instead of Praet].—Brussels, 26 March 1525.

Signed: "Marguerite."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

27 March. **55.** The EMPEROR to LOUIS DE PRAET, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 25, ff. 58–9.

The enclosed is the duplicate of a letter which We wrote to you by Meneses, gentleman of the bedchamber to our brother the Archduke Ferdinand. After whose departure We have also received through the agent of the Foucker (Fuggers), first, and afterwards by the Sieur du Rœulx, bearer of the present, your two letters dated 24th Feb. and 11th March. We had already perused the contents of those which were taken from you in England and opened. They were brought to this our court by an express messenger of the Cardinal, and exhibited to us by the English ambassador (Dr. Sampson) together with a memorandum, whereof We send you copy, that you may see the frivolous reasons and pretences alleged against you, and to excuse the said seizure and opening of your correspondence.*

The said ambassador has also put into our hands holograph letters of the King and Cardinal, accusing you of all manner of things, and requesting that We should punish you for your misdeeds.

There was no occasion for so much anxiety and fear as you have shown in your late despatches, for We should never have thought of abiding by the judgment of the people of England, without standing by you and upholding you in your right, as a true and loyal servant of the Empire. It has never been our habit to abandon those who, like you, have served us well. We firmly believe in the truth of your report, to maintain which, as well as to preserve your honour and our own authority, grievously affected by the said trespass, We shall henceforward devote all our attention and care, promising you every help and protection at a future time, and, whenever an opportunity occurs, of asserting your right as our ambassador.

And now you may see by our letters to the King and Cardinal, of which a copy is enclosed, what our sentiments are concerning the seizure and breach of your correspondence.

We should like that the King heard you on the subject, and, therefore, you might at once ask for an audience, or wait until you were sent for, and then state your reasons in the mildest possible terms, without producing irritation or anger, and as your prudence may dictate.

Our letter to the King We have entrusted to the said Meneses, with orders to place it in his own hands. He will

* This memorandum, entitled "Justification des Anglais," under the date of 7th of March, is at page 62.

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tell you what sort of reception the King gives him, and what impression our letter is likely to produce, for you must, if possible, appear as if you knew nothing of its contents. If the King and Cardinal pass the matter over without taking any notice, or referring in any way to it, then, in that case, you will do the same, from fear of awakening the Cardinal's suspicions, thereby damaging our common cause, and perhaps exposing your person to danger, a thing of all others to be avoided under the present circumstances, as everything has its time, and We are not likely to forget so soon the injury done to us. We have heard what the Seigneur de Bèvres, our cousin, the President of our Grand Council of Flanders (Jos. Laurens), and their colleague (Le Sauch) have said to the King and Legate on the aforesaid subject and others under discussion. We fully approve of their answer to the King; it was wise and prudent. But as We now write to them without alluding to the above particulars,—believing they have by this time left England and returned to Flanders,—as the English ambassador at this our court tells us that the King, his master, is about to send a gentleman of his chamber to communicate to us his intention of landing with a force in Normandy, were the King or Cardinal to interrogate you on the subject, you will tell them that We have given no charge whatever thereupon, because We are waiting for the arrival of the said gentleman, who will no doubt come with full powers to treat. —Madrid, ... March 1525.*

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

27 March. **56.** The Emperor to the Ambassadors in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 25, f. 60.

By the Baron du Rœulx, bearer of the present, We have duly received your letters and their enclosures, informing us of what has passed between the King, our brother, Monseigneur the Legate, and you. We fully approve of all your doings, as well as of the answers made in our name.

Believing that by the time this our letter reaches England you will be back in Flanders, We write in full to Madame our aunt, and to the Seigneur de Praet, concerning our affairs. We thank you for the trouble taken and the zeal and wisdom displayed in the execution of our orders. Matters are now in such a plight that it behoves us to come to a final resolution, if We are to profit by the victory which God has granted to our army. We shall not fail, hereafter, to remunerate all and each of you according to his services.—Date *ut supra.*

(Similar letters to Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas and to Monseigneur l'Archiduc.)

French. Original draft on the same sheet. p. 1.

* This letter was probably addressed to Commander Peñalosa. The minute has no date.

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29 March. **57.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp. No. 31.

Has not written since the 25th February last, waiting for the departure of Don Ugo de Moncada for Spain, who will leave in three days, through France, with a safe-conduct of the King. After his departure a despatch shall be sent by sea, with news up to that time. What he (Najera) has now to advise is, that the King of France is still at Piciguiton, passing his time with balls and other games of manly exercise. Alarcon has especial care of his person, as M. de Brion (Philippe de Chabot) must already have informed His Imperial Majesty.

This army is divided into two corps; one is now in the Plazentino,* and is going shortly to the Rezzano, to please His Holiness, who has expressly asked us for it; the other has hitherto been quartered in the country of Novara, but is being removed to Ibrea and other lands of the Duke of Savoy. Our principal business has been and is still to procure from the Pope and other Italian Princes money to pay the 600,000 ducats owing to this army up to the day of the battle. He (Najera) went to Genoa for the purpose of receiving the 100,000 of the first instalment, but could not learn when the second, third, and fourth were due. The Duke of Milan has levied a tax of 80,000 and odd ducats on the capital of his estate, and the Marchioness of Monferrato 15,000, with which the immediate wants of this Imperial army have been somewhat supplied. Enclosed is a memorandum of the sums with which each of the Italian Princes is expected to contribute. Is very much afraid that it will be necessary, in the end, to appeal to force, for the parties do not seem inclined to pay. The Pope has promised the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) and Duke of Sessa to enter into an offensive and defensive league with His Imperial Majesty against the Turk, both in his own name and in that of the Florentines, and to pay, besides, in consideration of the past as well as of future expenses, a sum of money to be fixed by them (Lannoy and Sessa). The better to prove that he is in earnest, His Holiness has actually remitted 25,000 ducats, which we expect to receive here in two days. The sum, though small, will be gratefully accepted, owing to the great distress in which we now are, without, however, losing our hopes for the remainder. The Pope is contriving to make the Venetians join this league, but only as accessories, which they object to, wishing in every respect to be considered as principals. Their answer is expected every day.

The Marquis of Pescara has taken possession of Carpi, with the consent of the Duke of Bourbon and of the Viceroy of Naples, who are equally deserving of the Imperial favours,

* Piacenza and its district.

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as well the Marquis del Gasto (Guasto), Alarcon, Antonio de Leyva, and all the generals and captains of this victorious army.

The Duke of Ferrara is about to pay 50,000 out of the 100,000 ducats which he has promised to lend us. This he does in consideration of Rezzo and Rubiera, which he hopes to retain.

The French fleet was, on the 20th instant, at Porto Hercole and Sanctistevan (Sanct Stephano); and there are advices from Rome, that on the 22nd the Duke of Albany had already gone on board with upwards of 1,000 Germans, and the greatest part of his cavalry, who, it is said, had sold most of their horses. They were only waiting for favourable wind to set sail.

M. del Escudo (L'Escun) died on the 5th instant, from the hackbut-shot received at the battle; the Grand Master from fever on the 22nd. 30,000 ducats, at least, have been lost by the death of the above two prisoners.—Milan, 29th of March 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 29th March."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2¼.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp. No. 31.

58. ACCOUNT of MONEY to come from the Italian Powers to cover the expenses of the War.

	ducats.
From the Pope - - -	40,000
„ the Duke of Savoy - -	11,000
„ the Duke of Milan - -	20,000
„ England - - -	16,000
„ Sienna - - - -	15,000
	102,000

The above 102,000 ducats have already been paid. Remain to be recovered within a few days' time 109,000 more, as follows:—

From the Pope - - -	60,000
„ England - - -	24,000
„ Lucca and Sienna - -	25,000
	109,000

The Italian powers will remain in the Emperor's debt, as follows:—

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The Venetians for - - -	120,000
The Duke of Milan, in silk and cloth	40,000
The Duke of Savoy, as complement of the 30,000 ducats which he has to pay - - - -	19,000
	179,000

According to the agreement made with the said powers, the following sums were to be paid to the Emperor :—

The Pope, for the remainder of his contribution, in virtue of the league made with Pope Adrian, for five months - - - -	75,000
The Florentines, for the remainder of certain monthly contributions -	70,000
The Siennese, for five months -	25,000
The people of Lucca, for as many months - - - -	55,000
The Venetians, at the rate of 30,000 per month, for four months -	120,000
The Duke of Ferrara - -	100,000
The Duke of Savoy - -	50,000
Genoa - - - -	25,000
Making in all the sum of ducats -	520,000

Indorsed: "Quel che de presente se puo hauer de contante."
Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1½.

30 March. **59.** CHARLES DE LANNOY to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

Arch. d. Roy^me de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 53.

Has received her letter of the 12th instant, and thanks her for the kind words brought by Bregilles, her squire.

Commander Pynnalose (Peñalosa) has not yet returned [from Spain] and he himself has no news since the battle. Is trying to conduct affairs in Italy as mildly (*doucement*) as he can. The Pope is endeavouring to conclude a defensive and offensive league with the Emperor, and yesterday (the 29th) sent him 25,000 crowns to help to pay the men, but considering that the arrears owed to this Imperial army, men-at-arms, cavalry, and infantry, amount to upwards of 600,000 ducats, the sum remitted by the Pope is very insignificant.

Intends to claim from him and from the Florentines 150,000 ducats which they owe since the time of the league with Pope Adrian. Demands also from the Venetians 130,000 ducats on account of their forces not having joined the Imperialists, as stipulated in the convention made for the defence of the duchy of Milan. Is also trying to get money from Genoa and Lucca. The Duke of Ferrara is about to lend 50,000. Does his best to get this army paid, which is by no means an easy task.

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Does not inform Madame of the Duke of Sessa's present negotiations with His Holiness, because he (Lannoy) has not heard from Rome lately, and because Don Hugo has not yet arrived, though he is expected every day.—Milan, 30 March 1525.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

French. Copy. pp. 2.

30 March. **60.** KATHERINE, Queen of England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, f 85.

Most High and Powerful Lord:—I have been so long without receiving news from your Highness that I really do not know to what cause to attribute so long a silence, unless it be to the inconstancy and fickleness (*poca synceridad*) of the sea—and to the long distance. Nothing indeed would be so painful to me as to think that your Highness had forgotten me, and therefore beg and entreat, as earnestly as I can, that your Highness be pleased to inform me of your health, and send me your orders; for love and consanguinity both demand that we should write to each other oftener.

That your Highness may the better appreciate my sentiments, I have charged the ambassadors of the King, my husband and master, now going to Spain, to inform your Highness of the great pleasure and content I have experienced at hearing of the very signal victory which God Almighty, by His infinite mercy, has been pleased to grant to the Imperial arms in Italy, trusting that your Highness will offer thanksgiving to that same God, as the King, my master, is now doing, ordering solemn processions and other religious acts, throughout this kingdom.

As the King, my husband and master, has never failed to be the constant and faithful ally of your Highness,—as his words and deeds have sufficiently testified on every occasion,—and as from the continuance of such friendship and alliance the best results may be anticipated, I humbly beseech your Highness to persevere in the path of friendship and affection towards us, since the King has always done his duty, and is now rejoicing at your Highness's success. I shall say no more, but will refer entirely to the said ambassadors, to whom your Highness will be pleased to give full credence on my part.—Granuche (Greenwich), 30th of March.

Signed: "Your good aunt, Katherina."

Addressed: "To the most High and most Powerful Lord, the Emperor, nephew, etc."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

30 March. **61.** The COMMISSIONERS to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 21.

Received Madame's letters of the 26th inst., and waited this very morning on the Cardinal to inform him of their contents, and say that Madame was willing to do the King's

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pleasure in every respect, except sending to Normandy the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, which could not possibly be effected for many reasons, unless the Emperor was previously consulted thereupon. Told him, 1stly, that although Madame was fully empowered by her nephew, the Emperor, matters of peace and war were so important that she had never decided them without the Emperor's approbation; 2dly, that by sending such a force to Normandy our frontiers would necessarily remain open to the enemy, who might thus invade Flanders and pillage the towns close to the borders. This would naturally cause great discontent among the inhabitants, who might say—not without reason—that though they paid heavy taxes they were yet unprotected; 3dly, that since the King is now sending his own ambassadors to Spain in order to ascertain the Emperor's intentions and wishes before the English army sets out on this expedition, Madame is the more justified in consulting him thereupon; 4thly, that the King having declared his inability to cross the Channel before the end of May, there is plenty of time during that interval for the King and Madame to ascertain the Emperor's intentions without any possible detriment being caused by the delay. And in order to prove her goodwill in this matter, Madame was ready, if required, to send with the King's ambassadors [to Spain] some gentleman of her court, who might urge the application and bring back an answer, when she would not fail to comply with the Emperor's orders to the King's satisfaction.

The Cardinal then, in the presence of Mons. de Londres (Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London), and Wingfeld (Sir Richard Wingfield), replied that Madame was bound by treaties to furnish the above-mentioned contingent, and that such was the Emperor's avowed intention. It had been stipulated between the King and him (the Emperor) that the grand enterprise was to commence at the end of May, and therefore on the King effecting his descent [in France], Madame was expected to help with her contingent. Even supposing that the treaties did not expressly contain that stipulation, he (the Cardinal) considered that Madame was bound to do so by way of gratification, and in acknowledgment of the many favours which the King, his master, and his predecessors had conferred on the house of Burgundy. As to the people of Flanders and the Low Countries grumbling at it, he felt sure that when they saw the King of England pass over in person at the head of his army, they and all the rest of the Emperor's subjects would be exceedingly pleased.

The Commissioners' answer was in substance as follows: To the first point, that Madame was nowise bound by treaties to furnish the required contingent; for although the "grand enterprise" is therein mentioned, nowhere is it stipulated that the Low Countries are to help in it with a contingent of horse and foot, but only that in case of the enemy wishing

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to give battle (*voulsissent bailler la bataille*), the King may call for (*mander*) the garrisons of our frontier towns, if they can take the field conveniently (*commodieusement*), not otherwise . . . . . .

(*Two lines crossed over so as to be illegible.*)

To the second point, the Commissioners replied that they were aware of the favours which the King and his predecessors had granted to the Low Countries (*aux pays de par de là*); the Flemish had not been ungrateful; they had always considered the King and his subjects; had lent them assistance when wanted, and were still ready to proffer it; but as to furnishing now the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, that was out of the question, for the reasons already declared.

To the third, they said they hoped that on the King's landing [in France] he would take in his pay as many of our soldiers, horse and foot, as he wished; that would give no offence to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and the men would willingly serve as long as their services were required.

Upon which the Cardinal observed: "I can see that your object is only to content me with fair words, but that is not my way of doing business. You ought to tell me explicitly whether Madame is willing or not to grant our request. The King has, since your arrival in London, acceded to everything you have asked him for, and yet you have done nothing for him."

The Cardinal then began to recount one by one the affairs in which he had done us service; and, firstly, that when the French applied for the hand of the Princess, making large offers, they were flatly refused, and their ambassadors dismissed from court; that the Scots had made a similar application, offering to forsake the French alliance, to furnish 18,000 or 20,000 men at their own charge for the invasion of France, to take King Henry for their superior,* and to place in his hands the government of their country (Scotland) during the minority of their infant King [James], and yet for our sake their offers had been rejected, and England was in danger of a war with Scotland.

The Commissioners, after duly thanking the King and Cardinal in the Emperor's and Madame's name for their goodwill and intentions, remarked that it was not on Madame's account, or through their arrival in London, that such answer had been given to the French and Scottish ambassadors. Their offers would have been rejected all the same if they (the Commissioners) had not come to England, as it could not for a moment be supposed that the King intended to break through the treaty.

This the Cardinal owned was the case, when after a good deal of conversation, he again begged us to speak sincerely,

* "Et d'auantaige de prendre le roy desmaintenant pour leur superieur pour commettre au regiment du royaulme d'escosse, tel qu'il luy plairoit."

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and tell him at once whether we were willing to negotiate with him or not. "Let us" (he said) "put fair words aside, and come to facts." The Commissioners' reply was: "We have told your Reverence the plain truth. We have no powers to go on with the negotiation, and we cannot but repeat our former statement." "How is it then" (replied the Cardinal), "that when you first arrived in this country you offered us, of your own accord, 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, and now you say you have no powers to treat? I confess that I do not understand such strange manner of negotiating, nor can I make out what the cause may be of your tergiversation."

The Commissioners' answer was that the powers in virtue of which the offer had been made were granted under the supposition that the King wished to invade Picardy, not Normandy.

"Well then," (interrupted the Cardinal) "let us at once treat as if the King, my master, wished to invade that province. What do you mean to do for us?"

To this last overture, however, the Commissioners dared make no reply, neither would they accept or refuse it, in compliance with Madame's orders contained in her last letters, and for several other reasons which will be detailed hereafter.

1stly. Because it is doubtful whether the Scottish ambassadors now in London have solicited the marriage alliance as earnestly as they are represented to have done; and it is to be feared that if their offers of peace be rejected they may be induced to push matters forwards, and propose more advantageous conditions.

2dly. Because the English might say that Madame only sent her ambassadors to deceive the people of this country with fair words, and that when the King had condescended to grant all we wanted of him, we drew back and no longer kept our promise, which would have a very bad effect upon the people of this kingdom, and strongly alienate their affections from the Emperor, his various subjects, and Madame in particular.

3dly. As the Cardinal had expressly summoned Mons. de Londres (Tunstall) and Wingfield to the above-mentioned conference, that they might hear all what was there said, and report accordingly to the Emperor, when at his court, the Commissioners fear that if they had committed themselves in the least, and said anything contrary to his wishes or intentions in this affair, they might have caused him displeasure, which is the thing in this world they most wish to avoid.

4thly. Because had the Commissioners answered the Cardinal's overtures in a vague manner, it is very probable that the first thing these ambassadors would have done upon their arrival at the Imperial court would have been to ask the Emperor the very same questions, and as the Emperor will no doubt tell them plainly what his intentions are, the King and

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Cardinal would have gained their object without being at all thankful to Madame for it.

5thly. That during the conference the Cardinal has told them many a time: "Messieurs les Commissaires, pensez y bien," which words he (the Cardinal) has repeated so often, that they are lost in conjectures about their meaning.

Beg Madame to take in good part whatever has been done and said by them on this occasion. Their only wish is to serve her and the Emperor to the best of their abilities. Should Madame consider it advisable for them to negotiate, particular instructions must be forwarded in all haste. The Commissioners might consider their present charge as executed, and return home, as it is their most ardent wish to do, but they will remain in London until an answer comes to this despatch, or they may otherwise know the Emperor's pleasure.

The Cardinal begs them to say that Madame would do very well to send somebody from that country to accompany the English ambassadors, whose departure, however, is not to be delayed, for they have already taken leave of the King, and are to sail next Saturday.

A paragraph in Madame's last letter to the Commissioners refers to a former one in which they were directed not to insist any longer upon the dismissal of the French ambassadors at this court. They beg to inform Madame that such a letter has not been received, and that when the last came to hand the French ambassadors * had already left.

The Commissioners have not omitted to bring Mons. de Praet's case to the Cardinal's notice as graciously as it was in their power. The Cardinal insists on his punishment, because (he says) many injurious and malicious reports have been sent by him to Spain, Flanders, and principally to the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) in Italy. He says, however, that he will be satisfied if Madame has him punished as he deserves. The Commissioners have told him that Mons. Praet having his commission direct from the Emperor, not from Madame, nothing could be done in Flanders; it was for the Emperor to decide. He replied: "Madame ought to do it, in order to set an example. I will speak to the King, who perhaps will not let him go without his taking his trial in this country," which last words, as Madame may imagine, threw the Commissioners into great confusion.—Londres, le penultieme jour (30th) de Mars.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoigne," "J. Laurens," "J. de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 7.

* Jean Brinon, President of Rouen, and Giovanni Gioachino di Passano, or Jean Jocquin, as called by the French.

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31 March. **62.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 21.

Yesterday, as they were returning from the Cardinal's, the Commissioners met Mons. de Silly (Cilly), bearer of the present despatch, who had just arrived in London with letters and with instructions for Mons. de Praet and himself. After perusing the same and discussing their contents, the Commissioners have been of opinion that before communicating the same to the King and Cardinal, it was advisable that the said Cilly should go to Flanders with the said letters and instructions, in order that being examined there, they should be made acquainted with Madame's pleasure respecting them.

As the Cardinal, however, knew from the English ambassador at the Imperial court that the said Cilly was expected in London, and was to bring certain letters for him ; as Cilly, moreover, could not well quit London without paying his respects to the Cardinal, and asking for a passport, it was resolved that the President (Jos. Laurens), who was to go to the Cardinal's for other business, should take him (Cilly) thither, explain his mission as well as the Commissioners' resolution to send him to Flanders for orders, and beg his Reverence the Cardinal to wait a few days until Cilly's return.

As Mons. de Cilly will verbally tell Madame, the Cardinal strongly objected to his going, but, after a good deal of resistance, yielded to the President's entreaties, and consented to his departure, on condition that he (the President) will communicate to him, to-morrow, the substance of the said instructions, which he (the President) has promised to do. He could not do otherwise, as the Cardinal assured him that he knew what the instructions contained, having heard from the English ambassador in Spain what was the nature of Cilly's charge, and what message he brought for the King, his master. And, therefore, to-morrow, according to promise, the said President (Laurens) is to communicate, as graciously as he can, the substance of the Imperial instructions to Mons. de Praet.

Beg to receive Madame's commands respecting their letter of yesterday, the 30th, as well as respecting the papers, letters, and instructions now sent by the bearer, Mons. de Cilly.—London, 31 March 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoigne," "J. Laurens," "J. le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 2.

31 March. **63.** LOUIS DE PRAET, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 23.

Has received Madame's letters touching his recall. Is quite ready to start, as soon as the King will give him a safe-conduct. Has determined to sail from Zealand, for the reasons which Madame will see in his last letters. Yesterday the

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ambassadors spoke to the Legate about his departure. The Legate's reply was strange and unusual, as Madame will judge from the ambassadors' letters to her. It would seem, indeed, as if the Legate intended to detain him (De Praet) here for punishment, as he says, without giving him a chance of being heard by the Emperor. Such an act would be equally dishonourable to the Emperor and to himself, as it would utterly ruin his reputation. Humbly beseeches Madame to instruct her ambassadors here to obtain permission for his speedy departure, and to represent strongly to the King and Cardinal that the Emperor and Madame could never allow their ambassador to suffer penalty from anyone but themselves, and that after having first heard his defence, especially in a case like the present, in which the plaintiffs, the King and Cardinal, would be the judges. Hopes in fitting time and place to prove to the Emperor and Madame that he has served them both well and loyally. Should it be found otherwise, he (Praet) will then bear with patience whatever penalty the Emperor may see fit to impose upon him.—London, March 31, 1525.

Signed : "Loys de Praet."

Postscriptum.—By the despatch which the present bearer, Cilly, has brought from the Emperor, Madame will see His Majesty's wishes, and the said Cilly will also inform her of the resolution taken thereon by the ambassadors and himself.

Addressed : "Louis de Praet to Madame."

French. Original. p. 1.

31 March. **64.** HENRY THE EIGHTH to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 27.

My most beloved Son :—This present letter is to congratulate you upon your recovery, as also upon the honourable victory which our Lord has been pleased to grant to your arms, having vanquished and taken prisoner the French King, our common enemy. Had it been possible for my most loyal and chief councillor, the Cardinal of York and Legate [of England], to endure—weak and infirm as he is—the fatigue of so long a journey as that from England to Spain, I should have sent him to offer the said congratulations in person, and also to treat of certain matters and things relating to our common affairs. As this my wish, however, cannot be accomplished, I have decided to send towards you my most loyal councillors the Bishop of London and Messire Richard Wingfilde (Wingfield), Knight of my Order, to whom, I pray, you will give full credence in what they may say in my name, promising to stand by and fulfil any engagements they may make for us.—31st March 1525.

Signed : "C'est de la main de votre père, frère, et cousin, et bel oncle, Henry."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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1 April. **65.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

S. E. L. No. 1553, f. 435.

Has duly received His Holiness' letter of the 8th March, delivered by the Papal Nuncio (Castiglione). Cannot express his joy at seeing that the common Father of the Faithful and Vicar of Christ deigns to congratulate him on his past victory, and shows also a most decided inclination to bring about a lasting peace among Christians. Such has always been, and is still, his (the Emperor's) constant wish; and certainly nothing shall be omitted on his part to gain that object.—Maioreti (Madrid), 1st Apr. 1525.

Addressed: "Beatissimo Patri Clemente VII. *P. P.*"

Latin. Original draft, in the hand of Alfonso Valdes, one of the Emperor's secretaries. pp. 2.

1 April. **66.** Treaty proposed by Pope Clement VII.

S. T. c. P. P. L. I.

1. The Pope and His Imperial Majesty to be perpetual allies, friends of friends, and enemies of enemies; and to be bound to defend each other's possessions in Italy and elsewhere.

2. Any Italian powers that desire to be included in the present treaty to give in their names within a period of 20 days, as the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), the Florentines, and the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) have done already.

3. The Emperor, the King of England, and the Archduke (Ferdinand) to take under their protection the Pope, the house of Medici, and the Italian powers that may adhere to this treaty, principally the Florentines. The Pope, in a like manner, to take under his protection the Emperor, the King of England, and Archduke [of Austria], defending their respective rights, and especially those that His Imperial Majesty has over the kingdom of Naples.

4. The Emperor, King, and Archduke to withdraw their protection from all rebellious subjects of the Holy See within a period of 20 days.

5. Should war be undertaken against the infidel Turk, the signers of the present treaty to consult with each other as to the amount of aid in money or troops which each Prince is to contribute towards it; and, in order to avoid delay, to appoint ambassadors or agents duly empowered to meet at Rome and arrange matters with the commissioners of the Pope and Emperor.

6. Rebels and declared enemies of any of the confederates not to be allowed to reside in the country or territory of another confederate, but after 10 days' notice to be taken up and delivered, if demanded, to their respective sovereigns and lords, Rome alone to be excepted, as being the common fatherland and general place of refuge, unless in the case of rebels to the Emperor, to the King of England, or to the Archduke [of Austria].

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7. The present treaty not to be secondary to or dependent on other treaties, either between confederates or otherwise, and not to interfere with any others made or to be made between the Emperor and the King of England.

8. This treaty to be in force from the day on which it is signed, till a year after the decease of one of the contracting parties; none of whom, however, shall enter into any treaty, covenant, or compact against any of the above clauses without the express consent of the other parties. In case of any Italian Prince being included, the duration of the treaty to be from the admission of the same till a year after the death either of the Pope or of the Emperor. Neither are the said Princes to conclude any other treaty without the consent of the Pope and Emperor.

9. The three temporal Princes mentioned in this treaty engage to persecute heretics to the utmost of their power.

10. Likewise to assist the Pope in reforming the Church.

11. Should the Emperor wish to come [to Italy] to be crowned as King of the Romans, the Pope will treat him with due honour, and also oppose equally with spiritual and temporal weapons all those who may endeavour to prevent his coming.

12. The above conditions to be ratified in four months' time, and to be observed until ambassadors from the Princes arrive at Rome, properly empowered to sign the same.

13. Should there be in the present treaty any particular clause for which the assent of the Emperor, King of England, and Archduke is particularly required, in that case the Pope's agents, on one side, and the Viceroy, Charles de Lannoy, as Captain-General of the Holy League, on the other, will be fully empowered to arrange the same.—Done at St. Peter's, Rome, 1 April 1525, in the presence of His Holiness [the Pope]; of Don Luis [Fernandez] de Cordova, and of Giovanni Bartholomeo de Gattinaria, Imperial ambassadors; of John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, ambassador of the King of England; and of me Fernando Pedro de Salamanca.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 6.

2 April.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 26. f. 61.

67. The COMMISSIONERS to MADAME.

According to the tenor of their letters, forwarded by Squire Cilly, the President did that very day call on Monseigneur the Cardinal [of York], in order to communicate to him the contents of the letters and instructions brought by the said esquire respecting M. de Praet's case.

And, first, he (the President) told the Cardinal, as graciously as he could, that, considering him equally well acquainted with the articles proposed by the English ambassador [in Spain] as with the answer recently made by the Emperor, there was no necessity for him again to return to that subject. On this point the Cardinal answered nothing, save certain hints and allusions to those who had been the cause of his

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being mistrusted. He (the President) not choosing to enter upon such topics, made no reply to his observations, but began to explain the Duke of Savoy's ideas about the peace. The Cardinal said he was very glad to see that the suspicion of his wishing to treat with the French King had been abandoned. It was now clearly demonstrated that it was not he, but others, who had made overtures to France, whereby his goodwill and intentions would become manifest. Upon which the President replied that the said overtures did not come from the Emperor either, nor from any person about him, but merely from the King of France, to whose advantage they really were, as was clearly shown to him afterwards in the course of conversation.

The Cardinal having offered no contradiction to the above premises, he (the President) went on to explain the contents of the Pope's letters, as well as his own instructions. Firstly, the Emperor would not show his discontent to the Pope, and, although his own affairs were in danger, he had sufficient courage to push on and accomplish his designs, to which end he had resolved to increase his present army in Languedoc. To the 4,000 German infantry and 300 men-at-arms, already posted on the frontier of that province he was about to add 7,000 or 8,000 foot, 500 men-at-arms, and a strong detachment of light cavalry, besides some country militia and an artillery corps. With these forces it was his intention to attack Narbonne and other fortified towns of that province.

Secondly, considering the heavy expenses the Emperor was making for the maintenance and keeping of his Italian army, the King of England was duly bound to raise a good army and invade France by whichever point suited him best. The Cardinal immediately replied that he was well aware of that condition, but he knew also there was a clause in the instructions [to Praet] purporting that Madame was to furnish a contingent of 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, to be led by the King of England wherever he was pleased to go. This the President at once contradicted, and on the Cardinal insisting that there was a clause to that effect in the instructions, the former denied it, upon which the Cardinal, rather disconcerted, exclaimed, "If that be the case, it must be that at your court they tell our ambassadors one thing, and write another." After which he added: "However this may be, there can be no doubt that Madame ought to furnish the said contingent in men, for the King, my master, intends to cross over in person, as stipulated in the various treaties, and the Emperor is also bound to do the same;" and he offered to show the original treaties, which he had by him. The President's reply was, that there was no need of his seeing the treaties again, as he knew their contents by heart. He was quite certain that no such stipulation had ever been made. The treaties contained no clause obliging Madame to furnish a contingent whatever, in horse or foot.

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On the supposition that the said clause really existed, the Cardinal had, on the previous day, informed the Commissioners, as contained in their despatch of the 31st ultimo, that if Madame consented to send 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot to invade France by Picardy, he (the Cardinal) should be glad to discuss the terms of the capitulation.

Now, he says, Picardy is too strongly fortified to be invaded with so small a force, and that since the King of England intends to lead his army in person, he must attack some other region, where the defences are not so strong or numerous, a project which (the Cardinal says) Madame is bound to assist and favour with all her forces, as otherwise she might lose altogether the affections of the English. To which the ambassadors replied—as they did the day before—that if the King of England wanted men, he could, as stipulated in the treaty, raise as many as he chose at his own expense. The Cardinal concluded by saying: "Madame must now make every effort, by which the Emperor will profit, to conquer Bourgogne, Languedoc and Provence. I know the way to make him the monarch of the whole world, and Emperor also, not upon paper nor in writing, but really enjoying the possession of Italy, and holding his court at Rome." The ambassadors' answer was, that they had no idea the Emperor's views were intent upon universal monarchy; they thought he would at any time be satisfied with his own and what by right belonged to him.

After which, as he had many people waiting to transact business with him, the Cardinal put an end to the conference, begging him (the President) to return the next day, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.—London, Saturday the 1st of April (1525).

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoingne," "Joos. Laurrens," "Jehan de Lesauch."

Addressed: "To Madame Marguerite, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

Indorsed: "From the Commissioners at London."

French. Original. pp. 2.

2 April. **68.** The Emperor to the Duke of Sessa and Giovanni Bartholomeo di Gattinara, his Ambassadors at Rome.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz.* A. 83. f. 257.

The King, &c.—We received your despatches of the 24th, 26th, and 27th of January last, brought by Albornoz. Thank you both for your exertions in preventing the invasion of Naples, which the Duke of Albany planned. You are to caress and indulge the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), Micer Augustin Folleta (Agostino Foglieta), and all those who at Rome showed themselves friends of the Empire. You will likewise thank in our name all the Spaniards, ecclesiastics or laymen, who lent money on the occasion.

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The captainship (*capitania*) vacant by the death of Don Alonso de Carvajal has been granted to his brother at the express request of Alarcon, to whom we could not well refuse a favour of this sort. But we will take care to remunerate the Duke's services in another manner.

The couriers had better go to Genoa, where our ambassador Lope de Soria will provide brigantines and other fast vessels for their passage. If directed to Barcelona, Bartholome Ferrer will take care that the letters and despatches reach us wherever we may be holding our court.

Cardinal Cibo and his brother-in-law Count Gayaço are also to be thanked for their good offices.—Madrid, 2 Apr. 1525.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

2 April. **69.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz.* A. 83, f. 259.

After the above was written your joint letter of the 8th March brought by a Papal courier came to hand. We entirely approve the terms you have used when speaking to His Holiness after the victory of Pavia. We now send you a copy of our answer to the Pope's Nuncio (Baldassar Castiglione) on the occasion. You may assure His Holiness that we are ready to do anything he may suggest in the matter of this league, but that a place in it ought to be reserved for other powers. As to the Venetians, it is quite clear that we will never take up arms against Christians, however they may have wronged us, as we have lately told their ambassador here, but should they harbour any scruple or suspicion on this point and wish to compound for a sum of money, they may say so at once and make an offer.—Madrid, 2 Apr. 1525.

Addressed: "To the Duke of Sessa and to Dr. Juan Bartholome de Gattinaria at Rome."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

3 April. **70.** LAURENS to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 17.

Has not written before about the money which the King and Legate have sent to Calais, because the information he had was not of sufficient credit. Knows now for certain that the King has sent thither 200,000 ducats, and Messire Gregoire [de Casalis] has told him how and when the money is to be spent. On his return home he (Laurens) will tell Madame more about it.

The Legate has communicated to him (Laurens) the King's reasons for invading Normandy rather than any other part of France. There are no strong places (he says) in that province, and the King has besides some friends (*quelques bonnes intelligences*) in it. The above and other reasons, which had better be told than written, have caused the

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King's determination. He (the Legate) begs that the whole thing be kept as secret as possible.—London, 3 Apr. 1525.

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed; "A Madame, &c."

French. Original. p. 1.

3 April. **71.** POPE CLEMENT VII. to CHANCELLOR GATTINARA.

S. Pat. Re. *Bul. Suelt.* L. No. 1. f. 116.

As Giovanni Bartholomeo Gattinara is now returning to Spain, he (the Pope) cannot but express his sentiments of gratitude towards the Emperor. Nothing could be so agreeable to him (the Pope), as to renew his alliance with the Empire. "Quanquam in amore et beniuolentia quidem nihil in animo nostro novatum est, sumus autem qui fuimus, nec tempus ullum fuit quo eius nobis non esset Majestas et amplitudo omni humana re charior (*sic*). Sed quod intus inclusum et ardens gerebamus, id iam omni impedimento et obicie (*sic*) sublato potuimus in apertum patefacere." For at the time that the French were very powerful in Italy, and when it was thought that the Imperialists could no longer resist their attacks, our own security and that of the rest of Italy naturally prompted us to lean to that side where there was less danger for us, "tunc vero timores et pericula nostri et ecclesiastici status nos eo adduxerunt, ut et nostrarum rerum securitatem ab ipso Francorum Rege quereremus, et vicissim ei illam a nobis sponderemus, qua conuentione facta, cum multorum iniquis obtrectationibus tanquam aliarum partium facti nisi mutabimur, perstitimus tamen in suscepta neutralitate, totiusque belli iudicium in quo Nos multum momenti facere potuissemus, si aliena voluntate fuissemus, Deo omnipotenti promissimus." Of these sentiments, as well as of his (the Pope's) wish to promote universal peace, the said Giovanni Bartholomeo Gattinara is a good witness, and will be able to inform the Chancellor.—Dat. Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, 3 Apr. 1525. "Sadoletus."

Addressed: "Dilecto filio Mercurio de Gattinaria, Caroli Imperatoris Hispaniarum et Regis Catholici Magno Cancellario."

Latin. Original. pp. 3½.

6 April. **72.** MARGARET OF AUSTRIA to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

S. L. Suelt.

Has heard from her ambassadors in England the good terms on which they are both with the King and Cardinal. Writes to them by this post what she can do and ought to do, but must wait for the Emperor's answer, whom she has consulted Has written also to the King in her own hand, as she heard that he wished to have Praet punished before he left England. Cannot believe the King could ever entertain such an idea. Has desired the English ambassador (Knight) to write home about this; and sent her orders for Praet to come back, with

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the King's permission. If, however, the King should still insist upon Praet's punishment, she will forward to the Emperor his letters and those of Cardinal Wolsey.—Brussels, 6 April 1525.

Signed: "Marguerite."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur le Cardinal Legat d'Angleterre."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

8 April. **73.** COMMISSIONERS to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 27. f. 63.

After their last letter of the 3rd inst., and in consequence of news lately received here from Italy and various other parts, whereof they wished to ascertain the truth; also because the Pope's Nuncio and the ambassador of the Duke of Milan had each had a courier with similar intelligence, and had called immediately on the Cardinal, they (the Commissioners) resolved to apply likewise for an audience, in order to show that they were not in England to lose their time. Accordingly, last Thursday [6th], having sent to inquire when it would be his pleasure to receive them, the Cardinal answered that having been summoned to Grune-wys (Greenwich) on the ensuing Friday [the 7th], he could not grant them an audience until this very morning, which he did.

Being asked on their arrival whether they had any news, the Commissioners answered they had none, and that they came on purpose to know if there was any. Upon which he (the Cardinal) proceeded to say he had received letters from the English ambassador at Rome, purporting that the Pope, at the solicitation and prayer of the Italian Princes, was endeavouring to conclude with them a defensive and offensive league, and proposed that a body of 15,000 Switzers, besides a competent number of troops in cavalry as well as infantry should be immediately raised for the purpose of aiding the King of France. The Pope had requested the English ambassador to write home and engage both the King and Cardinal to join the said league, and give the Princess in marriage to the Dauphin of France. By so doing (the Pope added) the French King might be prevented from ever returning to his estates, and, after the demise of the two Kings [of France and England], their respective kingdoms would be lawfully inherited by the said Dauphin and Princess. For the maintenance of the said army the Pope engaged to pay 100,000 ducats monthly; the Venetians a similar sum; Florence, Sienna, Lucca, and other powers, 300,000. The better to persuade the King and Cardinal to join the aforesaid confederation, the Pope had instructed his ambassadors in England to say that unless the proposed league was immediately effected, the Emperor would come into Italy and make himself master of the whole country.

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To the above overtures made by the Pope, the English ambassador, previously instructed by the King and Legate, who had some knowledge of the affair, had answered that the King, his master, would never bestow the hand of the Princess, his daughter, on anyone but the Emperor, and that he advised him (the Pope) to postpone the said league, as likewise all idea of a French alliance, and to make common cause with the said Emperor and King, as otherwise Spain, England and Flanders might [in a religious point of view] withdraw their allegiance.

This answer of the English ambassador had rather staggered the Pope, who, after some time, and having recovered himself, inquired how he was to act under the present circumstances; and upon the ambassador insinuating that he ought to recall Messire Matheo [Giberti], his Datary, and order him not to mix himself any more in State affairs, the Pope sent for the Archbishop of Capua, and consulted him thereupon; who having received previous notice from the ambassador, found his advice good, and approved of the measure. The Pope then placed the whole affair in the hands of the Archbishop, and the Cardinal [of York] is now sending an express to His Holiness to confirm the above and approve the ambassador's answer.

After this declaration the Cardinal told the Commissioners that the King, his master, persisted in the idea of sending his army to Calais, and was actually despatching his ambassadors [to Flanders], who are the same mentioned in a former letter. They are to leave this port next Monday, to prepare pack-horses and "limoniers," of both of which, according to the note he showed us, a considerable number will be in request. The same ambassadors will take charge to raise between 3,000 and 4,000 Germans foot and 1,000 horse.

The Cardinal ended by declaring he had very good hope that Madame would contribute with the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot mentioned in a former despatch, for otherwise (he said) the Emperor, Madame, and the whole of Flanders would lose the affections of the English, and give them occasion to conclude some advantageous treaty with the enemy, or join the projected league. Hearing which the Commissioners remonstrated warmly, by saying they could not believe him to be in earnest, and that if ever they (the King and Cardinal) carried their threat into execution, they would be the first to repent. To which the Cardinal replied: "That eventuality is not of our own choosing, and we shall never forsake your alliance unless you give us cause for it. You ought to be very careful not to drive us to despair, for we may, out of spite, turn our arms against you."

After due remonstrances on their part, addressed in the mildest and most courteous terms possible, the Commissioners withdrew, not without having first declared their hope that things might continue, as heretofore, on the most friendly

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terms, to which the Cardinal offered no contradiction, but, on the contrary, showed by his gesture and words that he was inclined to persevere in that path, protesting that he never would become a party to destroy that which he had taken so much trouble to build. He hoped the marriage of the Emperor to the Princess would soon take place at Rome, where he (the Cardinal) intends also to be present.

Having slightly alluded to the Scottish ambassadors and their suit, the Commissioners were told that no alteration had been made, and that they had already left for their country.

Respecting Monsieur de Praet's affair, they (the Commissioners) obtained the Cardinal's permission for him to quit the country and cross over to Flanders, but he was on no account to call on him and take leave, for the King, he said, would not see him. He had good hope that the Emperor would punish him according to his deserts, by not again calling him to his councils, for if he did, he (the Cardinal) would acquire the conviction that everything the said Praet has said and written against him was done at the express will and consentment of Madame the Governess of the Low Countries.

The Cardinal, moreover, informed the Commissioners that the Duke of Albany, with 400 men-at-arms and some infantry, had succeeded in making his escape into France. —London, Saturday, the eve of Easter, the 8th of April [1525].

P.S.—Are anxiously expecting the return of Squire Cilly or of any other person likely to bring instructions respecting the contents of their various letters since the 3rd inst., and hope the order for their recall will also be annexed.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens," "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "To Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 3.

8 April. **74.** Jos. Laurens to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 27.

The Commissioners went yesterday [the 7th] to see the Legate, who of his own accord told them much pleasant news, as Madame will see by their joint despatch of the 2nd. He told them, among other things, that he was about to advise the King to have the Princess, his daughter, take lessons in Spanish, Italian, and French, and try also to persuade the Emperor to learn English. To-day the Commissioners have attended Mass at his chapel, and dined with him. He was very kind and familiar with them at table, and said, among other things, that besides the 10,000 men that he always kept ready for the King's service, and against the Scotch, he would, whenever he pleased, lead to the intended invasion of France by the King 200 gentlemen of the Royal household, 2,000 foot, and 1,000 horse. He

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expatiated at large on the strength of this kingdom, which, he said, contained 9,000,000 of people, 27,000 towns and villages, 53,000 parishes, and 200 convents (*convens*). Has invited them for the next day "pour tenyr les pasques avec luy," saying that he proposed to administer the Host to Mons. de Bèvres, and remit all sins to those who attended Divine Service on such a day.—London, ce Samedy veille de Pasque Florye, 8me d'Avril.

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame the Governess of the Low Countries."

French. Copy. pp. 2.

11 April. **75.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 26, f. 62.

This afternoon the Commissioners having requested the President to call on Monseigneur the Cardinal, he (Laurens) went to his rooms and found him conversing with the Scottish ambassadors. After the departure of these, and on the President inquiring what could be their business, he was told by the Cardinal that they (the ambassadors) had come to take leave, and were going away without getting any one of the affairs for which they had come to London settled, and that he considered he had just rendered a most signal service to the Emperor by rejecting their offers on three different points.

They had come to ask, first, the hand of the Princess for the young King of Scotland [James], promising to forsake the French alliance, to place the person of the King in the hands of the English monarch until he should be of age, and to furnish a certain force in cavalry and infantry wherewith to invade France.

Their second object was, in case the King of England did not approve of the said marriage, to propose an alliance and lasting peace, the King of France being included in it.

Should the King reject the two above propositions, they would gladly accept a truce to last until the next Saint Andrew's day.

The Cardinal had rejected all their offers, and consequently England was to continue at war with Scotland, but he hoped that before the King was ready for his French expedition, the Scotch would come to more reasonable terms.

The President has since heard that soon after his interview with the Cardinal, the said ambassadors were again summoned to his presence. What passed between them he cannot say, but is certain that they are not yet gone.

In answer to the above statement made by the Cardinal the President said he could not conceive why the third proposition of the Scottish ambassadors had not been admitted, for certainly he saw no harm in granting the truce, when, in the meantime, some good enterprise might be made in

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France. The Cardinal replied that it was far preferable to be at war with the Scots than sign a truce with them, as they would not trust him afterwards; and, moreover, it was not the custom in England to take men from the frontiers of Scotland to serve in a French campaign, as they were always wanted on the borders.

After which the Cardinal went on alluding to past events and to the chances and fortunes of the late war, hinting at the great services he himself had rendered the Emperor. He concluded by saying the King, his master, had resolved to cross over to France in person, and that, in due acknowledgment for past services, as well as to show his present goodwill, the Emperor could not do less than furnish him 3,000 cavalry and as many foot, wherewith to invade Normandy.

To this proposition the President replied that it was well known by former declarations that the Emperor could not concur in a plan of the sort. His subjects would not give money for such a purpose, and the Cardinal knew perfectly well that General Estates and popular Assemblies, whenever they granted subsidies, insisted upon knowing to what purpose the money was to be applied.

He (the Cardinal) retorted that the King, his master, had decided at all events to make a descent into Normandy, and that if the Emperor did not assist him in that project, it would be a sign that he neglected his interests, and therefore the King would no longer be obliged to look after the Emperor's. The Emperor ought to take care not to drive the English to despair, for, solicited as they were by Italy, they might find cause to join the confederates and do something injurious to the Emperor's interests.

His (the President's) answer was that he and his colleagues were very desirous of doing everything in their power to forward the King's views on that point, but could not, for the reasons above stated, grant the Cardinal's request.

Upon which the Cardinal said: "If that be the case, let us treat the affair in general, and whenever the Emperor's Captain-General meets with the King, my master, let them advise together as to the point to be assailed."

"Neither can that be granted" (replied the President) "for the said Captain-General would have to go to Normandy, where the English King intends to go."

The Cardinal then said: "The King is to disembark at Calais, and send, besides, another army by sea wherever he likes most. The Emperor's Captain-General can easily go thither and discuss with the King, my master, the plan for the future campaign. Besides which, our artillery is at Valenciennes, as you well know, and it will be far more advantageous to deliberate at Calais than at any other place, for fear the enemy should become aware of our intentions."

The President's answer was, that he would immediately acquaint Madame with the Cardinal's objections, but could not

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act against his instructions.—London, Sunday, the 11th of April.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoingne," "J. Laurrens," "Jehan de Lesauch."

Addressed: "To Madame."

Indorsed: "From the Commissioners. London, 11 April."

French. Original. pp. 2.

12 April. **76.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

Is in great perplexity and knows not what to do from fear of the first despatches from Flanders bringing instructions contrary to what the present bearer will explain. Begs, therefore, to hear as soon as possible what Madame's good pleasure is. Will in the meantime do his best with his colleagues to keep matters in the state they are. If, owing to the importance of the business, Madame wishes to have time to consider, the Commissioners may at any rate expect shortly a few words in writing to guide them in their negotiations.—Londres, 12 April [1525].

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame."

Indorsed: "Le President à Madame, 12 d'Avril."

18 April. **77.** The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. de G. P. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp.

Wrote on the 29th March by Captain Bracamonte about the distribution of the army, and the efforts that were made to procure money. He now writes to inform the Emperor that the Germans of Pavia loudly demand the arrears owed to them, amounting to 125,000 ducats, that is to say, five months' pay, without including the present. They are almost in a state of mutiny, and will be completely so unless they are paid within six days. Even so, when they are paid, very few will remain in the ranks. Out of the six thousand in George Frenesperg's band more than one half are already gone home.

The sums destined for the payment of this army are those specified in the enclosed memorandum; they cannot be collected but very slowly, and some of them with great difficulty, as it is not prudent under the present circumstances to employ force, from fear of again kindling the war.

With regard to the new league made by the Pope, he has nothing to add, but refers entirely to what the bearer of the present, the Regent Juan Bartholomeo Gattinara will verbally expound, he being better informed than himself about these matters. Caracciolo, the Prothonotary, arrived here on the 6th inst. He believes that the Venetians will readily enter into a defensive league with the Emperor, or, rather, that they will much prefer remaining as they are and paying certain sums of money for not having concurred in the last enterprise

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(the battle of Pavia); but as to contributing towards the maintenance of this army, they will not give a farthing. No notice has yet been taken of this their determination until new orders come from Spain, but it is urgent to attend as soon as possible to this and other matters.

M. de Beurren (Beaurain) arrived here on the 16th, and to-morrow the Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy] is expected. He and Don Ugo de Moncada are going to visit the captive King of France.

By the said M. de Beurren he (the Abbot) has received the letter of the 26th March. Has no answer to make, except to thank His Majesty for the Church promotion so kindly offered to him. The 100,000 ducats came in good time, and the bills of exchange shall be soon remitted to Genoa.

On the 6th inst. the people of Sienna murdered one Alexandro Vich (Bichi), who was governing that city through the influence and favour of the Duke of Albany. He probably gave them some cause for it, but still they were not justified in taking the revenge into their hands. Out of the 25,000 ducats which they were owing on account of late contributions, the Siennese have now sent 15,000.

The 50,000 ducats with which England was to have contributed have been reduced through the exchange to 40,000; of these only 16,000 have as yet been received.

The Infante sent the other day to ask the Viceroy [Lannoy] for 300 light horse and a good and trusty captain; and the Viceroy, complying with his request, has sent them, under the command of one Julio de Capua, a noble and honourable person.

The French fleet has arrived on the coast of Provence, where the Duke of Albany and his men landed.

Don Ugo's departure has been delayed until now, waiting for the conclusion of the league with the Pope and the Venetians. He (the Abbot) cannot say whether Don Hugo, after visiting the King of France, will or will not have the good luck of being designated to go [to Spain].—Milan, 18 April 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera. 18 of April."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

20 April. **78.** The Commissioners to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. f. 68.

Whereas they have been unable to understand the contents of Madame's letters of the 6th and 7th inst., and considering that when Madame wrote the said letters and those of the 16th she could not have received the Emperor's message brought by Mons. de Bredan, nor that which this King and

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Legate have since communicated respecting the 3,000 horse and 100 foot, they (the Commissioners) have decided to send home their colleague (Jehan de le Sauch) that he may report on the whole, state their doubts, and bring back such instructions as may be a guide in their negotiations.

The Commissioners are also of opinion that a suitable person ought to be appointed to take charge of this embassy after their departure, as the King and Legate are very anxious to have an ambassador to treat with. — London, 20 Apr. 1525.

Postscriptum.—Since the above was written he [the President] has called upon the Cardinal to hear his opinion respecting certain matters; who, after a suitable answer, coming to the principal point now under discussion, said he hoped that the Emperor and the King, his master, would remain for ever closely united, and that the Emperor would not forsake his friends for the sake of his old enemies. He (the Cardinal) thought that the Emperor wanted the King's friendship now more than ever, for his dominions were so vast and so apart from each other that he would have great difficulty to protect them all without friends and allies.—Date ut supra.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame la Gouvernante, &c."

French. Original. p. 1.

20 April. **79.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 27. p. 64.

Received through Cilly, who arrived last Thursday (13th April), the two letters of the 6th and 7th inst. On the ensuing day, which happened to be Good Friday, called on the Cardinal, and showed him the letters which the Emperor had written to the King and to him in credence of Mons. de Praet and of the said De Cilly, both of whom were there present; in the expounding of which the Commissioners took good care to state that the instructions brought by Squire de Cilly for Mons. de Praet—and which, owing to the latter's absence, had not been delivered—turned on three principal points.

The first was, to inform the said King and Cardinal of the Emperor's military preparations, and the army he was collecting in the district of Narbonne, wherewith to assail Languedoc. The Commissioners detailed the number of men, horses, &c. to be employed in that expedition, as well as the districts of France likely to be invaded, the manner in which war was to be carried on, &c., all in conformity with the said instructions addressed to Mons. de Praet.

The second point was, to express the Emperor's wish that the period of time fixed for the delivery of the Princess should be anticipated for three different reasons: Firstly, to stop any overtures that might be made [by the French] on that account; secondly, for the satisfaction of the Emperor's

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Spanish subjects, and of the General Estates (Cortes), all of whom wished to have the Princess among them; and, thirdly, that the said Princess might thereby become acquainted with the language and manners of the said kingdom [of Spain].

The Cardinal's answer on this point was: He felt quite sure that the Emperor had no sort of mistrust, either of the King or of himself. In his opinion the article concerning the Princess had not been put forward with his (the Emperor's) consent, but had been fabricated in London by the Commissioners themselves, in order to gild over the proposals and offers they were instructed to make in Madame's name, on their first arrival in England.

This accusation the Commissioners at once rejected, saying: The Emperor was well known to have full confidence in the King and in him. It was no mistrust or suspicion that prompted His Imperial Majesty to make a similar request, but his ardent wish to see the Princess in Spain. As to the accusation brought against the Commissioners of having forged the said article for their own convenience, and in order the better to forward Madame's views on the subject, they denied it altogether, declaring upon oath that the Emperor had written to them on the subject many a time, and had expressly ordered them to insist upon the anticipation of the period at which the said Princess, his future wife, was to be delivered into his hands.

After a good deal of conversation on the subject the Cardinal said: "The King, my master, has not made up his mind to grant the Emperor's request just now. They must first have an interview somewhere, and then the King hopes he shall deliver the Princess *à l'Empereur en son lit, à Paris.*"

To the third and last point of the instructions, viz., that the said Cilly should, on his way to England, visit Madame, and inquire from her how many foot and horse she could give wherewith to invade the kingdom of France, the Cardinal replied: He knew very well that Cilly's instructions contained nothing of the sort, and that his mission was to offer at once, in the Emperor's name--and without previously consulting Madame—a contingent of 3,000 horse and as many foot. The King's ambassadors in Spain had written to say so, and he (the Cardinal) had every reason to believe in their statement.

To remove all suspicion on this head, the Commissioners again declared upon oath that Squire de Cilly had no such charge from the Emperor. Hearing which the Cardinal said: "That may be so, but you at least are empowered to make the offer of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, are you not?" —"But not to send them where the King wants," was the Commissioners' reply.—"At any rate" (said the Cardinal), "the instructions to Cilly bear that he should offer in the Emperor's name a contingent of troops to be furnished by Madame, no matter what their number may be."

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This last statement the Commissioners also denied, since it was not absolutely true, the instructions limiting the aid to Picardy: a circumstance with which they (the Commissioners) thought it best not to acquaint the Cardinal at the time.

This topic of conversation being exhausted, the Cardinal asked the Commissioners: "What am I then to do to please Madame of the Low Countries?" Upon which they proceeded to explain the nature of their charge, classing it under three different heads: 1st. Considering that up to the present time all treaties concerning the French war, whether negotiated at Calais, Windsor, Waltham, Valladolid, or London, had been conducted and made in the Emperor's name, the King of England, who had lately sent his ambassadors into Spain, could give them full powers to treat and discuss there the number of men to be furnished by Madame on this occasion.

2dly. That if the King of England refused, a memorandum should be prepared for the Emperor's inspection, for him to take such a decision in the affair as suited him best.

3dly. In order to prove toth e Cardinal that Madame had no idea of exempting herself from that duty, but, on the contrary, intended to do everything in her power to promote the King's views on the subject, it was proposed that the King should send another embassy to her, with full power to treat, and thereby witness her goodwill and readiness to comply with the King's wish on this as well as on other matters.

The Cardinal's answer was, he had not made up his mind to accept any of the above conclusions, since "he could guess what our intentions were, and knew for certain we only wanted to gain time and get more favourable terms from the King of France, now a prisoner in our hands."

To the above surmise the Commissioners objected by saying they could easily prove the contrary; for the garrisons of the Artois and Hagun (Haguenau) had lately made inroads into the French territory, causing damage to the value of 100,000 florins; besides which the Imperial troops were daily harassing the French on their frontier. This last assertion of the Commissioners the Cardinal owned to be a fact, but he added: "That you do to keep up the spirits of your men-at-arms, and train them for war." "If so," (answered the Commissioners) "the advantages to be gained through such enterprises can never turn out to the profit of the Prince himself, but to that of the soldiers, who by daily exploits expose their persons and property to the perils of war." The Commissioners ended by requesting him to accept one of the three means proposed; but the Cardinal insisted on his former negative, declaring all the time that such behaviour was very improper between father and son, and that the King, his master, had decided to recall the ambassadors he had at Brussels.

Perceiving that the Cardinal was not likely to change his purpose, the Commissioners dropped the subject, and asked what was the King's intention, in the event of Madame furnishing

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a contingent of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, respecting the safeconducts and safeguards, as well as respecting the herring fisheries, and the property and prisoners seized by his captains during the last war within the Imperial dominions. His answer was that the safeconducts were to be mutually revoked; as to the safeguards they had granted none; and respecting the fisheries, an equal number of armed vessels should be appointed on either side to keep the sea clear, and prevent the French from fishing, adding, that if we destined 1,000 or 2,000 men to that maritime service, they engaged to furnish an equal number. With regard to the prisoners of war, full justice should be done to our claims. All those found to be the Emperor's subjects were to be immediately released; and the Cardinal promised that on Monday or Tuesday next, at the latest, the captains in whose hands the said prisoners were would call on the Commissioners and settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Returning to the first and second points under discussion, they (the Commissioners) expressed their doubts on the expediency of having the safeconducts and safeguards revoked, as the Cardinal proposed, when he said: "If you wish them to remain as they are, I have no objection, and leave it entirely to your choice."

With regard to the fisheries, the Commissioners objected: That the poor people on the coast of Flanders had no other employment than fishing, by which they earned their livelihood, and that unless they were allowed to carry on their craft, they could not be expected to give any aid. It was, moreover, difficult to afford them the protection and security proposed, as the men had to go far out to sea in the pursuit of their trade. The Commissioners, therefore, were of opinion that it would be far more advantageous for the men to apply to France for safeconducts than trust to the protection of the English and Flemish navies. Upon which the Cardinal observed: "If you choose to do that you may at your risk and peril, but as far as we (the English) are concerned, we have decided not to grant or apply for any, but to wage open and incessant war by sea as well as by land." The Cardinal persisting in his opinion, the Commissioners proposed sending over Secretary Le Sauch to Madame to report verbally on the whole affair and obtain a final resolution, the President himself volunteering to go over on such a mission, if the Cardinal preferred it. He, however, said there was no necessity for his going, and that Secretary Le Sauch would fill the commission just as well.

Immediately after which the Cardinal began to say that no time was to be lost, and that we should never have such an opportunity as the present to attack the common enemy. That according to his information the Emperor was well disposed to help his ally the King of England, and would sell or pawn everything valuable in his Spanish dominions rather than

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forsake the proposed enterprise, having given his solemn promise that the moment he heard of his ally the King of England taking the field, he would invade France at the head of a powerful army.

Many other things did the Cardinal say to this purpose, which would be too long to relate, until the Commissioners interrupted him by asking how he intended to capitulate touching the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot. His answer was that he meant the said force to go to Normandy, or wherever the King, his master, thought best. The Commissioners objected that in order to do that it would be necessary to change and alter all previous communications and consultations thereupon. They had already given a negative answer to that application, and could not entertain the subject again. On the Cardinal's own request, they (the Commissioners) had twice written home to consult the matter, and had been told that the proposal of a campaign in Normandy was to be altogether rejected, though Picardy might be accepted as a rendezvous for the Imperial troops. That, on the King's disembarkation at Calais, the Emperor's Captain-General would call upon him, or upon his lieutenant there, to inquire and discuss which was the best route to follow, the more effectually to attack France.

The Cardinal denied having ever made such overtures; when, after a good deal of discussion, and much arguing on the part of the Commissioners to convince him that he had, he exclaimed: "If I have, you must not take me exactly at my word; there is nothing settled yet, either one way or the other."

Unwilling to let matters pass that way, the Commissioners again insisted, saying: "Normandy is a province of France where our men-at-arms could not be persuaded to serve." He then asked: "How do you think that an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, under the Duke of Norfolk, is to be fed in those provinces? Our forces are to land at Calais, and if the King crosses over in person, the royal army is to be increased by 20,000 foot more. Where is food for such numbers to be procured? Our men can only take provisions for six days, and I know for certain that the Low Countries (tous les pays de par delà) could not furnish them for six days more."

To which the Commissioners replied: "If Therouanne is besieged there will be provisions in abundance."—"We got possession of it once" (said the Cardinal) "but would rather avoid it on this occasion. We shall march straight upon Monstreul (Montreuil-sur-Mer), which may be easily reduced, lay siege to Théroenne (Therouanne) and Hesdin, and then strike into Normandy by the Beauche (Beauce)." No sooner had the Cardinal finished this sentence than the Commissioners said to him: "As to our men-at-arms following the royal troops into Normandy there is no chance whatever, so

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we had better drop the subject and talk of something else." Upon which the Cardinal observed: "Since I cannot get your men to join our forces in Normandy, I must needs go to the King and tell him of the difficulties which attend the enterprise on both sides." He would go [to Windsor] on Monday, and on Tuesday next the Commissioners might learn from his own lips the King's decision.

Having afterwards inquired what was the charge of the English ambassadors at the Imperial court, the Cardinal answered that their mission was: First, to request His Imperial Majesty personally to invade France for the accomplishment of the great enterprise agreed to between them; secondly, to ask for 3,000 horse and as many foot, to join the English army wherever the King, his master, chose to go. They consented, if required, to a reduction of the number of troops to be furnished by the Emperor for the next campaign, and would be satisfied with 25,000 infantry and 5,000 horse.

Respecting the Papal auditor (Ghinucci), mentioned in Madame's letters, the Cardinal said he had not yet arrived in England, but was shortly expected. The President has since seen Sir Gregory Casale, who confirmed the news.

At Easter the Commissioners called again on the Cardinal, having previously been invited to attend Divine Service and dine with him. After dinner they showed him the copy of the letters which Madame had written to the King and to him (the Cardinal) respecting the affair of Mons. de Praet. This ambassador had lately returned from Douvres (Dover) to London, and the Commissioners considered it their duty to inform the Cardinal of that circumstance, and state his reasons for so doing. On his arrival at Dover, Mons. de Praet had heard that some ships from Boulloingne (Boulogne-sur-Mer) were cruising in the Channel. He had not been able to procure—though he did try—any armed vessel in which to cross over; the wind, moreover, was contrary; and the Easter festivals being close at hand, he (Praet) had decided to come back to London. He was, however, thinking of leaving England and crossing the Channel with the Commissioners, provided their departure took place immediately; otherwise he would embark at Dover, and ask for a King's herald to see him safe on the Flemish coast.

The Cardinal's answer was: "There is no need of a herald; Mons. de Praet can go without in all safety. He need not be afraid of me, for I bear him no ill-will, and am ready, notwithstanding his bad behaviour to me, to intercede for him with the Emperor, and even to grant him men-of-war for his passage, if he requires them."

After this and other devices, the Commissioners went on informing the Cardinal that they had that very day received orders from Madame to ask his consent for the capitulation about the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot being entirely referred to the Emperor. Hearing which the Cardinal exclaimed: "I

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perceive that you will not assist us in this matter. I have already warned the King that it would be so, and that Madame's only object was to gain time." The Commissioners immediately replied by the following words: "Madame's reasons for acting thus are very different. She wants to leave all the honour of the transaction to the Emperor, as it would be deemed very unrespectful on her part to arm without his permission, and before knowing his intentions." "I know full well" (replied the Cardinal) "that we shall never get any assistance from you; but we shall do our best, either by contracting alliance with the Turk, or making peace with the French, by giving the Princess's hand to the Daulphin, or otherwise declaring against the Emperor, so that the war between us may last a whole century, and the hope of all amity and good feeling betwixt this kingdom and the Low Countries vanish for ever."

"The Emperor, we are sure, will never give occasion for that," replied the Commissioners, after which they abruptly left the room, having first asked congé for Mons. de Beures (Bevre) and President (Jos. Laurens), and offered to leave La Sauch behind until the Emperor should send another ambassador in room of Mons. de Praet. The Cardinal said, and he repeated the sentence many times: "If you wish to go, I cannot prevent you; if you choose to remain, matters may be suitably arranged by trusting in me. But I must warn you that if you leave this court at this time and in the manner you do, everyone shall be made acquainted with the cause and mode of your departure." And he ended by informing the Commissioners that next day he would see the King and let them know his final resolution.

The conference at an end, and two of the Commissioners having taken leave of the Cardinal, as above stated, the President alone remained behind to talk over certain private business of his own, after which the Cardinal remarked: "I advise you, Monsieur le President, to consider what I have just told you. The King, my master, can at this very moment conclude a league with the Pope, the Switzers, the Venetians, the Florentines, Lucca, Sienna, and other Italian powers, as well as with the French, who, provided the King grant them the hand of the Princess for the Daulphin, would be glad, in two months time, to have the latter crowned as King of France. The French care little or nothing for King Francis, and would not give one crown (*escu*) for his ransom. The above league once made, it would be an easy matter to have the Imperialists ejected out of Italy."

To the above threat, uttered by the Cardinal, the President replied: "I believe the King will never be so badly counselled as to forsake his old allies and confederates, who never have broken their faith with him, nor contravened the treaties and made common cause with the enemy." The Cardinal's reply was: He did not mean what he said, but still we ought not

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to drive him to despair, lest he should execute his threat. Once before, on a similar occasion, he (the Cardinal) had given Madame due warning; he now did the same, that we should not become too proud in the midst of our success.

With regard to the safeconducts and safeguards—the revocation of which, as before stated, the Cardinal had left to the Commissioners' choice—he again insisted in his determination neither to grant new ones, nor keep the old. Respecting the fisheries (he observed), the King, his master, had resolved not to ask for safeguards, nor grant any; and as to the prisoners of war, express orders had been issued for all the Emperor's subjects to be released at once, and without ransom; after which declarations, he (the President) took leave of the Cardinal, and left the room.

On the following Monday the Commissioners received summons to appear the day after at Grunewys (Greenwich), where, some time before Mass, and previous to their introduction to the Royal presence, the Cardinal, having alluded to the principal point under discussion, said: He had lately been thinking about the Commissioners' last communication; and, all things considered, in his quality of common adviser and counsellor both of the King, his master, and of the Emperor, he could not but approve of, and recommend, the whole affair being referred to Spain. But he could not conceive why we, of the Low Countries, should not treat immediately for Picardy, since we could, conjointly with the English army, invade France by Peronne, Guise, and Saint Quentin, and, passing by Rheims, march straight upon Paris.

On the above proposition the Commissioners asked time to reflect during Mass, promising to give a conclusive answer.

After dinner the King came to the hall where the Commissioners were discoursing with the Cardinal, and upon his inquiring what they were talking about, they began imparting to him the substance of their previous conversation with the Cardinal, whose overtures, they said, seemed acceptable in as far as he approved of the whole matter being referred to the Emperor's decision. As to the troops of the Low Countries being sent to Picardy, they (the Commissioners) had no objections to offer; but they had no powers to capitulate thereupon. In order, however, to please His Majesty the King, the Commissioners offered to write home, and obtain as soon as possible a clear and categorical answer on that subject, which Secretary Le Sauch might bring back. The King then said: "It appears to me that this Picardy business ought to be capitulated upon at once, without referring it to the Emperor. Madame must have given you full powers to that effect; if she has not, she ought to have done so." The Commissioners immediately replied that Madame was only Regent and Governor in the Low Countries, and that just as he (the King) had a Lieutenant of the Sea, and would not like him to take out his forces without letting him know

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first, so Madame could not presume to move in so important an affair without the Emperor's express command. "Were I in the room of my Lieutenant" (said the King) "I should not hesitate to do that which was for my master's honour and reputation, especially knowing, as I do, that the least delay in this matter is likely to cause great injury to his interests." "Your Majesty is born King, suzerain Lord in his own kingdom, and therefore cannot exactly define the opinions and sentiments of a Lieutenant, Regent, or Governor, as Madame is to the Emperor." These and other arguments having convinced the King that, in reality, the Commissioners had no powers to treat of that particular affair, he approved of their sending Le Sauch home—as they now do—in demand of fresh instructions. They, moreover, take this opportunity to say that the King's real intention and wish is that Madame should contribute with 3,000 horse and an equal number of foot to the proposed enterprise; as regards the infantry, he (the King) has no objection to have the matter referred to the Emperor, for him to decide whether the number is to be limited to 1,000.

After this the King informed the Commissioners of the overtures made by His Holiness and by some Frenchmen to his ambassador at Rome, namely, to form a defensive and offensive league between the Italian powers, the King of France, and himself. By giving his own daughter in marriage to the French Dauphin, he (the King) would have the government of France during his life. The Commissioners' answer was: "We sincerely hope that His Majesty will not listen to such practices." "No, We shall not," replied the King; "our ambassador has already declared our intentions, and hopes to conduct matters in such manner that His Holiness make league with the Emperor and with me against our common enemy, and bring, besides, all the Italian potentates to his opinion."

Before their departure from the King's presence, the Commissioners took the opportunity of again introducing the question of the safeconducts, and ascertaining his opinion about them. He had no objection (he said) to keep the old ones, provided they were in favour of his English subjects, or of those of the Low Countries, but nowise in favour of the French. Any safeconduct granted by Madame or by him would be mutually respected; but no French merchandise should be allowed to come into England or go to Flanders, whether in French or foreign bottom. Respecting the safeguards, he again declared his resolution not to grant or keep any, nor apply to France for them, as it would be a disreputable act to be at war with the French and ask for permission to fish on their coasts.

Squire Cilly was present at the Commissioners' interview with the King. He is now returning to Spain, and takes with him a summary of the Commissioners' transactions since

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their arrival in England up to this date.—London, 20th of April 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame."

French. Original. pp. 17.

20 April. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, ff. 235–237.

80. Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

Wrote on the 5th by a brigantine that left for Barcelona, and on the 6th by a carack, in which Martin de Landa, His Majesty's Notary, went, besides two ambassadors from Venice, and one from this Doge of Genoa, named Jacopo Centurione.

Nothing new has occurred since those dates, except the departure from Rome of Joan Bartolomeo Gattinara, with the treaty of defensive and offensive alliance concluded between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Italian potentates, under certain conditions and stipulations as to payments, to be settled by His Holiness and the Emperor. It is altogether very advantageous for the Imperial service and the good of Christianity; but it has not yet been published, owing to the said Gattinara wishing to communicate it first to the Viceroy [of Naples].

He (Gattinara) arrived there on the 11th instant, and is afterwards to return to Spain by way of land, with a safe-conduct of France. The despatches and the articles of the treaty are to go by sea, and a caravel is here getting ready to take them as soon as they come from Naples.

With the arrival of M. de Beurren (Beaurain), who is every day expected at Nice, and the departure of Joan Bartolomeo [Gattinara], it is to be presumed that the presence of Don Hugo [de Moncada] in Spain will no longer be required.

The last letters received here [from Spain] are of the 11th of January; but there is news from Milan of the arrival in that city of a servant of Count Gineua,* who went to Spain with the news of the victory [of Pavia]. Through him intelligence has been received of His Majesty's good health and M. de Beurren's near arrival.

News have also come of the French collecting forces at Nice in Provence, with a view to the occupation of certain passes in this country, from fear of the Imperial army invading France. Some infantry has, therefore, been despatched in that direction on board the Genoese galleys, with orders to occupy Vintemilla (Vintimiglia) and other passes; for, at all events, Marseilles ought, sooner or later, be attacked and reduced, so as to have the command of the Mediterranean, ensure navigation, do away with pirates, and remove all causes of anxiety

* Philip of Savoy, Count of Geneva, brother of the Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele.

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to Genoa, Naples, and Sicily. If to attain this purpose a fleet were required, a very good opportunity now offers itself, since the Genoese have lately newly careened and fitted out some of their caracks, besides the "Grimalda," which is the largest ship they possess, and has just arrived from the seas of Levant.

The French fleet, with the Duke of Albany and Renço da Cheri (Ceri) on board, has reached the coast of Provence; but four galleys of Baron de San Brancate and one of Andrea Doria must have foundered at sea, for, having sailed from Corsica to Provence, they met with a very heavy storm in the Gulf, and nothing more has been heard of them. It is to be hoped that all lives are lost, and the souls saved.

Respecting the Imperial army, there is nothing new to report or to do until the Emperor's wishes are known. It is now quartered in various parts of Lombardy and Piedmont, and waiting for its pay. Every effort is being made to procure money; and he (Soria) has contracted with Ansaldo de Grimaldo for a sum of 30,000 ducats, to be paid in Naples at the end of June; out of this Agustin Centurion is to receive 7,000 due to him since the year 1521 for the remainder of his account of exchanges.

A soldier just arrived from Milan reports that the Marquis de Pescara was suffering from ague. May God restore him to health, for he would be a great loss to His Imperial Majesty!

Advices from Rome of the 8th inst. say that the Pope shows much goodwill in every matter of business relating to the Emperor; that the Duke of Sessa's illness had been very slight, and that he was well again. The Prince of Bisignano had made his entry [at Rome] on the same day.

On the 6th there was at Sienna a popular rising, with the cry of "Empire and Liberty!" The infuriated mob murdered Alexandro Bichi and his son, and four or five of the principal citizens who had been appointed by the Duke of Albany to the government of the place, besides several soldiers of their body guard. Hieronimo Severino was present, but the rioters did not attack him, nor did he interfere or try to allay the tumult, thinking he would thus serve better the Imperial cause.

After writing the above, the brigantine not being able to leave the port owing to bad weather, the Emperor's letter came, dated the 8th February. It was brought on the 18th inst. by the Portuguese courier in company with Captain Corbera; both landed at Monego (Monaco), and having proceeded thence by land, owing to bad weather at sea, reached Final, where the Captain determined to take the route to Milan. The courier, however, came straight here, and was immediately sent to Rome, whilst the despatches he brought for Prothonotary Caracciolo and the Abbot of Najera were forwarded to Milan, and those for Alonso Sanchez to

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Venice. Those that came for this Dux have been personally delivered to him, as well as the verbal message from His Imperial Majesty.

The bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats, destined for the pay of the troops, shall, when received, be negotiated without delay among the merchants of this city, who are all very well disposed to the Imperial service; especially one Stephano de Grimaldo, who, on other occasions, has taken a good portion of them. He (Stephano) and two of his brothers, who reside at court, well deserve the Imperial favour.

This Doge has been ailing for some days with his habitual infirmity, the gout, and at present the attack is stronger than usual, though no danger of life is apprehended.

He and the Community at large are very grateful for the acknowledgment of their services, as contained in the last Imperial despatches.

(*Cipher:*) Of the misdoings of the Duke of Ferrara and other Italian potentates there is no occasion to treat at present. His Imperial Majesty will in time punish them according to their deserts.

He (Soria) has never been able to ascertain the name of the gentleman sent by the English King to that of France, only that he and M. de Lançon's chancellor* returned together to the King of England, and the report is that the object of their visit is to treat of a marriage.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis de Pescara has recovered from his illness.

These galleys are quite ready and fit for any sea service that may be required.—Genoa, 20 Apr. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope de Soria, xx. April."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

23 April. **81.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Viceroy of Naples, Charles de Lannoy.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, ff. 239-41.

Since he wrote on the 19th inst. has been waiting for an answer to the note he sent to the Senate. After many excuses for the delay, they have at last sent a paper for him to read, which is to be forwarded to their ambassador for his (the Viceroy's) perusal. The contents of the paper

* Instead of Lançon, as in the original, Alençon is meant. Jean Brinon was the Chancellor of that duchy.

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read to him, after their usual fine words, are: that they hear from their ambassador in Spain that the Emperor approves of their confederation, and holds it as firm; and that, in order to gratify His Imperial Majesty, they are willing to pay a good sum of money. That, as regards the Infante [Ferdinand], though they did not consider themselves bound to give him any money until the restitution to the outlaws (*fuorusciti*) was fairly made, yet, to please him, they would advance further sums, under the certainty that he [the Infante] will achieve the said restitution.

As to giving an equivalent in money whenever their contingent of infantry is required, they say that it is notorious how well their troops behaved in the last war, and that it is not customary in warfare for an ally to furnish men-at-arms, light cavalry, and artillery without infantry; that whenever they might be wanted they would send their contingent of troops, of all sorts, as stipulated in the treaty.

Such is in substance the answer, much more elaborately worded, that they have made to his (Sanchez') memorandum, insisting at the same time on their poverty and on the great expenses they have had to sustain on account of the Turk.

He (Sanchez) answered them that they ought at once to specify the sum they proposed to give, since he (the Viceroy of Naples) had fixed the lowest that could in conscience be accepted. To this they replied, that although they could not then name the sum, their good intentions were well known; and that with regard to the Infante, leaving apart the two last articles, the affair would be soon concluded to the satisfaction of all parties.

He (Sanchez) did not proceed any further in his objections and remonstrances, for reasons that will be hereafter stated, for the Viceroy ought to know that these people show great satisfaction at the letters they daily receive from Spain, which is perhaps owing to the mild words they contain, and they cannot be induced to believe that the Viceroy may treat them angrily. This, however, is only a suspicion of his.

The Emperor's letter of the 26th last, directed to Protho-notary Caracciolo and to himself (Sanchez), has come to hand. Though he believes him (the Viceroy) to be better informed than himself of His Majesty's will, he (Sanchez) sends him a transcript of what the Emperor has lately written to the Signory, which is in substance very different from what is now being negotiated. That is the reason why he (Sanchez) has not replied so angrily as he might otherwise have done to the objections presented by the Signory. He (the Viceroy), who holds the whole of this machinery in his hands, and knows the state of the negotiations with the King of France, will decide that which is most advantageous for His Majesty's service. If he wishes to be well informed of the manner in which he is to treat with these gentlemen, he had better

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consult Prothonotary (Caracciolo), for he knows them right well, and has often conversed with him (Sanchez) on the subject before his departure. Should he decide upon war, he (the Viceroy) must bear in mind that the best season to invade their territory is a little before the harvest time ; first, because they will not be so well provided with food as afterwards; and, secondly, because several private gentlemen who have estates in the Bressano (country of Brescia), in Bergamasco, and in the Veronese, from fear of losing the produce of their lands, will strive for a peaceful arrangement. If, on the contrary, he should prefer coming to terms with them, in that case he (Sanchez) must be informed in due time. The Pope's persuasions will be of little avail, because they (the Venetians) are in general ill-disposed. Perhaps if they were told that His Holiness will side against them, in case of their not agreeing immediately to the proffered conditions, and if the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) were, by His Holiness's orders, to come to this city, the desired object might be attained. For although the said Duke, who is an honourable gentleman, might refuse to visit this city, he would, from fear of losing his estate, persuade them to enter into some agreement. The Pope's Nuncio has for some days past been at work, trying to bring them into this league, but they have made no answer, and from what they themselves have told him (Sanchez), it is quite obvious that they do not intend to give him satisfaction on this head. Should war be decided upon, the Infante ought to be advised in time, that he may make his preparations and send his men to Rivoli. Otherwise, as these people are well prepared on their frontiers, and His Highness is not, they might do more harm than could be inflicted upon them in those parts. It is for him (the Viceroy) to consider the state of affairs in France at present, and what probability there is of the King helping them in war, for one thing is certain that they have secret understandings in that country, and that there is actually in Venice an agent sent by the French King's mother.

If on all other points an agreement be arrived at, some means might and ought to be found of settling this difference about the infantry. They could be asked to furnish a certain contingent of troops, men-at-arms, light cavalry, and infantry, and the whole number might afterwards be reduced by a compensation in money, thus averting the danger of their only giving cavalry. This idea is his (Sanchez'); he has not communicated it to anyone save to the Viceroy. As to getting money out of them on this score he considers it exceedingly difficult.

The English ambassador is trying to get the 20,000 cr. (*escudos*) from these merchants, but the premium asked is so exorbitant that he dares not take upon himself the responsibility of the negotiation. He is otherwise very willing to

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bring the affair to an end, and hopes that to-morrow or after something will be done.—Venice, 30 April 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of what I (Alonso Sanchez) wrote to the Viceroy on the 23rd of April."

Spanish. Contemporary copy and decipherings. pp. 4½.

28 April Champollion. Captivité de François I., p. 174.

82. INSTRUCTIONS to MONS. D'EMBRUN.*

The Bishop is to inform the Emperor that the principal object of his mission is to thank him, on behalf of Madame the Regent, for his kind and honourable treatment of the French King, and to request that she may frequently receive news of her son's health. He is then to inform the Emperor that she has always desired the peace of Christendom, even before the battle [of Pavia], and principally a union between the Emperor and the King [her son], which she is ready now to conclude, if honourable conditions be granted, to the satisfaction of the realm, the administration of which is now entirely in her hands. The demands made by Mons. de Beaurain were exorbitant. Should the Emperor appoint some great personage to treat with him (D'Embrun), he is to declare that any hope the Emperor may entertain of gaining towns or territory by means of the proposed peace must be abandoned at once. He is then to negotiate for the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to Eleanor, daughter of the Queen of Portugal, with a view to the said Duke [of Orleans] being nominated Duke of Milan. He is likewise to negotiate respecting Naples, the towns of Hesdin and Tournay, and the King's rights over Flanders and Artois. Above all, the Bishop is to endeavour to obtain the release of the King, her son.—Lyons, 28 April 1525, after Easter.

French. Copy.

29 April. K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 28.

83. PRESIDENT LAURENS to MADAME.

Has again communicated with Master Gay and with the King's Equerry, and with Captain Garninghem (Jerningham), Clarence (Clarencieux?) the herald, and others, respecting the prisoners of war. After a good deal of conversation, they told him that if we wished to have the prisoners "d'escuelles," they would willingly make us a present of them. His reply was, that they had not come to England to receive presents, but to execute orders. Gave him at last the safe-conduct of the receiver (*recepteur*) of Rollencourt, so much solicited by Mons. de Lannoy. The Cardinal promised to show it to the King; also to report the ambassador's conversation respecting the rest of the prisoners, and afterwards return an answer upon

* François de Tournon, Archbishop of Embrun.

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the whole. Will do anything in his power to aid these poor people.—Londres, penultieme d'Abril.

Signed: "Laurens."

Addressed: "A Mme. la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Holograph. p. 1½.

30 April. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar* A. 34, ff. 239–41.

84. Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy).

Wrote on the 23rd instant, enclosing the answer of this Signory. The letters went by way of Mantua, and he now hears that they have reached their destination. Is anxiously expecting an answer, as does also this Doge, who is very desirous of establishing on a firm footing his relations with the Emperor.

Has been told that the Signory has lately sent to Padua a gentleman, formerly a purveyor (proveditore), with 400 men. The reason (he fancies) is, that as our troops are fast approaching the Polesen (Polesino) district and the territory of Padua, and your Lordship has not yet answered their letters, their suspicions have been raised. It would be advisable to let him (Sanchez) know how he is to conduct this present negotiation, that he may act accordingly and devote himself to the Emperor's service.

Informed the Viceroy in his last of what the English ambassador had done respecting the 20,000 cr. One of the merchants for whom he had letters of credit has agreed to give him 10,000 next week; and it may happen that the said merchant, who is also a friend of his (Sanchez') may be persuaded to increase the sum to 15,000. At any rate, the payment of the 10,000 is certain, so that the Viceroy may at once dispose of the money, or say what is to be done with it. Ought to observe, however, that the English ambassador insists upon his having such powers to receive the money as those forwarded to the Duke of Sessa on a former occasion.

As to the remainder of the sum agreed upon with England, there is at present no means of getting it, for this ambassador (Pace) says that the merchants of this city ask him a most exorbitant premium and a month's time to procure the money. He himself shows much goodwill in this affair, but the merchants are not very well disposed to take the bills, and for that reason their demands are preposterous. Should his friend, the banker, take the 15,000 cr.—for which he is trying with all his might—he (Sanchez) believes it an easy matter for this ambassador to write to his colleague at Rome to pay the remaining 5,000.

Had written thus far, and was about to close this letter, when the Viceroy's despatch, in date of the 26th, came to hand. Went immediately to the Signory, and told them

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what came to his mind about his Lordship's kindness and generous disposition in thus consenting to relax his demands. Explained to them that the two articles—namely, that of the outlaws (*foraxidos*) and that of the money as an equivalent and compensation for infantry—would no longer be insisted upon, provided, however, the claims of the said outlaws should be attended to out of the money they owe to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand), and they should pay immediately in cash 120,000 gold ducats. They showed much satisfaction at hearing that his Lordship no longer insisted upon the fulfilment of the two articles, saying that, as regards the *foraxidos* and the money to be paid to the Infante, there would be no difficulty at all, and as to the principal demand, viz., the 120,000 ducats, they would consult the matter and let him know. This cannot be either to-day or to-morrow, Sunday, but on Monday next, though a Church festival also, they are to make their *prega*, and send their answer on Tuesday. Doubts whether the docility and kindness shown by his Lordship in this affair will not induce the Signory to try and make a closer bargain, and obtain a reduction of the sum demanded; but to guard against this, he has told them beforehand that his Lordship is not disposed to abate one single farthing out of the 120,000 ducats.

Their having sent troops to Rome is more out of fear and to keep their own than for any other purpose, and the same may be said of the forces destined for various parts of their territory.—Venice, 20th Apr. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Headed: "Copy of what I (Alonso Sanchez) wrote to the Viceroy on the 30th."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

3 May. **85.** CHARLES DE LANNOY to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 23.

Commander Figueroa must already have informed His Imperial Majesty how the King of France sent for him (Lannoy) and said many things to him concerning M. du Rœulx' mission, and the message he had sent to the Queen Regent, his mother, requesting her to accede to the Emperor's demands in every respect. He, himself, wishes for peace, and is ready to make such concessions as will fully satisfy His Imperial Majesty. As the affair is of such importance, he (Lannoy) has decided to inform the Emperor by express, and requested Don Hugo de Moncada to be the bearer of this intelligence. He is to start on his errand within three days, but, in order not to lose time, he (Lannoy) despatches the present courier to inform the Emperor of Don Hugo's next arrival. Don Hugo was a prisoner, but as the Emperor is in want of good servants just now, he (Lannoy) has prevailed on the French

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King to have him exchanged for Mons. de Montmorency.*—Pizzighitone, 3 May 1525.

P.S.—Begs that nothing be resolved on Italian affairs till the arrival of Don Hugo.

French. Copy. p. 1.†

4 May. **86.** The COMMISSIONERS to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 31, ff. 74–5.

Received Madame's letter of the 26th April on Sunday last, immediately after which they (the Commissioners) sent Captain Guiot to ask for an audience with the Cardinal, that they might communicate the contents of the said letter, and also what the Emperor had written to M. de Praet. The Cardinal having fixed Hantencourt (Hampton Court) as the place where he would receive them, last Tuesday, at 9 o'clock, the Commissioners repaired thither, when, in compliance with their orders, they proceeded to say: How the Emperor had sent M. de Rœulx to M. de Bourbon and the Viceroy (Charles de Lanoy), to declare to them part of his intention. How the former, on his passage through Lyons, was instructed to visit Madame, the Regent of France, and learn from her certain particulars. How he was also to see the King of France, and inquire whether he was willing to make amendment to the King of England, to Mons. de Bourbon, and to others of the Emperor's allies. In case of the French King refusing to do so, it was the Emperor's purpose to compel him by force to do what was right towards them. Mons. de Rœulx had also instructions to visit the King of England, and announce in the Emperor's name his readiness to prosecute the war and adopt any other compulsory means against the said King of France best calculated to produce the desired effect, to which end he was already making all manner of warlike preparations, and hoped the King of England would do the same on his side.

Before replying to the above statement, the Cardinal complained bitterly of certain letters which had been written in the Emperor's name, both to the King and to himself, the style and meaning of which, he declared, was ill suited to those who, like the King, his master, had always done all manner of friendly services to the Emperor, and had interfered in his behalf with the Pope, the French, and the Scotch. He knew, however, that the objectionable expressions contained in the said letter came not from the Emperor himself, but were the result of the many false and injurious reports which at all times his ambassadors and those of Lady Margaret were wont to make about his person.

The Cardinal further said, in explanation of his sentimens and views in this matter, that the English ambassadors in Spain had written to say that the Emperor had three different

* Anne de Montmorency, Grand Steward of France.

† Published in Lanz, *Correspondenz, &c.*, p. 161.

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grounds of complaint against him. One was his behaviour to Mons. de Praet, about which there was no need for him to say anything now, as he had fully explained his motives and reasons upon other occasions.

The next was, that when Mons. de Beaurain came last to England, he (the Cardinal) did not allow him to see the King, or state the object of his mission. The charge was altogether gratuitous, for when that ambassador came, the King, his master, was not residing in London, but sixty leagues off. It was, besides, the winter season, and the Cardinal had given him the option of visiting the King where he was or taking his departure. Mons. de Beaurain had chosen the latter expedient, and left England without seeing the King.

The third complaint was, that when the Emperor's affairs were in a most critical position, he (the Cardinal) had dissuaded the King from sending him the succour and assistance he so much wanted. On this point, also, the Emperor had been most notoriously mis-informed, for he had done everything in his power to preserve the amity of the Pope and of the Venetians, in proof of which he exhibited certain letters in Latin, written to the King's ambassador at Rome (a copy of which is here enclosed). After the good fortune [of Pavia], he [the Cardinal] had paid into the hands of the Imperial ministers in Italy 50,000 ducats, and done all he could to persuade His Holiness to enter into a league and confederation with the Emperor, which, though not yet made, was in a fair way of being concluded.

After which, and returning to the principal object of the conference, the Cardinal went on to say that, in his opinion, the time was come for attacking the common enemy. If the summer was allowed to pass, it would be too late. The French wanted only to gain time.

The Commissioners answered: "That is precisely what the Emperor is doing, gaining time, and trying to ascertain whether the French King will make proper amendment without resorting to war. Should he refuse, the Emperor has decided [with King Henry's aid] to force him into it."

In the course of conversation, and whilst discussing the best means of accomplishing that aim, the Cardinal observed that the King of France ought at once, and without any previous warning, to be compelled, sword in hand, to give to each of them [the Emperor and King] that which belonged to them by right. He ended, however, by acknowledging that, all things considered, the Emperor's policy seemed to him acceptable; but he ought to have informed the King, his master, in due time of his intentions and designs, in case the King of France and Madame the Regent refused to follow the path of amity and fairness; and whether he (the Emperor) purposed to come down into France himself, or assist him with men and provisions from the Low Countries, in order that he

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might make his arrangements accordingly, and commence war. It was wrong of him to keep them so long in suspense, and make them spend their money to no purpose. Corn, barley, oats, salt meat, and other provisions had already been stored on board the Royal fleet, and nobody knew yet what point of the French coast was to be assailed first. Should the said victuals remain at sea a fortnight more everything would be damaged and spoilt, and much money lost.

Upon which the Commissioners replied, that until His Imperial Majesty had an answer on this point from the French King, and knew for certain that he was, of his own free will, and without compulsion, prepared to do justice to his allies, the Emperor could not say how and where the war was to commence; that being the reason why he (the Emperor) had not yet written to the King announcing his intentions. The Commissioners, however, had no doubt whatever that, a definitive answer being obtained, the Emperor would not fail to acquaint both King and Legate with his plans.

After this, and according to the orders received from Madame, the articles concerning the safe-conducts, safeguards, fisheries, and prisoners of war, were touched upon by the Commissioners, when the Legate said he had hopes of the King, his master, granting the first, in the manner applied for by Madame. As to the second, respecting the fisheries, the King was nowise disposed to allow it, since determined, as he was, to wage war on the French, his subjects would never consent to his granting safe-conducts or taking them from the enemy. The Legate, however, promised to call on the King at Winezore (Windsor), and report the matter to him, when he might, perhaps, appoint next Wednesday to hear what the Commissioners had to say.

Respecting the prisoners, and after the Commissioners had expatiated at length on the damages and losses which some men-at-arms across the sea (*de dela la mer*) had inflicted on the Emperor's subjects, the Legate said he was willing to appoint some person of honour and conscience to act as arbiter in this affair, to be judged and sentenced by the President and by him. But on the Commissioners refusing to adopt such an expedient, he (the Legate) said he had no objection to take the matter in hand, and would attend to it immediately after his return from London, when, he had no doubt, full justice would be done to our claims.

With regard to Princess [Mary] and the King's answer on the subject—which the Commissioners were ordered to transmit to the Emperor as soon as possible—there was no need to comply with Madame's wishes on this subject. Firstly, because the expense of sending a special messenger to Spain for this particular purpose would be too great; and, secondly, because the Commissioners had already forwarded to the Emperor copies of all their letters of the 9th March

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and 19th April, wherein their own overtures and the Legate's answer were fully detailed.

In His Imperial Majesty's letter mention is made of one written to him by the Regent of France. The Commissioners have not considered it necessary to make any allusion to it, as the contents are known here, and have circulated throughout England. Nor have they made any reference to the death of Blanche Rose,*—a fact well known in this country,—and about which it would have been rather difficult to speak in a way agreeable to these people, since he [Blanche Rose] was not respected in this kingdom, either by great or small; and it would have been impossible to mention his name in terms of commendation without giving offence to the King, to the Legate, and to the whole Council.

The Legate made great instances to have in writing what the Emperor's letter and Madame's ordered the Commissioners to state verbally. His application was at first refused, but, perceiving that he still insisted, and had actually sent a messenger after them,—as will be seen by the letter of Brian Tuke, here enclosed,—the Commissioners made an abstract of the said correspondence, and sent it to him by the same messenger.—London, 4th of May 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame Marguerite, Gouvernante des Pays Bas."

French. Original. pp. 6.

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M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, ff. 271–2.

87. The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

Has nothing to advise since the receipt of despatches of January, 9th February, and April. Joan Bartholome de Gattinara having left in the meantime with the news of Rome, and M. de Beurren (Beaurain) with those of the camp, he (the Duke) has very little to write about.

Since Gattinara's departure, on the 1st inst., the Pope, hearing that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had caused the league to be proclaimed at Naples, has done the same here with great solemnity. There was a splendid entertainment on the occasion at Cardinal Colonna's, and everyone here shows much satisfaction, praising the moderation shown by the Emperor after his victory. May God permit that he may soon triumph over the common enemy!

What His Imperial Majesty wrote to the Pope [after the victory] has been so much approved of and extolled that it has been made publicly known. He [the Duke] cannot tell

* Richard de la Pole, mentioned at p. 96.

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whether His Holiness will write by this conveyance, but of this he is certain, that he has the greatest confidence in His Majesty, thus showing that his present state of feelings is the natural one, and that the last was altogether compulsory. The Datary (Giberti) does not meddle with State affairs now; the office is held by the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), who is well disposed towards His Imperial Majesty.

The Venetians have not yet come to a satisfactory arrangement, although they profess to be willing to do so. It is high time they should.

From England there is nothing new to report. It is said that they (the English) are making military preparations to be ready when the Emperor's intentions, which, after all, is to be the supreme law there as well as here, shall be made known; and in the event of France not accepting the proposed conditions of peace, prosecute the war with undiminished vigour. It would seem, however, as if much time were lost in this negotiation, thus giving the enemy time to recover, and increasing considerably the debt to the Imperial armies.

From Germany the news is that the Lutherans are daily increasing and getting stronger. The Pope shows some anxiety about this, seeing that no measures are taken to arrest the movement.

Begs the Emperor to issue orders for the payment of the sums borrowed by him (the Duke) to provide for the defence of the kingdom of Naples. As the money was borrowed on his (the Duke's) personal responsibility, if the bills are to remain unpaid, he must needs constitute himself a prisoner. Had he the means, by selling his own property or otherwise, to satisfy his creditors, he would consider it a great felicity.

Has received orders from the Viceroy to go to Sienna and put things in order there. He is not sure of success, for where such confusion and variety of opinion prevail, it is no easy matter to make people come to an understanding. His own opinion respecting the last disturbances in that city, is, that the assassination of Alessandro Vic (Bichi), and of his friends and relatives, was a most unjustifiable act; that the provocation came from Severino [Girolamo], who, taking advantage of the authority and influence he had with the Emperor's ministers, was the principal actor in the drama. The cry for liberty, in the sense in which the Siennese take it, very much resembles that raised in Spain by the late *Comunidades*, and although they profess that His Imperial Majesty will be much better served through it, he (the Duke) is of a contrary opinion.

A letter has come from Joan Bartholomé de Gattinaria, of the* . . . past, announcing that he was on the point of starting [for France] that very day, if he only obtained a permit,

* A blank in the original.

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and that he was already provided with a safe-conduct.—Rome, 4th May 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To His Majesty the Emperor and King."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 4th of May."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

6 May. Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 91.

88. The SAME to the SAME.

Wrote on the 3rd, after Mons. du Rœulx' departure, enclosing summary of the conversation he had with the King [of France]. Don Hugo [de Moncada] leaves to-morrow, in all possible haste, to inform the Emperor of all particulars, as well as of the state of affairs in Italy. Begs and entreats that nothing be concluded in these matters till Moncada arrives, and that proper instructions be sent to him, which may easily come by Peñalosa or Manuel, both of whom have safe-conducts to come here by a land route.—Pizzighitone, 6 May 1525.

7 May. K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 32, ff. 76–7.

89. PRESIDENT LAURENS to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

Has duly placed in the Legate's hands the letter announcing the death at Lyons of the Grand Master of France* and of the Duke of Alençon;† also the news that the Regent [of France] and the Estates had offered to M. de Bourbon in marriage the French King's sister [Margaret of Orleans], widow of the said Duke d'Alençon; and that M. de Saint Pol (François de Bourbon) had been set at liberty, which last piece of intelligence took the Legate by surprise.

The Commissioners informed him at the same time that the Duke of Albany had arrived on the coast of Provence with 5,000 men. That the Duke de Vendome (Charles de Bourbon) and M. de Lautrec had had words together, Madame the Regent having declared in favour of the latter, whilst Robertet [the Secretary] and others supported the Duke, who was governor of Picardy and of the neighbouring districts, and had for his lieutenantt he Count of Brienne. The said Lautrec was governor of Languedoc and Provence, and M. de Guise governor of Bourgogne. The ban and arrière ban had been published everywhere, and it had been resolved to revictual Thérouanne. Boulogne had a garrison of 1,200 men, and was well supplied with provisions.

Told the Cardinal that Madame [Louise of Savoy] had sent besides the copy of a letter written by the King of France to that of England, from Thunes, and which had been sent by Bannisis? to the ambassador of the Duke of Milan.‡

* René, the bastard of Savoy, son of Duke Filippo.

† Charles, who died the 14th of April.

‡ The sense of this passage is rather obscure; it stands thus: "Ci vous envoye avecq cestes la copie d'une lettre la quelle le dit Sieur Roy, avoit escript au Roy de Thunes? la quelle Bannismes a envoyé á l'ambassadeur du Duc de Milan." *Bannismes* is probably meant for Jacobus à Bannisis, Archbishop of Bari.

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The Cardinal has dismissed most of his workmen. As to the grant in money lately demanded from the people, there is great reluctance to pay. He (Laurens) thinks that it will, in the end, become entirely a gratuitous one, and that nobody will be compelled to pay.

The Milanese ambassador has had letters from Italy, intimating that Captain Brion is going to Spain with Don Hugo de Moncada, to present to His Majesty, the Emperor, the Prince of Oringer (Orange).—Londres, 3 May 1525.

P.S.—After writing the above the Legate sent for him (Laurens), and read a letter announcing the arrival at Boulogne of 2,000 Italians and 400 Albanese. The better to be informed on certain particulars respecting the safe-conducts and safeguards to be given, the Commissioner called again at the palace, and, among other things, exhibited the answer given by Madame to the [English] ambassadors' demand; when, after much discussion, the Cardinal came to own that he considered it just for Madame not to decide thereupon before consulting the Emperor. He would have done the same in her place, but begged her to continue as friendly and kind towards him as she had been when the alliance between the Emperor and the King, his master, was first made.—London, 7th of May [1525].

Signed: "J. Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame, &c."

French. Original. pp. 2.

8 May. **90.** The Commissioners to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 32, f. 77.

After their letter of the 7th inst., and on the Legate's promise that he would be back in London for the 6th, when he would answer all points put forward at Hantin Court (Hampton Court), the Commissioners called upon him yesterday, three hours after dinner, when he proceeded to say:

On the subject of the safeguards, the King was disposed to do Madame's pleasure in every respect, in the same form and manner specified in their letter.

Respecting the prisoners of war, they had already been released without paying any ransom, with the one exception of the Receiver of Rollencourt, who, if proved to be a native of Flanders, would be set at liberty like the rest, but if found to be a French subject, and to have been taken prisoner whilst in the service of M. de Saint Pol, must be considered a good prize.

After some observations on this particular case, the Legate told the Commissioners that they ought to be satisfied with his decision.

Concerning the Scotch ambassadors the King's resolution was that if a peace or a truce was concluded with them, we were to be included in it. If, on the contrary, war was

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decided upon, we were to consider them as our enemies. If, however, it was found that, notwithstanding the said state of war, English subjects frequented Scotland and traded with the inhabitants, we should be at liberty to do the same. In short, the King's intention was that we, in either case, should treat the Scotch as his own subjects did.

On the particular of the safe-conducts, the Legate told the Commissioners that those that had been granted would be respected and kept on either side, in the same form and manner as they were issued; but the King, his master, had not made up his mind to grant or keep any of those which might have been granted to subjects of His Imperial Majesty, his allies and confederates, for such goods and merchandise as they might be introducing into the enemy's land or bringing out of it. But in case of any safe-conduct being granted in future for the French or Scotch, for their goods and ships, it cannot be stipulated that his men (the English) are bound to keep and observe them.

With regard to the fisheries, the Cardinal was glad to hear that the Imperials were in treaty with the French to grant each other the required safe-conducts to carry on that trade. He had nothing to do with that, but nevertheless the King, his master, was not prepared to grant any to the French, or allow his men to make use of them. On the contrary, he should consider it lawful for his subjects to seize and capture the said Frenchmen when at sea, even if they had safe-conducts from the Emperor or Madame for the said fisheries. The Legate added: "The King, my master, would have been glad to please you on this affair of the fisheries, but he found it incompatible with his honour and interest to allow the French to fish and trade close to his coast and harbours whilst he was at war with them, since he could hardly design any military enterprise without the enemy being previously made aware of it. Besides which, it would be greatly to the King's dishonour, if, whilst blockading some maritime town of the enemy's, he was compelled, in observance of the said safe-conducts, to allow vessels to go in with provisions and other necessaries of war."

This, after a good deal of discussion, the Cardinal said was the King's final resolution and his own concerning the fisheries. He then pointed out the case of the ship belonging to the Admiral (Duke of Norfolk), still unsettled, saying it was desirable to have it finished anyhow, and the sooner the better.

After which the Cardinal brought on the affair of the currency (*monnaies*), complaining that the treaty of Calais had not been observed in some of its articles, and that the inhabitants of the Low Countries did not buy English wool, on all which points (he said) he intended shortly to send people to communicate with the Commissioners. When this is done, and their complaints and griefs have been put down

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on paper, they (the Commissioners) will not fail to draw out a memorandum for Madame's inspection.

Have received her letters of the 4th inst., together with the duplicate of those of the Emperor of the last day of March, and the copy of the answer made [by Madame] to certain articles delivered by the ambassadors of this King. The better to ascertain the Legate's sentiments, and what he thought about Madame's answer, the Commissioners called on him one afternoon, when he said: "I should have wished for a better answer; but since Madame is not willing to give it, we shall have patience and wait." After which he went on to say that the Emperor was losing time, and, that this summer gone, it would be too late to attack the enemy. If the French were allowed to breathe and take courage, they would become stronger than ever they were. He had lately received intelligence that they were preparing an army to send beyond the mountains, so as to release their King from captivity and recover Lombardy, and that the Switzers had promised to help them with 23,000 men.

The Commissioners' answer was: "The King of England and the Legate will soon hear from His Imperial Majesty, and know what preparations he has made against these and other eventualities."

Have sent the articles concerning the 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot. The French and Scottish ambassadors have left. The prisoners are released. The King's final resolution concerning the fisheries, the safe-conducts, and safeguards is likewise known; and Madame has seen the letters that have been addressed to His Imperial Majesty on this subject. There is nothing more left for them to do, and they ask permission to return home.—London, 8 May [1525].

Signed: "Adolfe de Burgoigne," "J. Laurens."

12 May. **91.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, ff. 283–5.

Wrote on the 27th of April, in answer to the Emperor's letter of the 26th March, the last received. The bills of exchange for 80,000 ducats which came with it have been presented to Ansaldo de Grimaldo, who not only has accepted them, but has already paid a portion of the sum, and will pay the remainder when due, perhaps before, as the Viceroy [of Naples] is very desirous of having the whole sum at once for the wants of the army.

(*Cipher:*) Has received a letter from the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy], saying that he will come here (to Genoa) with the French King about the 17th instant, in order to take him to Naples. The galleys are in order, and well provided with every necessary for the voyage. They are fifteen in all, counting the four of Genoa, besides some brigantines and other small vessels.

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(*Common writing:*) Don Hugo de Moncada left Milan on the 10th instant, on his way to Spain by land. He has been graciously liberated by the King of France, without paying any ransom, in exchange for Montmorency, whose ransom is to be paid by the said King. Of this agreement, and others entered into at Piciguiton (Pizzighitone), where the Duke of Bourbon, the Viceroy, the Marquis of Pescara, and the said Don Ugo [de Moncada], with other captains, have met, His Imperial Majesty shall be more particularly informed, and therefore there is no need for him (Soria) to dwell any more on the subject.

Has sent a brigantine to reconnoitre the French fleet, and has since received letters from those who went in her, and from the Lord of Monego (Monaco), advising that Andrea Doria and the Baron of Sant Brancat have armed two more galleys, making in all twelve, besides three galleons. The larger ships they had entirely disarmed; but it is rumoured that with the said twelve galleys and three galleons they intend to sail for Catalonia or come to this coast. His (Soria's) opinion is that the real object of all these preparations is to see whither the French King is taken, in order, if possible, to attempt a rescue.

Grassa and other towns in Provence are being fortified in the event of the Imperial army invading that province.

From this city there is nothing new to report. Perfect tranquillity prevails, and both the Doge and Community seem desirous of remaining faithful to His Imperial Majesty, and certainly neither in this league nor in any other affair will they do anything without His Majesty's consent.

There has always existed some difference between this Community and that of Savona; it is now more marked than ever, the people of this city pretending that they are the masters, and that in case of any disputes or dissensions arising among the citizens of Genoa and those of Savona, the affair ought to be referred to this Senate. The people of Savona, on the other hand, say that they are willing to submit in everything, except in having their cases decided by Genoa, adding that His Imperial Majesty ought to be their judge.

On the 30th ultimo the Pope went to St. John of Letran, where Cardinal Colonna said Mass. The league between His Imperial Majesty, the Pope, the King of England, and the Infante Don Fernando was then proclaimed with due solemnity. Rome was illuminated, and the Cardinal entertained at dinner His Holiness and the rest of his colleagues.—Genoa, 12th May 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 3.

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13°May. **92.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the VICEROY OF NAPLES.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, 295-8.

After your Lordship's letter of the 6th, that of the 8th was brought to me by Gaspar Costa. This was on the 11th, and on the very same day I called on the Signory, and addressed them in conformity with your Lordship's instructions. And as these people during the conference gave me clearly to understand their intention to remain in the same peace and confederation as they were at the time it was concluded, I did not deem it advisable to ask upon what terms they proposed to live with the Imperial army. I only expressed my wonder at their dilatory excuses, and summoned them in your Lordship's name to declare at once whether they were willing or not to pay the 120,000 ducats. They asked me for time to deliberate. Yesterday they made their *prega*, and this morning I called on them, when they caused a paper to be read to me, which, leaving out all the preambles, fine words, and excuses, of which there are plenty, contains, in substance, that they will pay now 50,000 ducats or escudos, and 30,000 more at a year's date. I answered that it was not in my power to listen to such a proposal; that the object of my call was merely to know whether they intended or not to pay the 120,000 ducats, and that it seemed to me as if they had no such intention, since, instead of coming down with the money, they tried to make a fresh bargain; that I was, moreover, instructed by your Lordship to inquire from them on what terms they intended to live with the Imperial army.

Somewhat disconcerted by this speech of mine, their answer was that they wished to live in peace and harmony with His Majesty's army, and under the same confederation alluded to above; that the sum of money which they proposed to pay was more as a gift of love to His Imperial Majesty, and as a sort of indemnity for the great expenses he had sustained during the late war, than otherwise; they believed themselves never to have been in fault, but to have strictly complied with the capitulations.

My reply was that I would report the whole to your Lordship, but as their proveditore (purveyor) had held a very different language respecting the money, when he was at Naples, it could not be expected that your Lordship should relax in his demands.

(*Cipher:*) I may be mistaken, but I firmly believe that were your Lordship to insist on this claim, and to speak a few angry words to the said proveditore and to their resident ambassador in that city (Milan), and were the Imperial army to move in the direction of their frontiers, they would come to terms and pay the whole of the sum demanded. To leave things in the state in which they are, after having gone thus far, appears to me a very dangerous experiment, for though they may protest that they are willing to observe the

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articles of the confederation, if they see that their offer is not accepted, they will naturally conclude that the Emperor is not satisfied with them, and has reasons to doubt their fidelity. Their suspicions will then be roused, and as they are generally disaffected towards the Empire and the house of Austria, they are sure to plot against it and do all the harm in their power, not only on account of the territory they hold belonging to the said house of Austria, but also on account of the fear which those suspicions are likely to cause them. If,—which God prevent,—His Imperial Majesty were to be in need of their services, I hold it as certain that not only they would entirely disregard the confederation to which they declare themselves to be bound, but would show themselves open enemies. To accept such a small sum, after having so long insisted upon the whole, would be, in my opinion, a discreditable act after so signal a victory. If war is to be made upon them—and my own private opinion is that they will not risk it, but will rather pay the sums demanded—it is very important that some warlike demonstration should be made as soon as possible. It is now harvest time, and if their country is invaded, the nobles,—rather than lose the rents of their lands on the continent, which amount to a much larger sum than the one demanded,—would strain every nerve to have it paid. To leave matters as they now stand would be, in my humble opinion, rather prejudicial to the Imperial cause.

(*Common writing :*) If, notwithstanding the reasons I have just stated, your Lordship should decide not to press matters, but to leave them as they are, it would be advisable to tell them that since they profess to hold the confederation as binding, they must at once fulfil its various articles and pay their debt to the Infante, who will then give back what he is bound to restore by the said capitulation ; and if there was any difference between them to appoint a third person as umpire to settle the question in dispute, since it would not be proper that one or other of the parties should be judges in their own cause. That ample justice must be done to the claims of the *foraxidos*,* paying what is owed to them, or making due compensation for their losses, instead of ill-treating them, as they do at present, in complete disregard of all stipulations.

Should your Lordship decide upon this line of policy, I should require fresh instructions as to the manner in which I am to conduct the negotiation. A commissary sent by the Infante for the purpose of the restitution has arrived in this city (Venice), but I am putting off the affair as much as I can, and neither he nor I will move in it until we hear your Lordship's pleasure. Certainly in this matter of the money

* *Foraxido* in Spanish is a corruption of the Italian "*fuoruscito*," meaning an exile, an emigrant, outlaw, &c.

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owed to the Infante, these people have behaved most shamefully, and the fault is entirely theirs.

I cannot but inform your Lordship that there is a rumour abroad that the French have lately raised large sums of money, and show signs of preparing for war; also that these people (the Venetians) are doing their utmost to establish some sort of understanding between the Kings of France and England, believing that if they succeed in their attempt, they will have nothing to fear [from the Emperor].

Gaspar Costa, the bearer of this letter, will deliver to your Lordship the 10,000 crowns paid by the English ambassador. It has been impossible to get a larger sum from these merchants; even this has been obtained with great difficulty, and owing entirely to my interference in the affair, though, as I have already stated on other occasions, it is no fault of the English ambassador, who is very willing to do everything in his power towards the settlement of this business.—Venice, 13 May 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Headed: "A copy of what I wrote to the Viceroy on the 13th May."

Spanish. Deciphered copy. pp. 6.

14 May. **93.** The Marquis del Guasto to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp.

Has received the letter of the 27th, addressed conjointly to him and to Antonio de Leyva. Both return most heartfelt thanks for the goodness His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to show them, and the promise of speedy remittances wherewith to supply the increasing wants of the Imperial army. He, in particular, feels exceedingly grateful for the Emperor's kind acknowledgment of his services, and begs that full credence be given to Juan Batista Castaldo y Gutierrez, whom he now sends to Spain, that he may verbally report on matters concerning the Imperial service, as well as his own honour and reputation which he confidently places in the Emperor's hands.—Milan, 14 May 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis del Gasto, 14 May 1526."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1½.

18 May. **94.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A., ff. 300–5.

Has very little to say in answer to his letters of 10th January, 6th and 9th February, and 5th of April, Joan Bartholomé Gattinara having departed in the meantime with a detailed account of the doings at Rome.

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The proclamation of the league, as he informed His Majesty on the 4th instant by a land route, was made with all solemnity in Santo Apostol, Cardinal Colonna giving a splendid entertainment on the occasion. His Majesty's confirmation was not waited for, owing to intelligence received here [at Rome] that the Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy] had proclaimed the league at Milan, and in the Estates of the Church.

Since M. de Beurren's return no letter has come from the said Viceroy, and therefore he [the Duke] is ignorant of the state of the negotiations. He only knows, by a letter of the 6th inst., that the Viceroy was about to send a messenger to inform him (the Duke) of everything.

His Holiness the Pope has determined to send Cardinal de Salviatis as his Nuncio to the Emperor, and the appointment has been announced in the Consistory, not much to the satisfaction of Colonna, who wanted that office for himself, that being the reason why they have so hastened the provision. The object of his mission is to congratulate His Imperial Majesty upon his recent victory, and to treat about the past, and see whether a universal peace can be secured for the future. He (De Salviatis) will no doubt give satisfaction. His Imperial Majesty ought to be grateful to him for his past good offices, for he certainly showed himself a good servant of the Emperor just at the time when others drew back. He says that he will start upon his journey soon after June, but that will very much depend on the intelligence that may come from Spain.

Nothing new to report about Ferrara. The said Cardinal [de Salviatis] has gone to Milan to hold a conference with the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), and see what sort of arrangement can be made, as the Pope wishes very much to have that duchy returned to him.

(*Cipher:*) He [the Duke] cannot help thinking that the restitution of the duchy of Ferrara to His Holiness would be, under the present circumstances, a great advantage, for the Emperor could take the 100,000 ducats which the Pope has in hand for the pay of the army, besides the 20,000 more that are still due by him on account of the league, and the payment of which could not then be reasonably delayed.

(*Common writing:*) From England letters have come of the 28th ult., giving as certain that the King was making great preparations of war to invade France in person as soon as he had an answer from His Imperial Majesty. This he would do in compliance with the articles of the convention agreed to between the Emperor and himself; but he (the King) is not likely to undertake anything until he hears from his ambassadors what resolution is taken by His Imperial Majesty in the affair. Out of the 50,000 ducats which that King ordered to be paid to the Viceroy only 32,000 have hitherto been received, and those with infinitely more trouble

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and a greater discount than if they had been procured in any other way. They now send the Chevalier Casal to His Majesty's camp; and it is reported that he (Casal) will also come here to the Pope. As soon as intelligence can be obtained of the object of his visit, he (the Duke) will not fail to advise His Majesty of it.

The manner in which His Imperial Majesty received the news of the victory [of Pavia], the words he uttered on the occasion, and the letter he wrote are highly commended here, the Pope himself extolling above all things so valorous and Christian a behaviour. The letter was first read in Consistory, and afterwards committed to the press and circulated, together with the account which the Pope's Nuncio [in Spain] sent of that glorious event.

Nothing has yet been settled concerning the claims on the Venetians. The Viceroy has consented to reduce the sum, but the ambassador (Sanchez) writes to say that there is no longer any question about the settlement of the claims of *foraxidos*, that and other articles of the convention having been abandoned, and that the only thing demanded is the 120,000 ducats. He (the Duke) cannot help thinking that if in the first instance the claims had been more vigorously pressed, better conditions might have been obtained, without any loss to His Majesty's reputation.

With regard to the disturbances at Sienna and the assassination of Alessandro Vique (Bichi), His Imperial Majesty has no doubt received already full information. He (the Duke) tried everything in his power to calm the passions of the people and temporise with them until the Viceroy should amicably settle their differences. Knowing the inordinate passion of the populace for change; knowing also that Severino (Girolamo) was rather too warm in his defence of the Siennese, he (the Duke) kept him in Rome for some days, promising him a prompt settlement of the questions at issue between the people and their governor (Bichi). When he went away, he (the Duke) begged and entreated him to wait quietly, since in a very short time his wishes would be fulfilled. He (Severino) promised to do so, but it would appear that his own private passions got the best of his judgment, and the public good was accordingly sacrificed. When he arrived in the city, where one of His Majesty's captains was at the time collecting the 15,000 crowns with which the citizens had agreed to serve the Emperor, and which had to pass through the hands of the said Alessandro [Bichi], the people suddenly rose and murdered him, with about 20 more of his friends and partisans who attempted to defend him. Alessandro was the citizen of most substance in the place, and was fully prepared to govern the city in the Emperor's interest. On his death most of nobles and those who followed the part of Monte de Nueve (Nove) left the city out of fear. The mob then changed the government, and prorogued the

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Council and the Bailiff's office (*Baylia*). They have since attempted to exile and prosecute some of those who have left the city (*confinar algunos de los que estan fuera*), and about one hundred more, all men of quality and substance, but have desisted at his request. The Viceroy, when he first heard the news of the rising, wrote to him (the Duke), ordering him to go thither and try and arrange matters. He was at the time suffering from illness, and could not undertake the journey. He is now getting better, and hopes to start for Sienna within three days.

The Siennese have sent an ambassador to the Pope, with a memorandum similar to that which was forwarded to His Imperial Majesty. The impression here is that the form of government which the Siennese have adopted is intended to bridle both the Pope and Florentines. On the other hand, it is evident that, forgetting that they are His Majesty's subjects, they have applied to His Holiness and also to Florence, offering friendship and confederation, and asking for protection, though preserving their freedom and independence. He (the Duke) has always been of opinion that since His Imperial Majesty consents to give them liberty, their government must be in the hands of good and honest people, not in those of a disorderly mob, who would only abuse their power.

The affairs here (at Rome) are differently conducted from what they were before. The Cardinal Archbishop of Capua manages now all state business; the Datary only the ecclesiastical.

Humbly reminds His Imperial Majesty of the 25,000 ducats which are still unpaid. He (the Duke) borrowed them on his own personal responsibility, and with the signature of several respectable Spaniards dwelling at Rome, to meet the expenses of the troops that were to oppose the Duke of Albany. The money was borrowed by order of the Viceroy and Council of Naples; the bills drawn upon Alonso Gutierrez, at that time Treasurer-General; but he (Gutierrez) being removed from his office in the meantime, they were not accepted. He (the Duke) thought at first that the bills might have been paid with the proceeds of Lucca and Sienna, but it could not be so, for the 25,000 ducats that came from those places were immediately applied to the pay of the army.

The Bishop of Salamanca [Don Francisco de Bovadilla] has sent in a memorandum of his suit-at-law with the Archbishop of Santiago [Don Juan Tavera]. The former seems rather too fond of the exemptions of his Church.

If His Imperial Majesty insists on a Cardinal's hat for the Bishop of Moriana, there is no doubt but that it will be granted soon.

Other ecclesiastical affairs: Brief of Revardisano, Monte Aragon, Bishops of Huesca and Lugo; the Pope's chamberlain and priorate of Santa Christina.

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Things in Germany are rather worse. Enclosed is the copy of a letter received by Jacopo Banisio* for His Majesty's perusal.—Rome, 18 May 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, the Invincible King of Spain and of the Indies."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. From the Duke of Sessa, the 18th May."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5½.

20 May. **95.** INSTRUCTIONS to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

The ambassador is to keep the King of England and the Legate well informed of the circumstances of the victory lately gained over our common enemy, which has been effected comparatively without effusion of blood on our side, whereas the losses of the enemy cannot possibly be greater than they are. He may tell them that not only in several encounters, taking of towns and castles, but also through famine and plague eight months before, the losses of the French have been so immense, that out of 1,500 men-at-arms that they had at the beginning of the campaign, only 350 have re-entered France, and those in a most miserable condition. Very few of the captains, lieutenants, ensigns, and gentlemen soldiers (*autres bons personaiges*) who were engaged in the battle [of Pavia] escaped death or captivity, and the few that remain are so wounded and maimed that they cannot serve again. Of the Switzers there were no fewer than 6,000 slain, and the remainder, in number about 4,000, deserted the French camp for want of pay, and, as the report goes, took Admiral de Montmorency prisoner, and carried away the artillery and ammunition that had been entrusted to them.

The ambassador is to tell the King and Legate, in our name, that since God has been pleased to grant us so signal a victory, We are fully determined to follow it up and not to give our enemy time to breathe, intending to attack the dominions of the French King, our prisoner, in pursuance of whichever plan may be adopted out of the three specified in our former instructions, &c.

Addressed: "To Mons. de Praet,† Imperial Ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2½.

* Jacobus à Bannisiis, archbishop of Bari, one of the secretaries of Emperor Maximilian. See above p. 146 *note*. The letter alluded to is not in the Royal Academy's volume.

† Praet having already quitted London by this time, the above instructions must have been addressed either to Ruy Diaz de Peñalosa or to Madame's Commissioners.

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23 May.

96. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. de G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 32.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 1st of April. Returns thanks for the commandership (*encomienda*) of Inestre, which His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to grant him as a reward for his services. Begs that his conduct, both in and out of Pavia, be inquired into. Nothing could give him greater satisfaction. It will be found that he was left without any provisions or ammunition, for of the former there was not one cask of flour left, and of the latter only three small barrels.* Money there was none, and the men were owed two months' pay. The townspeople, seeing that Milan had been taken by the enemy and that Pavia could not hold out long with its walls and defences crumbling to pieces, had fled to a man. The garrison under his immediate command was not so numerous or well appointed as might have been desired, for it arrived from France in such a plight that one half of the men could hardly hold their arms. Hand-mills to grind corn they had none, for the artillery-men of Naples† took them all away, and the men were obliged to go to the burial-place and make some out of tombstones. Meat there was none in the city, except horseflesh, and to procure saltpetre‡ wherewith to make gunpowder, we had to search the walls and bastions of the city; though not found in such abundance as we might have wished, there was a sufficient quantity to load our arquebuses and muskets with. He managed to raise among his friends and relations 38,000 cr., with which he paid the men under his orders and kept them contented, no easy task indeed considering the secret practices and magnificent offers of the French King, who, knowing full well that his success depended entirely upon his taking Pavia, was doing everything he could to ensure its possession, by repeated assaults or indirect messages to the besieged. The city walls had been so battered by the artillery that we had to fight hand to hand with the enemy. The damage thus inflicted on the besieging forces, as well as by the frequent sallies of this small garrison, His Imperial Majesty must already know by other accounts. Suffice it to say, that he held his ground at Pavia from the 22nd of October 1524, until the 24th of February of this year (1525), during which time he has not only lost by death 47 of his own relatives and servants, but has been obliged to part with his own horses and accoutrements to appease the clamouring discontent of the Germans. Has been twice wounded, once during the battle, and on another occasion afterwards; and such have been his sufferings of various kinds that it would

* "Con solos tres barriles de polvora, y sin un tambano de farina, y sin un carlin."

† "Porquel artilleria del rreyno los llevó."

‡ "Era menester buscar el salmitre (*sic*) por los muros y carcavas de la ciudad."

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take him a long time to enumerate them. God was pleased to permit that his resistance at Pavia should lead to victory. Humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty, if his services have been welcome, to grant him two very signal favours: one is to remunerate, as they deserve, those of the men who served under him; the other to have a strict inquiry made of his own conduct during the siege and in battle. This he would consider a greater boon than any reward the Emperor might confer on him. Encloses a list of those who have served under him.

Soon after the battle, he (Leyva) applied for leave to go to Spain, to visit his family and put his affairs in order. This the Viceroy would not grant, ordering him to remain in charge of the Imperial army whilst he himself went to Naples. Has agreed to do this, preferring the Emperor's service to his own convenience, and intends to remain in command of the forces till the end of next June. Begs, therefore, that in the meantime the Imperial army be provided with all necessaries of life, for the men-at-arms are very unruly for want of pay, and so are the infantry, the light cavalry and the gunners. This is the reason why Italy dares just now to negotiate with the Switzers and others to the Emperor's prejudice. Were the army in better order they would never risk it. As the Imperial forces cannot be kept together for want of money and provisions, and must needs be quartered wherever they can procure their daily food, he (Leyva) is very much afraid that, sooner or later, they may be attacked and worsted in some parts of the country. If such an event should happen he (Leyva) will do his best to remedy the evil. His Imperial Majesty, however, must not be deluded respecting the state of Italy. There is nobody here to whom the Emperor's aggrandisement can be agreeable. If an opportunity should offer itself they will not fail to show their ill-will and hostile disposition. Since God Almighty has granted the Emperor so signal a victory, let him decide at once whether peace is to be made or war to go on, before France can recover her lost strength and forget her last lesson.—Boghera (Voghera), 23 May 1525.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Leyva, 23 May."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

The following are the names of those who served under Antonio de Leyva at Pavia:*—

Spaniards.

Garci Manrique, captain of men-at-arms.
Sancho Lopez, lieutenant of the Count of Altamira.

* This is on a separate sheet, appended to the preceding letter, and in the handwriting of Leyva.

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Rodrigo de Vargas, lieutenant of a company of men-at-arms.

Commander Urrias, Field-Master.

Don Francisco Sarmiento, lieutenant of a company of men-at-arms.

Aponte, captain of light horse.

Rosales, ditto.

Barragan, captain of Spanish infantry.

Germans.

Count [Giovanne] Batista Lodron.

Coradin.

Maximiano.

Zenque.

26 May. **97.** The COMMISSIONERS to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 33.

Received by Maistre Jehan de le Sauch Madame's letters, as well as the summary of the commission taken by M. de Roeux to the King of France and to Madame the Regent, his mother; also the copies of letters from the latter to the Emperor and to Madame.

On the arrival of the said De le Sauch, which took place on Wednesday the 17th inst., they (the Commissioners) applied for an audience of the Legate, which was granted for the ensuing day. Whereat they proceeded to state in the best possible manner all the particulars of their charge.

The Legate having inquired during the conference whether M. de Beaurain had brought any further charge, and the Commissioners having replied that he had not, he said he knew for certain that the contrary was the case, and that M. de Beaurain had brought instructions to offer the King of France a wife, and another to the Dauphin, and to negotiate besides for the Emperor's marriage. Beaurain himself had said so to to the Sieur Roussel (Russell), the King's ambassador.

The Commissioners' reply was, that they could not believe that statement, as they knew for certain he had no such charge. They had read M. de Beaurain's instructions, and could positively state they contained nothing like it; on the contrary, the Emperor and Madame had, in their last letters, ordered them to ask for an anticipation of the period appointed for his marriage with the Princess.

After which, and whilst on the subject of the principal commission brought by the Sieur du Reulx, the Cardinal said that the demands [made to the King of France] were moderate and satisfactory enough, and that it would be a great boon to Christianity at large if France could be made to accept such conditions, but he feared much that the negotiations would come to nothing, or be of little profit. The Cardinal, however, appeared very well satisfied with the tenor of the article concerning the King of England, as explained in the second paragraph of their instructions

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declaring that, although the King, his master, considered himself justly entitled to the whole kingdom of France, he would be contented with Guienne, Normandy, and Picardy.

To this last proposition the Commissioners tacitly assented, rather than bring on an interminable altercation, especially as matters are not yet so ripe as to demand an immediate discussion, besides which the claims and rights of each party are amply provided for by the treaties of Winesore (Windsor) and Calais.

To their positive and formal denial of the supposed overtures made by the said Du Rœulx [in France], the Cardinal made no reply; but when the conversation fell on the third article, wherein mention is made of the ambassadors sent to the Emperor and to Madame by the said King of France and by his mother, the Regent, he said: "I am nevertheless given to understand that negotiations have already commenced with the French King. I pray to God they may have a good issue, and prove advantageous to both Majesties, the Emperor and the King, my master." To which the Commissioners replied, saying: He was very much mistaken if he thought that matters between the Emperor and the King of France were sufficiently advanced to open a negotiation; on the contrary, they could assure him that nothing was farther from the Emperor's mind at present than the idea of such a treaty, besides which he would never attempt to treat without consulting first his ally, the King of England.

The Legate, however, insisted on his conjectures, alleging as a reason that when Jehan Joachin was last in England, they (the Commissioners) had put forward the same presumptions and doubts about him, although truth was entirely on his side, as he might easily prove, by the fact that neither the King of France, now a prisoner in our hands, nor his mother, nor the nobles of that kingdom, could say that there had ever been the commencement of a treaty between them.

The Commissioners replied that their presumptions at the time had a better and more solid foundation, resting, as they did, on the fact of Jehan Joachin having stayed six or seven months in England, and having been joined here [in London] by the President of Rouen (Brinon) just at the time when the Emperor was about to lead his army against the common enemy, and when his affairs were in extreme danger—all which circumstances were absent from the present case.

No objection was offered by the Legate to the 4th and 5th articles, wherein mention is made of Count St. Pol, of the Sieurs de Flourenges, Saint Valier, and Pointhievre, as well as of the restitution to be made to Madame, to the Queen Germaine [de Foix], the Princess of Orange, the Marquis d'Aerschot (Aarschot), the Counts de Gavre, d'Espinoy, and others.

In the 6th, relating to the safeguards, no change was made.

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On the 7th paragraph, concerning the prisoners of war, the Legate made no remark whatever; nor did the Commissioners offer any objection to it, for the following reasons: The President, after thoroughly investigating the affair, had taken so much trouble, often conferring with the royal deputies, and with the captains in whose hands the prisoners were; he had presented so many papers and memoranda in their favour, and especially in that of receiver Rollencourt, who still remains a prisoner, that it was considered unwise and highly impolitic to allude to their case until Madame had been made acquainted with the whole affair, and with the negotiations previously carried on with the Legate and with Captain Jarninghen (Jerningham). For the President, after showing that the said receiver could nowise be considered a good prize for the reasons alleged in his memorandum, and which would take too much time to enumerate in this despatch, had always asserted the right of the said receiver* to be released without ransom, since he had been taken prisoner under the Emperor's safeguard; whilst his owner, Captain Farninghen, pretended, that as the Receiver had taken up service for —and sworn fidelity to—the French King, and had besides offered 200 gold crowns for his ransom, for which the agent of M. de Lannoy, in that town, had promised to stand security, he could not allow his prisoner to go without paying some ransom. He, the Captain, had already set free no less than fourteen other prisoners of war without taking any ransom from them, excepting his own expenses, and he could not afford to lose all the profits of the campaign; he claimed at least the said 200 gold crowns offered by the prisoner. Upon the President objecting that that would be equal to paying ransom, a thing which he could by no means sanction, Captain Jarningham replied that he was ready to liberate his prisoner without any ransom, if he would only declare upon oath that he had not served the French King nor taken the charge of a castle for Count de St. Pol.

To put an end to the altercation, the Legate had proposed that the Captain should be contented with one half of the above sum, or 100 gold crowns, besides the expenses, and the President, without accepting or rejecting the proposition, had offered to submit it to Madame's approbation.

The Commissioners, therefore, wish to know how to act in this case, and whether they are to accept or not the terms offered for the Receiver's deliverance; namely, one hundred gold crowns, besides his own personal expenses, to be paid to Captain Jarninghen, that they may communicate with him at Calais, where he is now residing, and where, if need be, they may assist the agent of M. de Lannoy in the payment of the said sum.

* This individual, whose name does not appear, was receiver or collector of taxes at Rollencourt, in the bailliage of Hesdin, for M. de Lannoy.

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With regard to the paragraphs 8 and 9, chiefly relating to the safe-conducts and fisheries, the Commissioners considered it their duty to repeat the remonstrances made on former occasions. The Legate then offered to consult the King, his master, though he added, he had no hope of any change being made, for the reasons detailed in a former despatch, alleging, besides, that to grant safe-conducts in the manner and form demanded would be equal to making peace with his enemies. Nevertheless, if the ambassadors consented to treat unconditionally about the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot to be furnished by Madame, he (the Cardinal) hoped the King would grant their request. This proposition the Commissioners rejected, saying they were not empowered to take any such engagement.

After which, having delivered into the Cardinal's hands copies of the letters written by the King [of France] and by Madame the Regent, as well as the answers made to them by Madame [Marguerite], the Legate carefully examined their contents. The Commissioners, however, retained and did not show the summary of the instructions given to M. de Roeulx, and this they did for three principal reasons :

1st, because, whereas on the very first paragraph of the said instructions a claim is established upon all lands and territories granted by the Kings of France to the Dukes [of Burgundy], the Emperor's ancestors and predecessors, before and after the treaties of Arras, Peronne, and Conflans ; in one of the last articles the claim is limited to those only which the Duke Charles held at the time of his death, a species of contradiction which would lead to much uncertainty and doubt.

2d, because the affairs of the King of France are everywhere subordinated [in the instructions] to those of M. de Bourbon, which would be found strange and contrary to use.

3d, the last and principal reason, that whereas in the 3rd article it is said that the King of France shall restore to M. de Bourbon all the estates and lands he possessed before the late war, to be held as a separate kingdom, it is also a well-known fact that the said De Bourbon has done homage for the whole to the King of England, and therefore it would have been unwise to put into the hands of the Cardinal the copy of such an article.

Nor have the Commissioners thought it expedient to communicate to the Legate the memorandum of what was due to the Imperial army on the day of the battle [of Pavia] ; for when, according to instructions, they came to mention the sum of 50,000 crowns as the one stipulated, and out of which only 16,000 had been paid, the Legate exhibited a receipt of the Duke of Ceze (Sessa), showing that 18,000 had been paid into his hands at Rome, besides letters from the English ambassador in that city, announcing that four days afterwards he was to give the Duke 4,000 more, besides 22,000 in bills on Venice.

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For the above reason, and from doubting whether the Cardinal would take it in good part, the Commissioners would carefully have avoided any allusion to this subject, had they not received express orders to bring the point under discussion. No sooner had they mentioned the fact, when the Legate observed that the King, his master, was not bound by treaty to the payment of the said 50,000 crowns, and that if he had already contributed a portion, it was out of pure generosity, and without being compelled to it, notwithstanding which we (the Imperialists) were continually complaining and addressing reproaches thereupon. Hearing which the Commissioners tried all they could to appease the Legate, begging him not to take the hint as a reproach, but merely as a means of reminding him of how and in whose hands the said 100,000 crowns had been paid.

The case of the ship called "Les Monnaies" was likewise omitted at the interview, the Legate having allowed it to pass without any observation.

The above being furnished, the Commissioners asked for their congé since their mission was terminated, and they had nothing more to do in England; upon which the Legate promised to ask the King's pleasure as to the day when the Commissioners could kiss his hand and take leave.

There is still another point concerning which the Commissioners have taken upon themselves the responsibility of acting against their orders. When M. de Cilly arrived from Spain the Commissioners understood they were to help him in the fulfilment of his charge [in England] and keep him here until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. This the Commissioners could not well do, for the following reasons:—

1st. Because the said Cilly himself told them, upon his arrival, that he had the Emperor's express orders to communicate certain matters to Madame, which he could not reveal to the Commissioners or to anyone else.

2d. Because Viscount de Rollez, who came with him, had also particular instructions of his own, which he would not impart to anyone, not even to his own colleague, with whose commission he seemed to be but slightly acquainted.

3d. Because the said Cilly having been despatched [from Spain] before the victory of Pavia and capture of the French King, it was natural for them (the Commissioners) to presume that, matters having changed considerably, some alteration would be made in his instructions.

4th. Cilly's charge contained the explicit grant of 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot for the prosecution of the war in Picardy. Such being the Emperor's order it was not for them (the Commissioners) to go against it, as in doing so they would have exceeded their powers and run the risk of a rebuke for their disobedience; on the other hand, had they given cog-

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nizance of the said article to the Legate, both the Emperor and Madame would have been compelled to fulfil it, or else to disavow the acts of the Commissioners, which would have brought shame and discredit on their persons. As it is, they think they have done right in not acting immediately upon the instructions brought by the said Cilly, as subsequent events and the Emperor's letters have since shown.

The above reasons and others have influenced the Commissioners to act as they have done. But as it might be surmised at court (Brussels) that Cilly's sudden departure from London, without delivering the letters and despatches he brought for this King and Legate, had raised some suspicion in the minds of these people, the Commissioners take this opportunity to declare that such is not the case, for Cilly left London of his own free will, and applied to Brien Tucke (Brian Tuke) for his passports. The Legate, moreover, showed no discontent at his leaving; only when the bastard Du Rœulx brought letters for this King and for the Legate, respecting the affair Praet, the latter remarked it was very strange that they contained no news whatever, and referred merely to that ambassador's case. Hearing which, and in order to efface any bad impression and mistrust likely to arise from that circumstance, the Commissioners hastily made an abstract of all the letters addressed by the Emperor to the said Praet, a copy of which was at the time forwarded to Brussels, thereby showing that the said bastard De Rœulx was not fully acquainted with the Emperor's will and ideas, who, believing the said Praet to be still in London, had addressed to him, as his ambassador, certain news to be communicated to the King and Legate.

The Commissioners have considered it necessary to enter into the above details, that Madame may be duly acquainted with what is going on, and they themselves excused for what they have done.

On Friday, after the conference with the Legate, the Commissioners received notice that His Majesty would see them at Winezore (Windsor) next Sunday. They accordingly went thither, when, after explaining the various articles of their charge, as they had done to the Legate, they made all possible endeavours to obtain that of the fisheries. All their efforts were in vain on this point, the King having reproduced the same arguments as the Legate, and declared that he was not disposed to grant it. But on the Commissioners asking the King whether, in case of the Emperor furnishing the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, he (the King) would grant the safe-conducts for the said fisheries as well as for other merchandise, he answered in the negative, saying that since the Emperor and Madame [Marguerite] were not disposed to treat immediately and without conditions of the said assistance in horse and foot, he (the King) would not consent to the safe-conducts, as this would bring discredit upon

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him, if he were to allow his enemies in time of war freely to visit his ports and those of his confederates, which would be a sort of peace.

After which the King having incidentally touched on the affair of the marriages, and found it very strange that nothing had been said on the subject, when he was sure, from the advices of his ambassadors [in France], that certain overtures had lately been made by the Emperor, the Commissioners replied, as they had done on the previous days to the Legate, and even in more explicit terms, as they expect soon to have occasion to explain by word of mouth, when in Madame's presence.

The Legate having afterwards requested them to write to the Emperor's chamberlain (*maistre de la chambre*), now at a port on the coast of Cornwall, asking passage for a gentleman about to be sent to Spain by this King, the Commissioners dared not refuse it, and have accordingly written to the said chamberlain to take on board his ship the said King's messenger, lest the Legate should hereafter allege he had not been allowed to communicate in time with His Imperial Majesty. —London, Friday, the 26th of May 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens," "Jehan de le Sauch."

Postscriptum.—The above being written and signed, the Commissioners' luggage loaded, and themselves on the point of mounting their horses, Richard, the messenger, arrived with a packet of letters from the Emperor, addressed to M. de Praet or to whomsoever might be in his place, as appears from the enclosed envelope and direction in the handwriting of Maitre Jehan Lallemand [the Secretary]. After consulting upon the case together, the Commissioners decided to break the said envelope and seal, and read the contents of the letter, since, not having yet taken their departure, they might still be of use and forward the Emperor's interests in London. Under the said envelope were:

1st. Instructions and letters for the said Praet, for Hesdin, or whoever might be in the room of the former, as well as for Captain Peñalosa, which instructions and letters the Commissioners now forward home, for the reasons specified hereafter.

2d. Letters for the King and Legate, which the Commissioners keep by them until they hear whether they are to be delivered or not.

As the said instructions are written in cipher, and the Commissioners have no deciphering key by them, and even if they had, could not act until the said Peñalosa arrived,—the instructions being addressed to him and to whomsoever might be in Praet's place,—as, moreover, from the quality of that ambassador, and from the look of the instructions, it is to be presumed that he (Peñalosa) has charge to communicate

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verbally with Madame, the Commissioners have resolved not to keep the said instructions and papers here [at London], but send them home to be deciphered, that they may thus save time and know as soon as possible Madame's decision respecting the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot to be furnished to this King, begging at the same time to have them returned as soon as deciphered, that they may act and negotiate according to them, whether Captain Peñalosa be arrived [at Brussels] or not.

The Commissioners think it would be desirable to send another ambassador in the room of Sieur de Praet, as Madame will see by the said instructions being addressed in his absence to Hesdin or to whomsoever may fill his place, besides which both the King and the Legate are very desirous to have this affair of the embassy settled.—Date ut supra.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens," "Jehan de la Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays Bas."

French. Original. pp. 10.

27 May. **98.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. f. 79.

As the Cardinal had heard of Richard's arrival, and the Commissioners wished to avoid any cause for suspicion or mistrust, they called on his Reverence, and reported how the said messenger had brought certain letters and instructions, addressed to Mons. de Praet and to Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa); but the said instructions being partly written in cipher, and the said Sieur de Praet having carried away the deciphering key with him, the instructions themselves, referring in most of their articles to the said Commander (Peñalosa), who had not yet arrived in town, they (the Commissioners) had sent them home to be deciphered, and therefore begged he would wait until the Commander's arrival, which was shortly expected. The Cardinal made no objection, and seemed satisfied with the excuse.

The Cardinal has required them to have the *inspeximus* of the safe-conducts granted by Madame ready, that he may see which are to be kept and observed by him. He likewise proposes to send his own, that the Emperor's people may do the same on their side. Their answer has been that they had already written home in quest of the register or entry book; therefore unless Madame give her orders for the said *inspeximus* to be immediately forwarded, it is to be feared that our merchants may be the losers by it, since we shall be obliged to admit and sanction their own safe-conducts, whilst ours are still being examined.—London, 23 May.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgoigne," "J. Laurens," "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "To Madame la Gouvernante des Pays Bas."

French. Original. p. 1.

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K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. f. 80.

99. JOSS. LAURENS to MADAME.

Thanks Madame for the honour of having his child held over the baptismal font. If he was before bound by the many benefits conferred upon him, he is now more than ever attached to her service.

M. de Beures and he (Laurens) were ready for departure and on the point of mounting their horses, when Richart, the messenger, arrived, bringing news from Spain. Fear of Madame's displeasure, and the thought that their services might be required, has caused them to remain in London until new orders reach them.

At the time they took leave of the Legate the Commissioners tried all they could to ascertain the Cardinal's views and sentiments respecting the affairs of the Emperor and Madame. What he (Laurens) then gathered, he hopes soon to be able to communicate verbally. Having asked what mission Maistre Gregoire Casails (Sir Gregory Casalis) had in Italy, the Cardinal said he had no other than to deliver into the hands of the Emperor's ministers in Italy, and for the use of the Imperial army, the 50,000 ducats which the King, his master, had there at his disposal, and also to ask M. de Bourbon what he intended to do next. The brother of the said Gregory [Casalis] will shortly leave London, and pass through Brussels, there to present his respects to Madame. Every attention should be paid to him, that he may report favourably to His Holiness.

He (Laurens) also asked what was the Bishop of Vigorine's (Vigorniensis*) commission. The Cardinal replied: "None whatever, for although at the time the Bishop left Rome he had one for us, he has since received counter orders; only being so near the end of his journey he would not go back without visiting his see. He therefore went first to present his respects to the King, after which he will visit his bishopric, and thence return to town, where he has taken the same lodgings which M. de Praet had.

Respecting the Venetian ambassador†, the Cardinal said he was ignorant of what commission he brought, as he had not yet presented his credentials, but he rather thought the object was to solicit the abolition of certain duties imposed on their merchandise from the time of Henry VII. of glorious memory, and especially that of one noble upon every butt of malmsey.

Having afterwards interrogated him about the commission given by him to a gentleman‡ who went the other day to Spain, he assured him (Laurens) that he was only gone for the purpose of announcing to the Emperor what had been agreed upon concerning the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, and

* Girolamo Ghinucci, Papal Auditor, Bishop of Ascoli and Worcester, generally called in papers of the time "Episcopus Vigorniensis."

† Lorenzo Orio, who arrived in England on the 24th of May.

‡ Roger Basyng ?

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also to instruct the ambassadors of the King, his master, to use all possible diligence in the present negotiations.

Concludes by strongly recommending the speedy despatch of an Imperial ambassador, as the King and the Legate wish it very much.—London, 27th of May (1525).

Signed: "J. Laurens."

Addressed: "To Madame, etc."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 May. **100.** The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. Fasc. 223. f. 84.

His letter of the 25th March has been duly received; it requires no answer, save to refer him entirely to the enclosed instructions, written in cipher, and which are sent by express messenger. He (De Praet) is to follow strictly the said instructions, and let the Emperor know as soon as possible the result of his negotiations, as the course of affairs depends greatly on his report. Is not to move from London until he receives orders to quit that court, which, however, shall not be much delayed.—Toledo, 29 May 1525.

French. Original minute. p. 1.

29 May. **101.** The Emperor's Instructions to the Ambassadors in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. f. 85.

The Emperor, &c.—In the business which our good aunt (Lady Margaret) will communicate to you, it is our pleasure that you should follow entirely the instructions that the said Princess shall forward to you under our hand and seal; according to which you shall negotiate as from your loyalty and discretion We have reason to expect. Of the progress of your negotiations you shall not fail to inform us, by express, as soon as possible, as the conduct of our affairs in general, and of the said business in particular, depends in a great measure upon the information we may receive from that court. We further request you not to move from that legation [of England] until you hear from us, which will be shortly, and when We have received the news of the embarkation of Sieur de Praet.—Toledo, 29 May 1525.

French. Minute. pp. 2.

29 May. **102.** The Bishop of Trent* to Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34. ff. 327–8.

Has received intelligence brought by a member of the [Imperial?] Council, just returned from the court of the

* Bernardo Clesi (1514–39), created Cardinal in 1530.

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Archduke, that the peasants of Alsatia, his subjects, having joined those of the Duke of Lorraine, have lately made an inroad into the estates of the latter. The Duke, however, had marched against them with 3,000 cavalry, and in three different encounters slain upwards of 20,000, after which he had placed himself and his men at the service of the Archduke.

Those among the Alsatian peasants who are the Archduke's subjects are, if possible, worse inclined than those of the Duke [of Lorraine], fancying that by their tumultuary risings and insolence they will compel him (the Archduke) to accede to their wicked designs. It would be advisable that His Imperial Majesty should now show the true love and affection he bears to his brother by coming to his help.

The Duke and Elector, Frederic of Saxony, is dead, leaving a brother and sons at variance with the other dukes. The peasants of his estates have also risen in arms.

Similar riots are said to exist in England. Friends write from that country that the King's subjects are everywhere rising against his authority, and principally against the Cardinal of England (Wolsey); and it is firmly believed that popular risings of the same nature will take place in other countries.

The army of the Suabian League is marching towards Francfort, where the bulk of the rebellion is. They (the peasants) have nearly expelled from that district the Marquis Casimir of Brandenbourg and his brothers; they have been besieging a castle of the Bishop of Herbepoli (Wurtzburg) for nearly three weeks, and have plundered all the country around. In Franconia they have destroyed 30 fortresses, and sacked 80 monasteries or rich abbeys. He (the Bishop) would very much like to know how matters stand at present between His Imperial Majesty and the Venetians, and whether they are in or out of the confederation, in order to inform the Archduke how far he may rely upon them in case of need.—29 May 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of letter of the Reverend Bishop of Trent to the Imperial Ambassador in Venice."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2¼.

31 May. **103.** INSTRUCTIONS to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 30. ff. 71–3.

Instructions and memoranda of what the Sieur Louis de Praet, our chamberlain and councillor, our ambassador now residing in England, and in his absence any other whom Madame [Margaret of Austria], our good aunt, may be pleased to name, and Commander Peñalosa, severally and conjointly, are to say to the King of England and Legate :—

1st. After the usual presentation of their credentials and customary salutations to the King and Queen of England, the said ambassadors are commanded to say, in the presence of the Legate : That, albeit We have heard of their intention to send

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an embassy to congratulate us upon our recent victory and treat certain matters touching our common affairs, yet, not knowing what general powers the said ambassadors may bring, and considering the inconveniences often arising from delay in the expedition of despatches, as well as the uncertainty and dangers of a sea voyage, We feel it our duty to draw the attention of the King and Legate to certain points of the utmost importance for the good issue of our common affairs.

2dly. As We have lately had occasion to inform the King by our letters, as well as by our ambassadors residing at his court, our intentions from the beginning were to use all courtesy and kind behaviour towards the King of France, now a prisoner in our hands, since We always preferred resorting to peace rather than continuing at war. We did not, however, disarm, but prepared as best We could for an emergency. We thought that if the said King of France agreed to comply with the terms offered to him, so that We and the King of England could recover at once that which by right belonged to us, our common object might be attained by peaceful means. If, on the contrary, the King of France refused, both of us would be justified in again taking up arms, and compelling our enemy to satisy to our just claims.

Such was our purpose, but as it would appear that Madame the Regent of France, the said King's mother, not only shows reluctance to accept the conditions of this peace, a copy of which was lately forwarded to her, but declares that she will not consent to any dismemberment of the kingdom; as it is moreover, to be feared that such a resistance on her part will influence the King, her son, to reject altogether the articles of the treaty, it becomes incumbent upon us to prosecute the war as briskly as ever, and join our common efforts to obtain the desired satisfaction.

But in the accomplishment of this, two difficulties stand in the way, which must needs be removed if success is to attend our enterprise; one, and perhaps the chief of the two, is, that if war is to be prosecuted with renewed vigour We must quit our Spanish dominions and take the field in person, a thing of all others which our faithful subjects and vassals in Spain most dislike, having often petitioned us in their Cortes, or popular assemblies, not to forsake them without leaving our future wife, the Princess [Mary] of England among them as a sort of consolation during our absence, and that she may, before the consummation of our marriage, learn the Castillian language and the manners of the people. On such conditions our subjects are willing to vote us a sum of 500,000 crowns for the prosecution of the war with France.

The other difficulty lies in our total want of funds. For owing to the enormous cost of a campaign like the past, by sea as well as land, our dominions are so exhausted that We could not, without the powerful assistance of our allies, meet the expense of new armaments for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

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We, therefore, have sent to the King of England, our father, as one in whom we place all our trust and reliance, to acquaint him with the above difficulties, and likewise to call his attention to the enormous sacrifices made by us during the last campaign; to the exploits of our victorious army against the common enemy; and to the advantages to be gained from the continuation of hostilities, if persevered in with ardour and abundance of means. If, on the contrary, either from want of money or from any other cause, war were to be discontinued,—and certainly without the King's co-operation and pecuniary assistance it would be impossible for us to prosecute it,—all the aforesaid advantages and others that might be mentioned, would irretrievably be lost for both parties; the signal victory just gained by our arms would be of no avail, and people might perhaps attribute to want of courage or gross negligence that which, in reality, was only caused by scarcity of funds.

With regard to the former difficulty standing in our way, and preventing, as it were, the accomplishment of those plans formed for our mutual interest and profit, We can only repeat the request made some time ago through our ambassadors, Mons. de Praet and Squire de Cilly, namely, that the King of England, our father, be graciously pleased to anticipate the time at which the Princess, his daughter, our future wife, is to be given into our hands, and send her, as soon as possible, to our Spanish dominions.

As a remedy to our other difficulties, We propose that the said King of England be pleased, as soon as possible, to pay into our hands the said Princess's dower, with which sum, added to those which our Spanish subjects may grant, and those We may borrow elsewhere, We shall be able to attend to the expenses of the army with which We intend to invade France.

That besides the said money to be paid in consideration of the Princess's dower, the said King of England be pleased to furnish us with a considerable sum of ducats—no less than 200,000—towards the keeping and maintenance of our army in Italy that is to invade also the kingdom of France on that side, and join the forces we purpose sending across the Pyrenees.

To the above proposal the King and Cardinal may possibly object that the time appointed for the delivery of Princess [Mary] into our hands, as our future wife, has not yet come; and, moreover, that We have promised to deduct from the said dower certain sums which our grandfather, the late Emperor Maximilian, and ourselves borrowed from him. They may also object that We owe them a large sum of money by way of indemnity—offered at the time of our alliance—in consideration of the losses which the said King of England might sustain through the French King not paying him his usual pension. Such being the case, the said Sieur de Praet and Commander Peñalosa might reply that before their departure [from Spain]

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both and each of them had received verbal instructions from us to meet the said objections on the part of the King and Legate, in case they should be raised, by declaring: How, out of love and affection for the said Princess, who is to be our wife, We wish to see her as soon as possible in our dominions, that she may, as above stated, before the consummation of our marriage, adopt the air and habits of this country, and learn its language. That for that purpose our subjects and vassals here [in Spain], who desire above all things the presence of the Princess as their Queen, have conditionally offered us a good sum of money to help us in the present war. And, moreover, that the sincere wish We manifest for the prosecution of this war — on which our own honour and welfare depend, as well as those of the King, our father— and the fear of the obstacles that might arise in our common path, should We abandon our present plans, are more than sufficient incentive for us to request, as earnestly as We can, the delivery of the said Princess and of her dower. Besides which the said ambassadors may say to the King and Legate of England that the French, who are subtle and crafty politicians, have always tried—and are still trying—to separate our interests from those of the King, our father, to obtain which they have often made us great promises and offers, as We have no doubt they have done both to the King and Legate. To remove, therefore, such hopes as the French might cherish of separating our common interests, thereby disheartening them, and reducing them, either by force or reason, to do justice to our mutual claims, and sign a treaty of solid and permanent peace, our present request respecting the Princess of England and her dower is principally directed.

Considering, moreover, that in virtue of the said matrimonial alliance the dominions and territories by us possessed must also belong to the said Princess, our future wife, and that those now held by the King and Queen of England will, in course of time, and in case of our surviving them, devolve likewise on her, or otherwise on her posterity; considering that from the prompt delivery of the Princess into our hands and payment of her dower and of the said 200,000 ducats, the vigorous prosecution of the war with France is naturally to ensue, whereby the King of England and ourselves are likely to increase our dominions and revenue; since the money which the King is to give us is to be entirely spent to our common profit and advantage, and will in time return to the said King, Queen and Princess, our future wife, our present request seems to us both just and acceptable.

Should, however, the King and Queen of England, in spite of the above representations and others that might be made by the Sieur de Praet and Commander Peñalosa or any others residing in London as our ambassadors, withhold their consent from the said delivery, in that case the said ambassadors, after expressing their regret, both in words and countenance, are to request the King, in our name, that since the actual

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delivery of the Princess, our future wife—which would be such a boon to our subjects and such a source of terror to the French—cannot be granted, they may be pleased at least to advance us the said Princess's dower, besides the 200,000 ducats to be entirely spent in war, and applied to the promotion of our common interest.

If the King and Legate still made difficulties about advancing the said sum upon the Princess's dower,—a demand which We consider very just, inasmuch as our persons and fortunes are one and the same, and We and the King's daughter, our future wife, only one body and one soul,—in that case the ambassadors are to apply for the said sum simply by way of loan. Should the King, however, find the sum excessive, and our ambassadors see no other means of obtaining the whole, in that extreme case they are to ask the King to lend us 400,000 ducats; that is to say, 200,000 immediately, and the remaining 200,000 in two months, at the rate of one hundred thousand monthly, but without deducting from that sum any loans previously made or indemnity promised.

Whichever of the above expedients be adopted by the King, our good father, it cannot fail to produce the desired effect, which is the vigorous prosecution of the French war, and the advance of our common interests. The ambassadors are to promise in our Imperial name that immediately after the receipt of the said money We shall be prepared to invade France in person with a numerous and well-appointed force; and that our Italian army besides, or the greater part of it, shall also cross the Alps, and meet us wherever We may think it most convenient and advantageous.

As to the King of England himself We beg and entreat him also to invade France at the head of a powerful army, to which end, notwithstanding the very heavy expenses which the subjects of our Low Countries and Spanish dominions have had to sustain, We engage to assist him with 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot, that being the contingent he has asked of our aunt, Madame Margaret; and he will be allowed, besides, to raise and enlist in our said kingdoms as many men as he pleases at his own expense.

We likewise request the King of England that, in order to treat and decide on the best means of carrying on war, and what French provinces had better be invaded, considering that the season is passing away, he be pleased to send such full powers to his ambassadors here, the Archbishop (*sic*) of London* and Sir Richard Wingfield, that they may have no occasion to write for fresh instructions, but may decide at once on such vital points.

Our said ambassadors, the Sieur de Praet and Commander Peñalosa, are requested to adhere entirely to these our instructions, and otherwise to promote our common interests,

* Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London and Vice-Chancellor of England.

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advising us and Madame, our aunt, of whatever progress they may make in the negotiation, that We may shape our conduct accordingly.—Given in this Our city of Toledo, on the 1st of May of 1525.

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "Lallemand, Secretary."

"Collated with the original at Brussels on the last day of May 1525, by me, L. Dublioul."

Note in a secretary's hand, relating to the above instructions.—Whereas before the arrival at this court [of Brussels] of Commander Peñalosa, Mons. de Praet had left England, Madame, having heard the commission brought by the former, and not knowing whether the person of Mons. de Praet would be agreeable to the King and Legate, not to irritate them further, has given to the said Sieur de Peñalosa, to Monsieur de Laurens, President of the Great Council of the Emperor, and to Maistre Jehan de le Sauch, her ambassadors at the court of England, the commission and mandate to hear and examine the charge brought by the said Peñalosa, and conjointly with him to declare and expound the same to the King and Legate, as if the said commission had been addressed to them. She also requests and orders the said Peñalosa to communicate his commission and instructions to such of her own ambassadors as may be in London at the time.—Thus ordered by Madame at Brussels, the last day of May 1525.

Signed: "Margueritte," "Moy present, L. Dublioul."

French. Original deciphering (the instructions being entirely written in cipher). pp. 4.

31 May. **104.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. d. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. 1. Hist. d. Esp. No. 23.

Has not written since Don Ugo's departure. The Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) and Alarcon arrived here in company with the French King on the 24th inst. They lodged him at this castle, and brought him by the mountain road, without passing through the city or its suburbs.

This morning, after Mass, the King left the castle under escort, and without crossing the city, by a road close to the walls and gate, reached the wharf, and was there received on board the galley (*Capitana*) of Castille, commanded by Admiral Portundo. Alarcon accompanies him, and has charge of his person. The Viceroy will also attend on him, although another galley called "La Estrella," captain (*capitana*) of those of Naples, under Commander Ycart, has been prepared for him. The Duke of Trayetto goes in the chief galley of Govo (Gobbo), and Don Hernando de Toco (*sic*) in another. The whole fleet consists of 15 galleys, besides one caravel with the luggage, men and horses that they could not hold. They

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are manned by 1,500 Spaniards, most of them arquebusiers, without counting the sailors. Besides being armed [with guns] and victualled, the galleys are well provided with every necessary for the sea, and the King's comfort has been carefully attended to. Portundo's galley, which is certainly the largest and finest that can be found on these seas, has been magnificently decorated for the occasion, her captain having spent upwards of 1,000 ducats on the flooring (*pavimento*) alone of the King's cabin. The fleet set sail for Naples with so favourable a wind that it is to be hoped it will soon reach that port.

Moreta (La Morette) arrived here four days ago with letters from Madame the Regent (Louise de Savoie) for the King, her son, consoling him [in his affliction], and wishing him a prosperous voyage. The said Moreta had some idea as he himself asserted, of remaining in his master's service, but as this was not much to the Viceroy's taste, he left this very morning in a brigantine, bound for the coast of Provence, where he is to express the King's wishes and orders for the French fleet not to come to these coasts, and to set at liberty all Spaniards who may be prisoners on the galleys. This has been our constant aim ever since the King was prisoner, and although there can be no doubt that he has more than once ordered the release of the prisoners, his commands have not yet been obeyed. Doubts whether Moret, who is now taking a similar message, will be more successful. This is a sign that the French do not wish to disarm. Their fleet consists of ten galleys in perfect order, besides two more which they are now fitting out. The other ships (*naves*) have no crews to man them, and, as it would appear, they do not intend to make use of them for the present. The Bishop of Grasse, Lord of Monaco, is more interested than anyone else about the movements of the French fleet, and will take care to report whatever he hears from that quarter. Monsieur de Montmorency arrived yesterday evening at the 24 hours. Cannot guess what may be the object of his coming, except it be to visit the King before his departure, and perhaps too, to acquaint him with the result of his mission to France, and what has been done there in the way of armaments by sea and land since the King left Pizzighitone. It is firmly believed that he (Montmorency) will soon return to France.

The French King is not at all pleased with this voyage, although he tries to hide his discontent, playing and joking as usual. He firmly hopes that His Imperial Majesty will receive him as a friend and brother. Please God it may be so, for the better service of the Emperor and the welfare of Christianity!

He (the Abbot) came to Genoa four days previous to the Viceroy's arrival, in order to inspect the quarters selected for the illustrious prisoner, which he did, attended by the Imperial ambassador, Lope de Soria. Has since then

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given his attention to matters connected with the fleet, and principally to the recovery from Ansaldo Grimaldo of the 80,000 ducats brought by M. de Beurren (Beaurain), and of the 20,000 sent afterwards through a gentleman retainer of the Duke of Bourbon. As the said sums had come in bills of exchange which were not yet due, and as it was very urgent to pay the Spanish infantry and the Germans of Pavia who, though now quartered at Vicla towards Piedmont, are always in a state of mutiny, and ask for their pay the very same day that it becomes due; as the Duke of Bourbon, on the other hand, claimed the 20,000 ducats which the Emperor destined to him, he (the Abbot) applied to Ansaldo Grimaldo, who has readily advanced one half of the above sum (50,000 ducats), promising the other half for the end of this week. Has already remitted to the Marquis of Pescara in Lombardy 50,000, and the remainder he intends to take with him when he returns to Milan.

It must, however, be observed that the last 20,000 are only payable at Rome, for Grimaldo says that the bills are drawn on Genoa, Rome, Florence or Venice, according as they may be better discounted at each of those places, and that they are payable in such Genoese coin as the bankers choose, which is, upon the whole, a sort of arrangement subject to much loss of time and money. Begs His Imperial Majesty well to consider this matter of the bills of exchange, for otherwise one half of the funds destined to this Imperial army goes in commission, interest, change, &c., besides the heavy cost of bringing the specie to the camp.

The Venetians persist in their resolution to give only 80,000 out of the 120,000 which they were bound to pay; that is to say, 50,000 now, and 30,000 at one year's date. The Viceroy is of opinion to take now what they offer, in order to supply the pressing wants of this Imperial army, and to have it stated in the receipt which he (the Abbot) is to give them, that the said sum is accepted as a proof of their love for the Emperor, and for the maintenance of his army, as they themselves say. He (the Abbot) fears that the Venetians are only making fine promises, and do not intend to pay; in the end the Emperor will be obliged to treat them as they deserve.

His Holiness claims the possession of Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera; and the Viceroy excuses himself by saying that the Pope has not yet paid the 100,000 ducats of his debt to the Emperor, without including in that sum, as he seems to do, the 25,000 which he gave on a former occasion. Everything shall be done to make His Holiness' interests conincide with those of His Imperial Majesty.

Three thousand Spaniards who came here [to Genoa] in guard of the French King, and who were quartered in the city, round the castle, have, according to a lamentable custom among soldiers when they have no pay, committed certain

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depredations. Their month's pay was due on the 17th instant, and as it was not forthcoming, they took from the citizens the articles of food and clothing they wanted most. The damage caused is calculated at upwards of 3,000 crowns, which the Viceroy has promised to pay in equivalent licenses to export corn from Naples or Sicily during the six ensuing months.

Captain Corbera left yesterday with the companies of infantry returning to Lombardy.—Genoa, 31 May 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Abbot of Najera. Genoa, 31st May."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

6 June. **105.** JEHAN DE LE SAUCH to COUNT HOOCHSTRAETE.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof.-u.StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 79.

Has received two letters of his: one in the handwriting of Maistre Leonart, dated the 28th May; the other in that of Maistre Rolland, of the 1st instant; the intelligence conveyed in the former being that Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa) had arrived two days before [at Brussels], and had brought nothing very important, but that Richart [Boullengier], the courier, was shortly expected with the rest of the despatches and instructions.

That of the 1st was to inform him (Le Sauch) that his letters by Richart had been duly received, and that the Commissioners would soon hear by Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa) what were the Emperor's wishes and orders respecting the pending negotiations. He (Le Sauch) was to have patience, and remain at his post until his successor should be appointed.

The Commander arrived in London yesterday, the 5th instant, when he exhibited the orders and instructions whereof he was bearer, and communicated verbally what he knew on the subject. He seems to be a worthy, wise and experienced man. In answer to his (Hoochstraete's) former letter, he (Le Sauch) begs leave to observe that wherever he has been it has always been his habit unreservedly to state his opinion in writing on all matters relating to the Emperor's service and that of Madame's. Persevering, therefore, in that practice, he now offers the following remarks:—

And, firstly, Richart, the courier, passed through this capital, as he (Hoochstraete) must have been informed by the Commissioners' joint letter to Madame [Margaret]; their first duty being to transcribe for their own use the instructions he brought for Mons. de Praet or whoever should fill his place, and for Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa). They next called on the Cardinal to tell him of Richart's arrival,

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and to inform him how it was that they were unable to communicate the nature and bearing of his despatches, because in the first place the said Mons. de Praet was absent, and the Commander not yet arrived; and, secondly, because the letters and instructions being in cipher, and they (the Commissioners) not having by them a deciphering key, the papers had been sent home, there to be made out and transcribed.

Yesterday, after dinner, Commander Peñalosa arrived, and gave the Commissioners two letters from Madame, dated respectively the 31st of May and 1st of June, together with the instructions already deciphered, which the said Peñalosa proceeded to explain in the best manner he could, throwing light on many points that were ambiguous and obscure.

Respecting the Commander's mission and instructions described in Count de Hoochstraete's first letter of the 28th as being unimportant, he (Le Sauch) is of a contrary opinion, believing, as he does, that the continuance of the friendship between His Imperial Majesty and this King or the total estrangement and mistrust of those Sovereigns entirely depends on the said instructions and the manner of working them. He (Le Sauch) need scarcely point out the inconvenience that might arise in case of mutual mistrust, for the King [of England] would not accept our offers but with great reluctance and in an extremity, whereas, if he refuses, there is no saying what harm may be done to our interests, and how the Emperor may take such a change in their mutual and hitherto amicable relations.

That is the reason why he (Le Sauch), with all due deference to the Count's superior wisdom, and out of regard and affection for him, takes the present opportunity to declare that Madame's despatch, brought by the said Commander Peñalosa, is of the utmost importance at the present time; for it would seem as if those who drew it up found it as unimportant in its bearing as Count de Hoochstraete himself, or else that they have allowed Peñalosa to come [to England] without such private orders and instructions for the Commissioners as might ensure the success of the negotiations, leaving the said Commissioners to act as best they could in an almost hopeless business. For not one word is said in the despatch concerning the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot, and whether, in case of this King wanting, as he undoubtedly does, to land on the coast of Normandy, they are to serve in that quarter, although the Emperor's intention, as expressed in the instructions brought by Richart, seems to be that they should go thither. The Commissioners want to know, besides, whether, in case of the expedition to Normandy being resolved upon, Madame is in a position to equip and send the said troops within one month or six weeks' time. On neither of these particulars has Commander Peñalosa been able to enlighten the Commissioners, his instructions being

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on this point at once vague and contradictory, as Count de Hoochstraete may judge by the enclosed copy of the same.

The Commissioners having besides inquired from the said Commander Peñalosa what security the Emperor was ready to offer in case this King consented to lend him money, his answer was that the Emperor or Madame in his name would certainly make ample provision for tho time. But, as this King and Legate, in the event—very doubtful indeed—of their granting any pecuniary aid, will require something more substantial as a security than the above vague promises; as the Commissioners, moreover, have not been informed whether this subject has been discussed or not [at Brussels], it is quite evident that they cannot possibly conclude anything for want of proper instructions.

Nothing is said in the letter about their remaining in this capital or returning home, nor whether their resolution [to remain] has been approved of at Court. They (the Commissioners) have acted for the best, and therefore ought to have been told whether their stay in England was agreeable to Madame or not. Nor have (the Commissioners) been informed of the arrival in the Low Countries of an agent of the Regent of France, who left this capital on a mission to Madame Margaret under a safe-conduct [issued by them]. Nor of a special messenger having been sent to the Emperor according to promise, although the said Commissioners in common, and Le Sauch in particular, were charged to acquaint the King and Legate with the fact.

With regard to the fisheries, he (Le Sauch) has no hope whatever of matters being settled according to Madame's wishes. The Commissioners have done all they could, insisting upon their former proposals, but have found the King more reluctant even and more obstinate in his views than the Legate himself.

Respecting the safe-conducts, the *inspeximus* of which have been delayed until all should come at once, it must be observed that the Legate is quite ready to exhibit his, and that if we happen to have issued more on our side than he (the Cardinal) has [in England], he is sure to ask for an equalisation of the said safe-conducts, in which case it will be of no real advantage to us to present a larger number.

Before Mons. de Praet left this town, the Commissioners asked him for the deciphering key. He told them that his secretary, Matthieu, who knew it by heart, remained in town, and they could apply to him for it. But after his return from Dover, when, as advised in a late despatch, he would not quit England without a safe-conduct from the King, but ultimately went away, the said secretary [Matthieu] accompanied him, and carried away the deciphering key, which has not yet been returned. Should any new despatch in cipher come from the Emperor, either respecting the

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missions entrusted to Praet and Peñalosa, or that of Mons. de Silly (Cilly), or Mons. du Rœulx, all of whom must have reached the Imperial court by this time—the Commissioners will be obliged to send it [to Brussels] to be made out, whereby much precious time will be lost, and the Commissioners prevented from returning home, as they have been ordered to do. The King and the Legate wish for it, as the President (Laurens) must already have advised—and likewise are very anxious that a new Imperial ambassador should be appointed to succeed Mons. de Praet in his charge. If, therefore, no provision is made, Madame and her councillors must take the consequences, for it is not to be presumed that he (Le Sauch) will be ordered to fill an office for which he is not properly qualified, and in which he can be of no earthly use, either to the Emperor or to Madame, besides running the risk of being shamefully dismissed, as Praet was.

Yesterday, after hearing what Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa) had to say, the Commissioners sent Captain Quiot* to Winesore (Windsor), where the Court is at present residing, to ask for an audience. They are waiting for an answer, but fancy that they will not be able to see the King and Legate before next Thursday, the Pope's ambassador having been summoned yesterday to listen to certain overtures of the Venetians.

He (Le Sauch) cannot guess how this mission of Commander Peñalosa will end, but believes it to be of the greatest importance. In his opinion, whoever is appointed to conduct the negotiations will find it very difficult to make this people draw the sword, much more send a large army into France within one month or six weeks time. Before giving a negative answer on every point, they will try all manner of expedients to gain time and wait for the answer of their ambassadors [in Spain].

Whatever he (Le Sauch) has said in this letter must be taken in good part, and as the expression of his zeal for the Imperial service. Begs the Count to write to him and give advice if he finds it worth his while, for, in his opinion, a great responsibility has been thrown on the Commissioners' shoulders. Should negotiations turn out well, you at home will get the honour, without having given the advice. If things go wrong, it will be our fault.—London, Tuesday, the 6th of June.

P.S.—Has inquired whether there was in town any courier from Antwerp or Bruges likely to return home, and finds there is one to start to-morrow. Should have wished him to go sooner, but the messenger has promised to use all diligence and place this letter in the Count's hands. He is to receive three gold crowns for his travelling expenses.

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* Elsewhere written Guiot.

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Writes in haste, otherwise would have expatiated on the difficulty of the charge committed to his care. Finds that Commander Peñalosa is a man of probity and experience, and who talks well; but the more he compares the instructions brought by him with those of Richart, the more he finds them dissimilar and even contradictory. The former may have been modified and altered [at Brussels] for anything he (Le Sauch) knows, but the Commissioners ought to have been informed of the alteration, if any was made. They will, nevertheless, do their best, keeping as closely as possible to the letter of the instructions brought by Commander Spinaloza, following his advice and always negotiating in his presence, that they may not be charged hereafter with having omitted any of the circumstances required for the success of the negotiation. Still he (Le Sauch) insists that the Commissioners ought to have been told either to keep firm or to desist.—Date ut supra.

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Monsieur, Monsieur le Comte de Hoochstraette, Gouverneur de Hollande."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

7 June. **106.** The Emperor's Requests.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 87.

The requests made in the Emperor's name to the King of England by Commander Spinalosa (Peñalosa) and other Imperial ambassadors residing in London on the 7th of June 1525:—

1st. That it be the King's pleasure to anticipate the period of time at which, according to the treaties made and concluded between the two Majesties, Royal and Imperial, the Princess Mary [his daughter] is to be given away, sending the said Princess to Spain speedily and without delay, for the reasons which the Imperial ambassadors have already stated.

2d. That it be his pleasure to deliver, as soon as possible, the dower of the said Princess, the Emperor's future wife, to be spent in the maintenance of the forces that are to invade France on the Spanish side; and to deliver also 200,000 ducats for the support of the Italian army, likewise to invade France on that frontier.

3d. In case of the refusal of the King to give away the Princess, his daughter, before the time stipulated in the treaties, to request that he will advance her dower, besides the said 200,000 ducats, in the following manner: 200,000 at once or as soon as possible, and the 400,000 remaining by monthly instalments of 100,000 each.

4th. Should His Majesty the King make difficulties about furnishing the said sum of money, he is to be requested to give it as a loan, and if the amount should seem excessive, to grant at least 400,000 as follows: 200,000 at a short date, and the remainder in the two ensuing months, at the rate of

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100,000 each, but without any deduction from the said amount being made, in consideration of the sums which the said King maintains are owed to him by the Emperor, who, moreover, will offer such securities and pledges for the same as the King may reasonably demand.

5th. That upon the grant of all or any of the above requests, the Emperor engages to invade France from Spain with a powerful force, whilst his Italian army, or part of it, will join him within the French territory and wherever it may be deemed most convenient or advisable.

6th. In order that the kingdom of France may be assailed on all sides, the Emperor requests his brother and ally, the King of England, to cross over with a powerful army, which he (the Emperor) offers to reinforce with 3,000 horse and as many foot, to be raised in the Low Countries and maintained at his expense according to the offers already made by Madame.

Indorsed: "Double du billiet baillé par les ambassadeurs de l'Empereur."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

7 June. **107.** Pope Clement VII. to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. *Bul. Suel.* L. 1. f. 117.

In consequence of the troubles in Germany, "quæ fere tota illis impiis Lutheranæ pestilentiæ seminibus perturbata est," and of letters received from Archduke Ferdinand, asking him for assistance in money, he (the Pope) has resolved, notwithstanding these miserable times (in his miseris et afflictis sedis Apostolicæ temporibus), to send him a certain sum, as his Nuncio Baldassar Castiglione will inform him. Exhorts him to employ all his efforts to prevent the spreading of heresy. —Datum Romæ, etc., 7 June 1525.

Addressed: "Carrissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo, Electo Imperatori, Hispaniarum Rege Catholico."

Latin. Original. p. 1½.

8 June? **108.** Proposals for a League made to the Emperor by the Papal Nuncio in the Pope's name. Emperor's Answer to them.

S. E. L. 4, 12. f. 26.

His Holiness concluded a treaty with France, not because he was animated by hostile feelings towards him (the Emperor), or because he desired to obtain personal advantages, but because he was forced to do so when the Duke of Albany was marching towards the kingdom (of Naples), and because he saw no other way to secure the dignity of the Holy See without taking up arms. The Pope hopes that he (the Emperor) approves of his conduct, and will see in the answer he (the Pope) gave through the Viceroy (of Naples) to the Duke of Sessa, and of which Peñalosa was the bearer, a certain pledge of his goodwill.

The Pope reminds him (the Emperor) of the friendship

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which, when still a cardinal, he always showed him. Begs him to consider that God has given him victory for no other purpose than for furthering the commonweal of Christianity. Italy is trodden under foot and suffers great calamities, but still greater dangers threaten her, and she trembles—not without reason—at the prospect of being conquered by the Turk. Implores him to conclude a league with the Holy See, the rest of the Italian Princes, and the King of England, in order to defend Italy against the attacks of the Turk. If he does so, the Pope will always favour his ascendancy.

Begs him to give his answer without delay. Approves of the proceedings against the Bishop of Zamora being carried on in Spain, but wishes the sentence to be given in Rome by him and the College of Cardinals.

The Emperor's Answer to the above proposals of the Nuncio.

1. Thanks the Pope for his congratulations on the occasion of the victory [of Pavia], which God vouchsafed, not to him alone, but to the whole of Christendom. Has always been in favour of universal peace.

2. Has, in answer to his other brief, already opened his mind to the Pope, and told him that he never suspected his good intentions. Certain of his (the Pope's) ministers have evidently much exaggerated the power of France and undervalued his own, with the intention, no doubt, of influencing him (the Pope) by unfounded fear. The consequences would have been highly detrimental, had not God Himself averted the danger.

3. Is ready to join in the undertaking of a common war against the Turk. Before being admonished by the Pope on the subject, he (the Emperor) had sent Monsieur de Rœulx to the King of France and to the Queen Regent with proposals for a cessation of hostilities between Christians, and of a war against the infidels. Expects to receive more detailed proposals upon this matter.

4. With regard to the Bishop of Zamora, the least the Pope is expected to do is to authorise his judges to employ torture in order to force him to confess his crimes.

No date. No signature.

Italian. Original draft or contemporary copy. pp. 4.

8 June. **109.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz.* A. 83. f. 261.

The King, Illustrious Duke, our Cousin, &c.—We send you herein enclosed a copy of the memorandum (*escritura*)* containing the proposals lately made by His Holiness, and which were brought to us by Joan Bartholomé de Gattinara; also what We have decided to answer to each of them. A

* *See* the preceding paper.

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duplicate has likewise been forwarded to our Viceroy of Naples; but as since that time affairs in Italy may have changed, and taken such a turn as to make it convenient for us to answer the said overtures differently, you will consult on the matter with the Viceroy of Naples and follow the instructions he may send you thereupon.—Toledo, 8 June 1525.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

8 June. **110.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz.* T. 56. f. 262.

The King, Illustrious Duke, &c.—Your letter of the 4th May, enclosed within one of the Papal Nuncio (Castiglione) residing at this court, has come to hand. It is the first and last We have received since our last advices, and not so long and detailed as We might have wished.

Respecting the sums borrowed by you on the occasion of the threatened invasion of Naples, We have not the means of repaying them here, our Royal treasury being exhausted through continual calls, but We have written to our Viceroy to have the money paid as soon as possible from the revenues of that kingdom.

The bishopric of Mazara in Sicily We have bestowed on Antonio de Francesco, but We have assigned an annual pension of 500 ducats to Micer Agostino Folleta (Foglieta), who, as you say, is a good servant of ours.

We have appointed the Bishop of Siguença (D. Fadrique de Portugal) to be Lieutenant-General of the Principality of Catalonia and of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña; but as an ecclesiastic cannot exercise and apply criminal law without a dispensation from His Holiness, you will earnestly apply for a Pope's brief to that effect, and send it to the said Bishop at Barcelona, taking good care that the said brief includes also the required dispensation for proceeding against clergymen and priests (*coronados*), as did the one granted on a previous occasion to the late Archbishop of Saragossa.

Joan Babtista de Diviciis and his opposition to the son of Doctor Carvajal, benefice of Las Orellanas (Avellanas ?), and other ecclesiastic affairs to be promoted, &c.—Toledo, 8 June 1525.

P.S.—Since the above was written a courier has arrived from Rome with letters for the Papal Nuncio residing at this our court. We are astonished that he did not bring letters from you, and know not what to think of it. Don Ugo de Moncada has also arrived with some brief notes (*apuntamientos*) for a peace to be concluded [between us and the French King], which notes, as it would appear at first sight, may perhaps be accepted as the basis of a treaty. Please God that they may be such as to bring on universal peace! We shall inform you of the result, that you may communicate it to His Holiness, and assure him, at the same

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time, that every care shall be taken of his own interests, those of the Holy See, and the house of Medici in particular.

Spanish. Original draft corrected by Gattinara. pp. 4½.

11 June. **111.** The COMMISSIONERS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof.- u. Staat Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

On Thursday last, the 25th of May, as Mons. de Bevres and President (Laurens) were on the point of starting to go over to Madame, the Emperor's aunt, Richart Bollenguer (Boullengier) arrived, bringing a packet of letters from His Imperial Majesty, addressed to Mons. de Praet, and, in his absence, to the ambassador or ambassadors appointed in his room. The first piece within the enclosure was an instruction, addressed to the said Mons. de Praet, Hesdin, or any other filling his place, conjointly with Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa), bearer of the present.

As the said instructions were mostly written in cipher, and there was no deciphering key [in London]; as both Mons. de Praet and Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa)—to whom they were addressed—were absent from town; as the Commissioners themselves had already taken leave of the King and Cardinal to return home, leaving behind Jehan de le Sauch to represent them,—they decided to despatch the said Richart in all haste to have the said instructions deciphered [at Brussels], and bring back Madame's orders thereupon, giving the Legate proper notice of their doings, and promising to remain [in London] until the return of the said messenger.

On Monday last, the 5th instant, Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa) arrived, bringing with him letters and papers from Spain, as well as instructions from Madame, a copy of which is herein enclosed. By the attentive perusal of which, as well as of the Commissioners' correspondence since the departure of Mons. de Silly (Cilly), His Imperial Majesty will see the progress of the negotiation.

Upon the arrival of Commander Peñalosa, the Commissioners applied for an audience of the King—then at Winesore (Windsor)—which was readily granted for Wednesday, the 7th instant, when the Commander, having presented his credentials in due form, the Commissioners began to explain the nature and object of their charge in the following manner:—

Although the Emperor was aware that an embassy was being prepared [in England] to offer him congratulations upon his last victory [on the French], as well as to devise the means of carrying on the war against the common enemy, yet, in order to gain time, he had thought it advisable to send Commander Peñalosa to declare his wishes and intentions thereupon.

And, first, the said Commander was instructed to say that the Emperor, his master, in order to satisfy his own conscience and the wish of his subjects, had sent to the French King certain worthy personages to inquire whether

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he was willing to make restitution of those estates and lands which he held unjustly and by usurpation. That the said personages had found but little disposition in the Regent, mother of the said King of France, to do justice to the Emperor's claims, and there was every probability of the King himself being equally ill-disposed. Such being the state of things, nothing was left to them [the King and Emperor] but to prosecute the war and follow their late good fortune. The Emperor was fully intent upon this, but found two great obstacles in his way; one was the wish of his Spanish subjects that in case of his having to lead his army into France he should leave behind him some person of equal rank and quality to afford them consolation and pleasure during his absence; the other was want of means to carry on the war. In order to provide for the two said necessities and obstacles standing in the way of his future plans, the Emperor had ordered his ambassador [Peñalosa] to request the King, in his name, to send the Princess, his daughter, as soon as possible to Spain, and remit also her dower, besides 200,000 ducats for the keeping of their common army in Italy, thereby to attack and weaken the said kingdom of France on every one of its frontiers. The said dower and ducats to be sent to Spain, without any deduction whatever on account of the sums said to be due to the King by the Emperor Maximilian and by His Imperial Majesty. Protesting at the same time that the said request was made to the King, not only as his own uncle, on the Queen's side, but as a brother, since they both belong to the same order [of the Golden Fleece], and as a father, on account of the said Princess, his daughter.

The King's answer was that, with regard to the Princess, she was too young to undertake so long a voyage by sea. He, himself, was meditating crossing over to France, and would be obliged to leave her behind during his absence. He was not bound by treaty to give her up before she was 12 years of age.

Hearing this the Commissioners replied: That the application was not made in virtue of any particular treaty, but merely as a simple request. That if the Emperor wished to have the time of her delivery anticipated, it was merely to please his Spanish subjects, that she might reside in Spain during his absence, and learn the manners and language of the people. The Princess once in Spain, his subjects of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and other kingdoms would have no difficulty in granting a considerable service in money, as token of her happy arrival among them. The daily practices of the French to separate and divide their common interest would be discountenanced, as they (the French) would lose all hope of a successful defence or of contracting new alliances. An army of 10,000 men might thus cause them greater damage than one of 50,000 at any other time and under different circumstances.

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When the King, who was giving audience alone, heard the above, he sent for the Legate, who was in an adjoining room, and in his presence asked: "Messieurs les Commissaires, what securities are you prepared to give us that the Emperor at the appointed time will consummate the marriage with the Princess, our daughter? If you can give us any, we shall be glad to hear them and take them into consideration."

The Commissioners' answer was they had no power to offer any, but should like to hear if the King had thought of any. To which he replied that since they (the Commissioners) had no instructions thereupon, he was unwilling to declare his mind on the subject, but had written to his ambassadors [in Spain] and sent them powers to that effect. Respecting the second difficulty, *i.e.*, the want of means to prosecute the war, he remarked that its solution so much depended on the first that he could make no promise. He was not bound to pay any sum of money as dower to his daughter, until she had attained the age appointed for her marriage; and as to the additional 200,000 ducats, he was under no obligation whatever to furnish them.

The Commissioners replied that the money was not demanded as an obligation, but by way of such help and assistance as a father was likely to give to a son, for the mutual benefit of the parties, and to avoid the many inconveniences and dangers likely to arise if the war was not prosecuted with proper vigour, he (the Emperor) having made up his mind to invade France on the Spanish frontier as well as on the side of Italy, and compel the French to make restitution of all their usurpations from him and from the King.

The King insisted on his former negative, but promised to write to his ambassadors, and to send them instructions and powers to treat thereupon.

After which, and perceiving that the King's resolution and purpose on this point was not likely to be changed, the Commissioners proceeded to request that since he would not consent to the above proposals about the Princess and her dower, he would at least lend His Imperial Majesty 600,000 ducats, namely, 200,000 now and 400,000 more in four months at the rate of 100,000 each month.

Upon which the King said he wondered much how the Commissioners dared put forward such pretensions, knowing, as they ought to know, that the Emperor owed him large sums already, not only on account of the promised indemnity, but also on account of money borrowed at various times, such as 150,000 gold cr. lent to him on his* last visit [to England], and for which the Legate had become security. If the Emperor first paid such debts as these, he (the King) would have no objection to treat for the remainder; otherwise he would not hear of it.

* The Emperor landed at Dover the 27th May 1520.

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Their reply was that they did not deny the Emperor being his debtor to a certain amount, but he had been unable through circumstances and press of work to attend to the payment of his debt. The King, however, had lost nothing by it, since the money having been employed to cover the expenses of the war, the Emperor had by his last victory delivered him of the greatest enemy he ever had, and put him in a situation to recover all the land which the said King of France had taken from him.

The King replied that the sum was excessive, and that in reality he had not the means of advancing it. Upon which the Commissioners withdrew from his presence, and went away. Before returning to London they again saw the King, and in conformity with the last article of their instructions, asked him if he would lend the Emperor 400,000 ducats, one half down, and the other half two months after. Upon the receipt of the said sum the Emperor pledged himself to invade France personally from the side of the Pyrenees, and to send thither the whole of his Italian army or part of it to join the English force wherever it might be deemed convenient, begging the King to cross over with a numerous and well-appointed army, to which would be added, at the Emperor's own expense, 3,000 horse and as many foot which Madame, his aunt, had agreed to send under his good pleasure. "What security are you disposed to give us for the said 400,000 ducats?" said the King.

"Let your Majesty declare his readiness to lend that sum to the Emperor, and any reasonable securities demanded shall be forthcoming." But such declaration the King would never make, and he concluded by saying: "I cannot lend that money, nor cross over in person, as required. Besides, the Emperor has not fulfilled the conditions of the treaty of Windsor, for he was to have crossed the frontier at the end of May, and we are now in June."

After taxing the King with negligence and with not crossing over in time, showing that he was nowise prevented by war or business in any other quarter, and after the Commissioners had fairly proved with many an argument that it was not the Emperor's fault if France had not been invaded already, since he had to leave his army in Italy up to the present day, which army required 120,000 ducats monthly for its maintenance; after they had earnestly requested him to give some hope, and not to allow them to depart under the impression of such a refusal, the King proposed that the petitions just made should be put down in writing, promising shortly to send a messenger to his ambassador [in Spain] with suitable instructions to treat on the whole; adding that it was needful to discuss again the manner and time of the invasion, with what force, and on which side, since the period fixed by the Windsor capitulation had already expired.

Perceiving that by the last article but one in their instruc-

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tions the Commissioners were ordered to put forward this very point which the King had by anticipation denied, notwithstanding all their representations; considering also that the King could not return an answer to their applications unless he saw them in writing; and, lastly, that the powers which he offers to send to his ambassadors [in Spain] might not agree with their own demands and offers—unless properly detailed and specified—the Commissioners agreed to draw up a memorandum of the same, which they have since placed in the King's hand.

After the above conference the Commissioners again requested the King to order his captains at sea and other officers to keep and observe any safe-conducts that His Imperial Majesty or Madame might have granted to the French for fishing purposes, as well as for conveying salt and other merchandise to the said Low Countries, as by doing so the Emperor's subjects might obtain similar safe-conducts from the French and be thereby benefited. This request the King again refused to grant, but referred the Commissioners to the Legate, adding they might discuss the point together at a future interview.

The above conference was held in the Council Chamber, where the Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis [of Dorset], Maistres Talbot, Boullant (Boleyn), and others were sitting. The King was in an adjoining room, whence he occasionally came in and out, as if to communicate and consult on the above matters with his privy councillors.

Following the King's orders, the next day the Commissioners called on the Legate to treat and discuss with him the affair of the safe-conducts. After a good deal of discussion, and many arguments pro and con, the Cardinal said to the Commissioners: "Since the Emperor cannot make war for want of means, or from other causes, it would be better for him to find some expedient by means of which both he and the King, my master, might recover what is their own." The Commissioners having begged him to explain himself, he continued: "If the French King consented to give us Picardy, Normandy, Guienne and Aquitaine in entire suzerainty, and give the Emperor Burgundy, Tournay and Hesdin, besides the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, I fancy that the offer might be accepted as reasonable. Having inquired afterwards what was to be done with Mons. de Bourbon, the Cardinal said: "He might have the county of Ast, and the King of France's sister in marriage, for I can hardly believe that the dowager Queen of Portugal, the Emperor's sister, would have him for a husband. Or he might have the duchy of Milan, on condition of paying 100,000 ducats annual subsidy to the Emperor; and he might renounce all his French property in favour of the Prince of Bearn, now a prisoner in your hands, as a compensation for his pretended

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rights to the crown of Navarre." "Should the above conditions not be obtained, what remedy does the Cardinal propose to apply?" "War, nothing but war, in order to obtain by force what we cannot get by fair means." "Is the King of England willing personally to invade France?" "He is, provided the Emperor himself does the same on his side, but not otherwise." "The Emperor is quite ready, if the King will only lend him the aforesaid 400,000 ducats." But on the Legate declaring that it was not in the King's power to do that, and perceiving that all attempts to bring him to any change of opinion would be vain, the Commissioners came to the same conclusion taken with the King the day before.

After which the Commissioners having conferred with the Legate respecting the fisheries and the safe-conducts, the following declaration was obtained: The King will command his officers at sea to keep and observe all safe-conducts that His Imperial Majesty or Madame, his aunt, may have granted or may henceforwards grant to the French for the purpose of fishing and conveying salt to the Low Countries, on condition, however, that the English money shall be properly valued and taken at the same rate there as in his own kingdom, and not otherwise. The Commissioners answered: They had no special powers to treat respecting the value of coin, but would shortly write home for instructions, at the same time requesting the Cardinal to write to the English ambassadors [in Brussels], that they might also bring the subject under consideration and obtain a decision thereupon. This the Cardinal promised to do, not without having first proposed several expedients, which, he said, would be more useful and acceptable than the former, and among the rest the two following ones, which he explained in the presence of the said Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and other privy councillors there present.

The first expedient proposed was complete cessation from war by sea between the Emperor's subjects of the Low Countries, the French and the English. The other was to give and receive general safe-conducts for the conveyance of all merchandise—not forbidden—as well as for catching herrings and other fish; on condition, however, that the French were not to be allowed to visit the ports of Flanders and England, or land on the coast, except for the purpose of fishing or transporting salt. If the Commissioners agreed to treat on either basis, he (the Cardinal) was willing to enter into a negotiation.

The Commissioners' answer was, as above, that they had no power to treat either of a suspension of hostilities by sea, as proposed, or of the reduction of the currency, but would take the earliest opportunity to refer home for advice. Hearing which the Legate replied: "Then, if that be the case, the King, my master, will send full powers to his

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ambassadors [in the Low Countries] to treat on this affair, if Madame will consent to it."

The Cardinal then, in the presence of the aforesaid noble men and councillors, began to complain of the little justice done to the English in certain maritime towns where they chiefly resided, or before the councils (*consaulx*) and courts of justice in the Emperor's dominions. The Commissioners gave a suitable answer to such accusations by asserting that not only their suits were properly attended to in the towns of their residence and elsewhere, but that the Duke of Norfolk had recently claims of his own to which proper attention had been paid by the Emperor's special commands; which statement appeared to give them satisfaction.

Before the Commissioners' departure, the King expressed his regret that Mons. de Praet, to whose late affair he alluded in rather offensive terms, should have been designated *as ambassador* in the Emperor's last letter to him. The Commissioners replied to this last charge as graciously as it was in their power, as Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa), who was present at the conference, and with whose opinion and advice the whole business was transacted, will be able to report.

The Commissioners have considered it their duty to inform His Imperial Majesty of everything that has occurred since their arrival in England. Two of them, Mons. de Beures and President (Laurens) have already taken their leave of the King and Legate, and intend to quit London to-morrow morning. Jehan le Sauch remains until the Emperor and Madame send another ambassador in his place, a wish strongly expressed by both King and Legate, as the President has particular instructions to say on his return; and which Le Sauch, for the reasons contained in his last despatch to Madame, taken by Mons. de Cilly, strongly recommends.—London, Sunday, the 11th of June 1525.

P.S.—After two long conferences held with the King and Legate, which have lasted six or seven hours each, and a third of four hours with the Legate alone, in the presence of the aforesaid noblemen and councillors, the Commissioners have returned to London, where they have stayed from Friday to Monday, both included, waiting to see whether the King and Legate were likely to make any alteration in their plans. But, although they have sent a gentleman to the Legate under some pretence, to ascertain whether there was any probability of their changing their mind, they have acquired the conviction that the King still persists in his former determination.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "J. Laurens," "Peñalosa," and "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor."

French. Original. p. 12.

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11 June. **112.** ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 24.

Wrote to His Imperial Majesty from Boghera how the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had ordered him, in the Emperor's name, to remain in command of these men-at-arms until he should conduct the French King to Naples, and return here, which, he said, would be in June. Though he (Leyva) wished very much to go home at the time, in order to attend to his own private affairs and pay his debts, yet he preferred the Emperor's service to his own convenience, and therefore the order was punctually obeyed. Now it appears that the Viceroy has taken another determination, and is going straight to Spain with the French King, without letting any-one of us know*; and as this journey of his has been so suddenly planned, it has thrown the whole of Italy into confusion. The army, besides, is badly provided for, wanting money and other necessaries, and consequently badly lodged, and at places so distant from each other that they could not, in case of need, help one another. Fears very much that this state of things, if not promptly remedied, will lead to mutiny and disorder. On the other hand, the Venetians, from whom we expected a good sum of money, seeing that the Viceroy is gone without coming to an agreement with them, will give none.

Asks for leave to go to Spain and present himself to the Emperor, since he has served four years in Italy without seeing his friends and relations, as his servant Morales will verbally inform His Majesty.—Milan, 11th of June 1525.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. Antonio de Leyva, 11th of June* 1525."

Spanish. Original. p. 1¼.

11 June. **113.** The COMMISSIONERS IN ENGLAND to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

Have received her two letters of the 31st May and 1st inst. brought by Commander Peñalosa, who arrived last Monday. Also their own instructions, which they have read and

* On this very day, the 11th of June, the Viceroy despatched to Spain one of the gentlemen of his suit, named Manuel Malversin, announcing his determination to convey the French King, not to Naples, which seems to have been his original intention, but to Spain. The instructions given by him to Malversin, two days after his arrival at Villafranca de Niça, are in Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, pp. 120–2. If, as Leyva tells the Emperor, none of the generals in command of the Imperial army had known till then this change in the Viceroy's plans, it is quite evident that Bourbon had some reason to complain, as he afterwards did, of Lannoy's trying to assume all the glory of the battle, and present his royal captive to the Emperor. The passage being an important one I here subjoin the Spanish: "Agora me parece quel dicho Visorey ha tomado otro camino, de yrse á España con el Rey, bien que ninguno de los que acá quedamos en servicio de V. Mag. lo haya sabido hasta agora."

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discussed in the presence of the said Peñalosa, an upright honourable man. Called immediately on the Legate, and and on the ensuing Wednesday on the King, who was absent at Winesorre (Windsor), to both of whom they explained the nature of their charge. The substance of the interview is fully detailed in their joint despatch, and, although it is their intention to return home to-morrow, have preferred not to delay until then the account of their interview with the Cardinal.—London, Sunday, the 11th of June 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "Jos. Laurens," "Peñalosa," et "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. p. $1\frac{1}{2}$.

11 June. **114.** The Commissioners in England to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 34.

Knight Commander Peñalosa, who arrived last Monday, early, brought Madame's two letters of the 31st of March and 1st of April; also the Emperor's instructions, which they (the Commissioners) have read attentively, and consulted with the said Commander, who seems a wise and honourable man.

Immediately after the Commander's arrival, the Commissioners wrote to the Legate at Winnesorre (Windsor), asking for an audience of the King, which was fixed for the following Wednesday. Went thither and delivered their charge, as reported in their letter to His Imperial Majesty, whereof a copy is enclosed. Though their intention is to leave London to-morrow, they have thought it advisable to send an express acquainting Madame of their doings.—London, Sunday the 11th of June 1525.

Signed: "Adolf de Bourgogne," "Joos. Laurens," "Peñalosa," "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. p. $1\frac{1}{2}$.

13 June. **115.** Jehan de le Sauch to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 35.

By the Commissioners' joint despatch [of the 11th] Madame has, no doubt, heard the answer made by this King to the charge brought by Commander Spinaloza (Peñalosa), who having no more to do here, has actually left [for Spain]. It was the Commander's intention at first to return by way of Flanders, and thence go back to the Viceroy (Charles de Lanoy), believing that Madame might, in the meantime, despatch Richart [Bollengier] to the Emperor. Perceiving, however, that by that way there would be at least 15 days or three weeks' time lost, he [Le Sauch] persuaded him to take a sea route, which he has done. The King sends with him a courier with letters and full powers to his ambassadors

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to treat on the points contained in the Commissioners' last despatch.

But considering that the sea-passage is both dangerous and uncertain, not only owing to the calms generally prevailing at the present season, but on account also of the contrary winds and storms; considering that the Emperor must needs be informed as soon as possible of the King's intention, as now conveyed by Commander Peñalosa, he (Le Sauch) is of advice that, after reading the Commissioners' joint despatch of the 11th June,* Madame should, if possible, forward [to Spain] a duplicate of it in cipher, either by way of France or through the Viceroy [of Naples]. That route seems to him (Le Sauch) the quickest and perhaps the safest under the present circumstances, for there is no great probability of war being made this season. Even if the Emperor were ready to treat immediately with the King [of England], as the instructions sent by the latter to his ambassadors seem to indicate, there would scarcely be time to prepare for a campaign this year. Indeed before the said Peñalosa can have reached the Emperor's court, concluded the agreement with the English ambassadors, and brought back the answer, more than two months will have elapsed, besides the time required for the armies to march, &c; it would then be winter, a season more fitted for retreat than advance. In addition to which, it must be observed that nowhere in the answer is it stated that this King is to send his ambassadors sufficient powers to capitulate without further reference or approbation, and therefore more time would still be lost in the transmission of the said agreement, ratification of its articles, and so forth. During this interval the Emperor would have to keep up his Italian army at the usual cost of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty thousand ducats monthly, the arrears of which are said to be now very considerable, since the soldiers have had no pay for the last five or six months.

The above is a matter well worth Madame's consideration. He (Le Sauch) writes out of zeal for the service, and from fear that these delays and the practices likely soon to commence on all sides will find the Emperor unprepared and so far engaged and involved as not to be able to disentangle himself and move with freedom. Indeed, one may guess from the turn things have taken ever since the victory of Pavia, what the Emperor's position would be if he were to be forsaken by his allies.

Begs for his recall, and that another ambassador be soon appointed to succeed Mons. de Praet, according to the wish so often expressed by the King and Cardinal, and to the heading and first article of the instructions brought by Spinalosa (Peñalosa) and by Richard, wherein it is expressly said that the Emperor will order the appointment of

* See No. 114.

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another ambassador to be made in case the said Praet should have already left [England]. Besides which it is a fact that when the King spoke to the Commissioners about him (Praet), he did it in still angrier terms than those mentioned in their joint despatch, the said Peñalosa having then declared before the King that the event of Mons. de Praet having to quit England had been provided for by the Emperor, and the order sent to have him replaced. And since he (Le Sauch) cannot do the Emperor's and Madame's service as he would wish, begs again for his recall, and the sooner the better.—London, 13 June 1525.

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays d'en Bas."

Indorsed: "Maistre Jehan de le Sauch, Londres, 13 June."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

17 June. **116.** The SAME to the SAME.*

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

Received yesterday, the 16th, Madame's letters for Mons. de Beures (Bèvres), President (Laurens), and himself, bearing date of the 10th.

Although there was nothing particular in their contents to induce him (Le Sauch) to see Monseigneur the Legate, yet supposing that the Legate might also have received letters from the English ambassador (Sir Robert Wingfield) at Mechlin (Malines) respecting the Duke of Norfolk's ship and other matters under discussion, he (Le Sauch) called to inform him that he had received letters from the Low Countries, by which he was instructed to urge the expedition of Commander Peñalosa, as the Emperor was most anxiously expecting an answer to the letters brought by him. Also that a gentleman of the Queen Regent of France was shortly expected at Madame's court (between the 11th and 12th inst.), and that as soon as Madame had heard what he (the messenger) had to say, her Commissioners [in England] would receive certain notes to be communicated to the King and Legate. Also that the truce with Mons. de Gheldres (Gueldres) had been prorogued for another year. That Madame had besides been informed of the arrival in the ports of Zealand of certain Scottish vessels, there to lade or unlade all manner of merchandise, lawful as well as unlawful, in consequence of which the Flemish Vice-Admiral had been ordered to lay his hands on the said ships in case they should be found to contain contraband goods. Lastly, that they (the Commissioners) had received a note (*billet*), translated from the Spanish into French, containing certain news about the Indies, which he

* A copy of this paper is also in Archives at Brussels, *Neg. d. Ang.* T. 11, and in Brit. Mus., *Add.* 28,574, f. 256.

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(Le Sauch) begged leave to communicate according to a note received from home. As, however, the said note was couched in rather vague and ambiguous terms, and no reference was made in it either to the Duke's (of Norfolk) ship or to the news lately received from Germany, he (Le Sauch) considered it prudent to draw up his memorandum, so as not to excite the suspicions of the Cardinal and afford him an opportunity to make up a case against the Commissioners.

The Legate's reply was that he felt very grateful for the information received, and begged him (Le Sauch) to continue his good offices. He then inquired for news from Spain, to which the Commissioner answered that he had none. The Legate next begged for a copy in writing of the several articles referred to at the conference, saying he did not understand the French language sufficiently well (*pour ce qu'il n'entend pas bien franchois*), and wished to inform the King thereof, which he (Le Sauch) did, this being his first interview with the Cardinal since the departure of Mons. de Beures and President.—London, 17 June 1525.

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "To Madame."

French. Original. pp. 2.

17 June. **117.** MEMORANDUM given by LE SAUCH to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Neg. d. Ang.* Tom. 11.

That the gentleman of the Queen Regent of France who was lately in Flanders* had only requested Madame in general terms to endeavour to bring about a peace between the Emperor and the King, his master, without making any overtures whatever. That when asked to declare more fully the nature of his charge, the French gentleman had answered that he had no other mission. Madame then told him that if the Queen Regent was willing to propose terms of peace, she had better specify what they were, or wait until Madame should communicate to her what the Emperor, in his own name and in that of the King of England, his ally, was likely to demand. Should these appear to her excessive, she was to make such offers as could be accepted by them without dishonour or detriment, and then she would willingly exert herself in her behalf. With which answer the gentleman withdrew, and shortly after went away to France.

The said Lady Margaret writes that the Viceroy had taken the Royal prisoner from Naples to Spain, which was a thing the French regretted much, as they lost thereby all hope of recovering him.

* His name appears to have been Perott du Warty; he was a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and arrived at Malines on the 11th of June. *See* a letter of Sir Robert Wingfield, the English ambassador, to Cardinal Wolsey, of the 13th June. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, Vol. iv., Part i., p. 629.

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Count St. Pol has fled from prison and gone to Lyons, having found the means of corrupting some of his guards with a sum of 8,000 ducats distributed among them.

A petition has been received drawn up by various subjects of the Emperor, natives of the bailiage of Hesdin and county of Artois, still prisoners of war at Calais, whose deliverance is strongly solicited.

Monseigneur the Legate is requested to have Royal warrants issued to Captains Jarningham and Wallop at Calais, enjoining them to release certain prisoners, to the number of 16, all subjects of the Emperor, and still detained at Calais.

French. Copy in Le Sauch's hand. p. 1½.

19 June. M, Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 34, ff. 583-8.

118. The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

Wrote on the 25th ult. by a messenger who embarked at Civitta Vecchia, and on the 8th inst. by a Papal courier who went by land. Did not write by Joan Bartholomé de Gattinara, because he being a person of such quality and parts, and having conducted negotiations conjointly with him, he [the Duke] did not consider it necessary to repeat in writing what he [Gattinara] had to report verbally.

(*Cipher :*) With regard to the object of his mission, he (the Duke) can only judge by conjectures or by hearsay, having had no official communication with His Holiness on the subject. Believes the Pope to be glad that His Imperial Majesty has approved of the league in general terms, but he is by no means pleased to hear that the restitution of Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera is postponed, as he (the Pope) thinks he deserves at least as much as the Duke of Ferrara, having contributed more than him towards the peace and tranquillity of Italy. As he was dispossessed by main force, the sooner he (the Pope) is reinstated the better, for then the Emperor's justice will be more conspicuous.*

Such is the Pope's belief; he does not conceal that had he chosen some days ago to enter into negotiation with the Duke [of Ferrara] he might have obtained much better conditions —perhaps also the restitution of those two fiefs (Reggio and Rubiera)—only that having pledged his word to the Viceroy not to make any private convention with the Duke without first letting him know, he has been confidently waiting for the said restitution to come from the Emperor, as a sign of his justice and goodwill towards him. He (the Pope) considers himself ill-used and injured by the present decision, and most likely will do everything in his power to get redress.

(*Common writing :*) No sooner was it known here that the Viceroy had gone to Spain, taking the King of France with him, than a great change was observed in the Pope's

* "Restituido en la posesion mas facilmente se veria la razon del Imperio."

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countenance; for these Italians are so sharp and subtle* that they are apt to give great variety of meanings and constructions to the most simple action, and particularly to one of such importance as this. His Holiness, at first, was rather astonished at the news; he has since conversed several times with him (the Duke), and professes to be always as desirous as ever of universal peace and of His Imperial Majesty's aggrandisement, for, says he, without either one or the other it is impossible to stay the ruin of Christianity, menaced as it is both by the Turk and by the Lutherans, and he believes this the best way of obtaining the desired object.

It has been decided that the Legate [Jacopo de Salviatis] should go [to Spain] much sooner than was at first intended in the Pope's galleys and those of St. John of Jerusalem; but intelligence having been received since that there was plague on board, it is doubtful now whether that mode of conveyance will be chosen. It was also thought of despatching by post the Archbishop of Capua, but he is not very willing to undertake the journey, and they dare not press him too much.

Concerning the occurrences at Sienna, he (the Duke) has written several times [to Spain], expressing his own private opinion. Things are getting worse every day there; and it is quite evident that the populace aims at nothing short of taking the government of the republic into their hands, and so destroying and annihilating the nobles that they may never again have any power over them. They have confiscated the property of some of the principal citizens and condemned others who are absent, so that things have come to a state of greater tyrrany than before, and the city must ultimately fall into the hands of Cardinal Piccolomini and of his heirs, who are scarcely able to bear such a burden. He (the Duke) had put off his journey thither, because, not knowing exactly the intentions of the Viceroy, he could scarcely expect to settle matters in a satisfactory and durable way. He thought of going to Naples, and there conversing with the Viceroy, but the latter's departure for Spain has increased his doubts and perplexities. He proposes to send a confidential person to Sienna to persuade the people not to make new disturbances until His Imperial Majesty's wishes are known, and in the meantime to send a memorandum of what, in his opinion, ought to be done there.

Chevalier Casal has come from England to Milan; he is every day expected in Rome. Everything is [at Milan] at a standstill just now; they say that until an answer is received from His Imperial Majesty nothing shall be done.†

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* "Porque estos juycios italianos son tan delicados y sotiles que á una pequeña cosa dan infinitos sentidos."

† "El Caballero Casal es venido de Inglaterra en Milan. Cada dia se espera aqui. Todo aquello está en calma; dizen que hasta tener respuesta de V. Mag. no haran ninguna deliberacion."

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Things in Germany are taking a better turn. It is reported that the Suabian League inflicted a severe blow upon the rebellious peasants. He [the Duke] has not heard from the Infante [Archduke Ferdinand] for many days.

The Pope has lately been suffering from sciatica, his old complaint; he goes about in a Sedan chair, being unable to walk; notwithstanding which, he daily transacts business.

Ecclesiastical provisions and other affairs of the Church.

The Archbishop of Capua is very grateful for the proofs of Imperial favour just received. He is about to write in acknowledgment, and professes to be more than ever devoted to the Emperor's service. All State affairs go now through his hands, since the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti) does nothing but what belongs to his own particular office. The Pope bears him more than parental love.

The bankers are already beginning to annoy the indorsers of the bills, which came back from the Treasurer protested. He (the Duke) has written to Naples to know whether they are willing to pay there a debt, like this, contracted for His Majesty's service and for the defence of that kingdom. Should they disregard his request, he cannot devise other means to satisfy the creditors than constituting himself a prisoner in Sanct Angelo until the money is paid.

Having written so far, letters of the 23d ult. were received, announcing the confirmation of the league by His Imperial Majesty. He (the Duke) will observe faithfully the instructions sent him by Monsieur de Bourbon, and will inform him of the result. He did not write by the Regent Juan Bartholomé [Gattinara] for the reasons stated elsewhere.

(*Cipher :*) It was imperative to hasten the conclusion of the league, for there was already much talking among the people, the Duke of Ferrara being one of those who most pressed the Pope to take into his hands the protection and defence of all parties, offering great sums and boasting of the liberality with which he has at all times given his money.* Some were of opinion that, rather than allow France to be worsted, it was preferable to continue the war with His Imperial Majesty, though under great disadvantage to themselves. In England, if he (the Duke) has been rightly informed, the people will be glad to hear of the league being confirmed; but on the other hand, they would have liked to see the matter discussed, so as to keep His Imperial Majesty under an obligation to them, and finally make the Cardinal judge and arbiter in the affair. A league composed of such elements could not be very dangerous to so powerful a Prince as His Imperial Majesty really is; but when matters can be

* "Salia del ordinario de la mucha benivolencia que tiene y ha tenido con sus dineros, offreciendolos no el puño cerrado."

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settled by peaceful means, it is far preferable than trusting to fortune for the issue.

He (the Duke) has heard from good sources that the English have asked the Queen Mother of France (Louise of Savoy) to send them an ambassador, who has accordingly left since for England. The information is contained in a letter from Lyons of the 14th inst.

It is also given out as a public fact that a match is shortly to be arranged between the King of Scotland and the daughter* of the King of England, and that they [the English] consider themselves justified in so doing in consequence of His Imperial Majesty being actually in treaty with Portugal for a similar purpose.† However this may be, certain it is that the Cardinal of England is trying all he can to persuade the Pope to listen to the overtures of the confederates, and stir up the Italian humours. He blames him strongly for not taking the part of the Italian powers, showing that if he (the Pope) wished, he might have ample means of carrying out his political designs for the peace and independence of Italy.‡

The enclosed advices from Germany§ will give an idea of the troubles and civil wars by which that country is distracted.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty. Duplicate of the xix. June."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Duke, 19 June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7.

23 June. **119.** JEHAN LE SAUCH to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

On Tuesday, late at night, Brian Tucke sent in her letters of the 13th instant, addressed to Mons. de Bevres (Adolf de Bourgogne), President (Laurens), and himself. They have been eight days on the road. He (Le Sauch) cannot guess what the cause of the delay has been, but thinks proper to mention the fact, for fear that the same thing should happen with other and more important despatches.

* Princess Mary.

† In October of this year the Emperor sent to Lisbon Poupet de Lachaulx, one of his councillors, and Juan de Zuñiga, a brother of the Conde de Miranda, formally to ask for the hand of Isabella, daughter of Don Manuel, King of Portugal; but negotiations for that purpose commenced many months before, when the Emperor was convinced that the hand of Princess Mary, who had not yet attained the age of 12, and the sum of money that was to constitute her dowry, were not forthcoming.

‡ "El Cardenal de Inglaterra tienta quanto puede por que el Papa entre en nuevas negociaciones y remueva humores, y le pone grandissima culpa porque no quiere hablar en esto, mostrando que ternia grande aparejo para toda cosa que intentasse."

§ Not in the volume.

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He (Le Sauch) would have waited next day on the Legate, to inform him of the arrival [at Mechlin ?] of the gentleman* sent by the Queen Regent of France and of Madame's answer to his overtures ; also to speak about the prisoners of war still detained at Calais, had he not been for the last five days suffering so much from a sore throat that he has been unable to speak. As it is, he (Le Sauch) called on Brian Tucke, and begged to be excused if he did not wait upon the Legate on account of the aforesaid indisposition. Sent to him by the same channel a copy of the memorandum concerning the gentleman messenger from France, as well as the petitions presented by the prisoners, begging him to send orders to Captains Jarninghen and Wallop for their release.

The Legate replied, by means of Brian Tucke, that the English ambassador in the Low Countries (Sir Robert Wingfield) had already sent him similar information about the said French gentleman, though not so full in its details as the one he (Le Sauch) had drawn up for him, a copy of which is enclosed.* Thanked him for it, and said he was very much astonished to hear that the prisoners had not yet been released, for he had certainly sent most positive orders to Calais to have them placed at the disposal of Mons. de Bevres and President on their passage to the Low Countries. He purposed seeing the King to-morrow, St. John's day, and the whole of next Sunday at Greenwich, when he would take care that the warrants were issued, &c.

Le Sauch begged Brian Tucke to observe that his application did not so much concern the prisoners now at Vorschocq, Escuelles, and other villages of the county of Guisnes and district of St. Omer as other prisoners of whom no mention had hitherto been made. The former were eight in number, besides the Receiver of Rollencourt ; and as the orders had been issued for their delivery to Mons. de Bevres, he had nothing more to say. His application was in favour of thirty more prisoners detained at Calais.

In the said memorandum (*billet*) no mention whatever was made, as Madame will see, either of the fisheries or of the peasants of Germany, for the reasons expressed in his last despatches. Madame said in her letter that the [German] peasants had laid siege to a town, without naming it. The report here is that the besieged town is Nancy, and that Mons. de Loraine is inside. May he be soon succoured and gain a victory over the rebels !

Last Monday a servant† of Messire Richard Wingfield, who resides in Spain as ambassador from this King conjointly with Mons. de Londres,‡ arrived with letters dated from Toledo, of

* *See* No. 117, p. 201.

† Richard Odall. The letter, which is dated the 3rd, not the 5th of June, may be found in Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., part i. p. 617.

‡ Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls of England, had at this time been sent as extraordinary ambassador to Charles, conjointly with Sir Richard Wingfield. They arrived at Rivadeo, on the

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the 5th instant. As the said messenger brought no letters from the Emperor to him, Le Sauch returned to ask Brian Tucke whether he had received any news from Spain, and what the messenger's charge was. His reply was that the English ambassadors, on their arrival at the Imperial court, had duly delivered their charge, and that an answer had been returned to them; that ever since their departure, they (the ambassadors) had been continually travelling from one place to another, and that when the Emperor had declared his intention to send Commander Peñalosa to this country on matters of great importance for both monarchs, they (the English ambassadors) had expressed a wish to wait for the answer that would be made here (in England) to the Commander's charge, and for this reason the ambassadors had ceased their inquiries, and no more was said to them about the matter, only that the Emperor had brought before them one special point, about which neither Peñalosa nor the Commissioners had said a word, *i.e.*, the Emperor had charged Peñalosa to state, in his name, that his subjects in Spain would not bear patiently his absence from that kingdom unless he left a personage in his room to console and cheer them up (*pour les consoler and recreer*), and that he (the Emperor) had nobody to delegate unless it was a Queen "presente ou future." To this end he had sent to ask the King of England to deliver him his daughter and her dowry. However, as he knew not what the King's answer might be on this particular, and, on the other hand, was intent upon following up his good fortune—which could not well be done without money—he had sent to inquire whether, in case of the King not acceding to his demand, he would object to his marriage with the Princess of Portugal, which would procure him a good sum of money with which to carry his designs into execution.

Here Laurens interrupted Brian Tuck, assuring him that he had not the least knowledge of the overtures said to have been brought by Peñalosa. It was the first time he had heard of it, and neither verbally nor in writing had he ever been instructed to declare the Emperor's intentions on that score. Brian Tuck continued to say that Mons. Robert de Wingfield, actually residing at Madame's court as ambassador of this King, had written to the Legate something to this effect, for he relates that on one occasion, and (*par manière de devises*) Madame had said to him: "If the King of England, your master, does not make up his mind to assist the Emperor with money and men, he (the Emperor), rather than give up and abandon his favourite idea [against the French], will be obliged to seek an alliance in the farthest point of the world (*à la plus loingtaine marche du monde*)."

coast of Galicia, at the end of April. The ordinary resident ambassador at the Imperial court was Dr. Richard Sampson. A very interesting letter from the three English ambassadors (Tunstall, Wingfield, and Sampson), dat. Toledo, 2 June, giving an account of their reception at Court and subsequent proceedings, may be seen in Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., part i., p. 610.

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Monseigneur the Legate (continued Brian Tucke) had been considering where the Emperor could find a wife in a far-away land with sufficient money. After a good deal of thought, he come to the conclusion that it could be no other than the daughter of the King of Roussye (Russia), who is reported to possess considerable treasure. By her means (he thought) the Emperor would secure a large sum of money, and perhaps, too, the Prince, who is a heretic, would be converted to the Christian faith. But the Legate having since communicated this idea of his to some nobleman about Court, he was told that probably the Princess of Portugal was meant, since her father's kingdom is really "la plus loingtaine marche" on that side of the world. However this may be, continued Brian Tuck, Madame said those or similar words to Mons. Robert de Wingfield, there can be no doubt that she must have known something about it.

Jean Joakin arrived yesterday in London. Hearing of it Laurens went up to Brian Tuck, intending to inquire after him. He waited intentionally to see whether the Secretary would introduce the subject first, but finding he did not, he (Le Sauch) said to him: "Well, what news of the Sieur Jehan Joakin; what has he to say for himself?" "True, I forgot," answered Brian Tucke, "to mention his arrival to you, but I will tell you all I know about him. He (Jockin) called on the Legate, and told him the message he had from the Queen Regent of France. When he had finished, the Legate asked him: 'Have you anything more to say?' 'No,' was Joakin's answer. 'Well then,' said the Legate, 'you may return to-morrow the same way you came. I have no more to say to you. Go!'" This conversation Brian Tucke had heard, as he was present at it. "But" (he added) "those who come on such missions do not generally declare at the first audience the whole of their charge, and therefore I cannot say whether he will leave to-morrow or whether he will stay. I shall do my utmost to know what his intentions are and what he has come about."

It is altogether a very strange affair, for although the said Jockin is said to have come here without a safe-conduct, he (Le Sauch) has heard from a very good source that, fifteen days before the departure for Flanders of Mons. de Bèvres and President (Laurens), he had been furnished with one without Madame's Commissaries knowing anything about it. No need for him to refer to Peñalosa's charge, having explained the matter fully in his preceding despatches. Respecting the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, till the Emperor's resolution arrives, nothing can be done. Believes, moreover, that if it does come at all, it will be too late in the season, and that there will be no money forthcoming from this country.

Hears from some Spanish merchants residing in London that they have had letters from Spain of the 20th instant, announcing that the Emperor had revoked all safe-conducts

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given to Frenchmen two months after the publication of his mandate to that effect.

The Treasurer of Calais (Lord William Sandys) tells him (Le Sauch) that 4,000 Italian light horse have arrived in Boulloingne (Boulogne-sur-Mer), and that round Abbeville great preparations are being made. Therouanne had been revictualled (*ravitallee*) with 300 waggons of provisions.

When the King returned last from Windsor, he passed by Hautencourt (Hampton Court), a house belonging to the Legate, which he has presented to him with all its appurtenances, furniture, &c. In future the Cardinal will lodge as any other of the King's servants. "Il me semble que l'on appelle cela: Je vous donne ung cochon de vostre pourcheau, au grant merchys du vostre."

It is reported that the King will leave soon for Greenwich, and thence for Hampton Court for 10 or 12 days, waiting for the Cardinal, who is to hold the assizes (*les cours de justice*). From thence the King is to go to a small town (*villette*) in Cornwall, called Oudestock (Woodstock), which is at least 80 miles from this capital.

Wishes that some one may come soon to replace Mons. de Praet and himself, that he may go home.—Londres, la veille de St. Jehan, xxiii jour de Juing, anno xx^{c}xxv. (1525).

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 7.

24 June. **120.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 37.

Has heard that, before his departure from London, Jehan Jocquin said to one of his friends who had frequently visited him during his stay, that his dismissal from this court had been decided upon merely to please Madame, and that he would not be absent long. Has heard also that the Legate sent him, through a servant of Bonnisi,* residing in this city, and an intimate friend of that ambassador, the required safe-conduct, &c.

The news from Spain is that when the Emperor heard of the landing of the English ambassadors on the coast† he sent a quarter-master (*fourrier*) and a bailiff (*alguacil*)‡ to prepare lodgings for them on the road and conduct them to Toledo, where he was staying at the time, and that when they approached that city he sent a deputation of noblemen and high personages to meet them. The day after their

* Probably Nicolo Bonnizzi, who, according to Rowdon Brown (*Venet. State Papers*, iii., p. 636), was a bill-broker in London in 1504.

† Tunstall and Wingfield. They landed at Rivadeo on the coast of Galicia before the 30th of April, and reached Toledo on Ascension day.

‡ "Were met by a chaplain sent by the Emperor to conduct them, a harbinger to get them lodgings, and an 'algusel' to help them to obtain necessaries at reasonable prices," says the very interesting letter of the three English ambassadors to the King, edited by Mr. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, vol. iv. part i, p. 610.

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arrival the Emperor received them in public audience, after which he took them to his private rooms, where they remained a long time, and that for many consecutive days they had attended the Imperial Council and there discussed the matters connected with their charge.

His Imperial Majesty had complained of the Legate in various ways, and especially of the violation of Praet's correspondence and the rude manner in which that ambassador had been treated. Nevertheless, he had treated the English ambassadors with great affability, though he had declared to them that he would hold in future no communication whatever with the Legate, and that, if he had any message for the King of England, would send one of the gentlemen of his household to visit him without writing to the Legate. When the King of England had any thing to say to him, he could do the same.

On the 10th of July next the Emperor was to be at Monçon there to hold the Cortes of Aragon, those of Castille being on the eve of terminating their business, which had been done in a very satisfactory manner.

The French ambassadors had arrived in Spain, and were eight days march from Court (Toledo).

Mons. de Buren,* who had had some sort of commission for the Emperor, had returned to France without accomplishing anything.

All these news he (Le Sauch) hears from a friend who has correspondents at the Imperial court, and one particularly, very trustworthy and well known to him (Le Sauch). Fancies that the intelligence is not much to the Legate's taste, for he has not communicated it even to his most intimate friends.

Hears that the Legate intends to send back to Spain the same gentleman who returned three or four days ago. Is the more inclined to believe this that Brian Tucke has told him that he had been prevented from writing out a despatch for Spain, and that to-morrow and after he is to be at Greenwich, where there will be scarcely any councillors (*grands-maistres*), for all the Knights leave to-morrow for Windsor, there to hold, on Sunday next, one of their assemblies according to the statutes of the order.

Has seen the Pope's Nuncio, who, having waited last Sunday upon the Cardinal for the purpose of knowing what the King's pleasure was respecting the proposed [Italian] league, was told to have patience and wait three or four days more. The Nuncio's impression is that the Legate only wishes to gain time to decipher certain letters lately received from Spain, and also to hear what Jean Jocquin has to say on the subject. Should he not send him soon a categorical answer, the Nuncio is determined to go straight to the King and ask him what his intentions are.

* Beaurain ?

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Last Sunday there was a magnificent pageant and court held in this town by the King for the purpose of creating his bastard son [Henry Fitzroy] Duke of Richemont and Sombresettre (Somerset), Earl of Notenghen (Nottingham), &c., about which there is much talk (*dont plusieurs parlèrent diversement*). The concourse of people was great; the heat and dust almost intolerable.

On the same day the following appointments were made :—

The eldest son of the Duke of Suffolk to be Earl of Lincone (Lincoln).

Milord Waucher to be Marquis of Exeter.*

Milord Roz to be Earl of Rotland.†

Millord Clifford to be Earl of Comberlande.‡

Milord Fitz Water§ to be Viscount d'Aigremont.

And Boullant (Boleyn) to be Viscount of Rocherfort.‖

—London, 24 June 1525.

Signed: "Jehan de la Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 4.

24 June. **121.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 38.

Wishes the Emperor to be informed that Jehan Jocquin is still here (in London), and that the ambassadors of France have been duly warned that no overtures on the part of the Queen Regent (Louise de Savoie) or of those who have charge of her son's affairs are to be listened to, unless they come through the channel of the said Jockin. Does not know whether he is right in his conjectures, but fancies that the course adopted with respect to that ambassador is the surest, as by insisting on his recall the French will most likely revoke his powers, and take care in future not to send another ambassador here or to other courts until they see how things turn out.¶

The day before yesterday was the anniversary of Jean Jockin's arrival in London. That only shows how time passes, especially in journeys, and one may guess who is the cause of all this. If Jockin has come here by order of some one, it may be fairly presumed that it is not to promote the Emperor's interests. If by the Regent's express desire, no wonder that he takes so much care of her affairs, and in so doing contrives to do all possible injury to the Emperor. However this may be, His Imperial Majesty is

* Henry Courtney, Earl of Devon, Marquis of Exeter.

† Henry Lord Roos, created Earl of Rutland on this occasion.

‡ Sir Henry Lord Clifford, created Earl of Cumberland, Vice-Warden of the West-Marches of Scotland, died 1542.

§ Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Viscount Fitzwalter.

‖ Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.

¶ "Touttefois je ne scez si je diz bien, mais il me samble à correction, que l'on ne peult faillir de faire selon que l'on en monstre le chemin aux gens, et par ce moyen ilz le révocqueroient et se garderoint d'y envoyer aultre ny en aultres lieux jusques ilz veissent ou les choses vouldroint tumber."

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sure to know, on Peñalosa's arrival, what the intentions of these people are, and what instructions the gentleman now accompanying that Commander is taking to the English ambassadors in Spain. Whatever these may be, his (Le Sauch's) idea is that they come too late, especially as concerns the Italian army, to which such arrears are owed and such scanty pay is issued that it must prove a very heavy burden. Has no hopes of one single crown from this country.

Firmly believes that the King and Cardinal will rather make peace with the common enemy, without profit to themselves (*oires n'ayent ils pieche ni piechette*), than prosecute a war requiring so great an expenditure, and for which they are by no means prepared, for money they have none, and as to getting it from the people, they know full well that the expedient has been tried once, and does not succeed.—On St. John's eve, the 24th of June 1525.

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame, &c."

French. Original. pp. 2½.

30 June. **122.** The SAME to the SAME.

K.u.K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 39, f. 7.

Wrote on St. John's day (the 24th), as Madame may see by his letter of that date.* That very day Jean Joackin was conducted to Greenwich, where he spent upwards of three hours and a half with the King and Legate (*plus de trois heures d'un tenant*).

The ensuing Monday the King and Queen went to Hautencourt (Hampton Court), thence to go to several other Royal seats to pass the rest of the summer season, without, however, going further from this city (London) than 20 or 30 miles at the most; for their intended visit to Oudestock (Woodstock) is put off for the present.

For the reasons detailed in his former letter, he (Le Sauch) could not possibly have called on the King and Legate before Wednesday last, when, having received a message from the latter, and finding himself nearly if not completely recovered from his late illness (*à demy gary*), he decided to attend the summons. He, therefore, on the morning of St. John's day, sent a message to Brian Tucke (Tuke), asking for the requisite letters for the release of the Calais prisoners.

On his return from Greenwhich, on Monday, Brian Tucke informed him (Le Sauch) that the Royal letters were not yet ready, owing to the Legate having left the petition (*requette*) behind him at Westminster; however, the Captain of Guisnes (Fitzwilliam) would be written to, as the principal Royal officer on the other side of the Channel, and the petition and papers would be sent to him, which has been done since, he

* A copy of this letter is in the Archives of Brussels: *Negotiations d'Angleterre*, Tom. II.; also in Bergenroth's Collection, Brit. Mus., *Add.* 28,574, f. 270.

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(Tuke) giving him (Le Sauch) the enclosed King's warrant to that effect.

On the same day, Wednesday, Madame's letter, dated Hoochstraete, the 22d instant, came to hand, as well as two more letters from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), one for the King, the other for the Legate, both of which he duly delivered. Told the Legate that he (Le Sauch) had heard from Madame, and communicated to him the substance of the letter.

The Viceroy's letters announced his arrival at Genoa with his prisoner, the King of France, whom he was about to take to the Emperor in Spain, as the season was too far advanced and it was dangerous to take him to Naples.* After perusing the letters, the Legate told Le Sauch he had heard from his ambassadors at the Imperial court that some people had written against him and calumniated him, and that he had certainly done nothing to deserve such treatment. Upon which, and with a view to inculpate Mons. de Bèvres, the President (Laurens), and himself, the Cardinal produced the abstract of certain letters which, he said, had been received from the King's ambassadors in Spain, and made him read them, which, being done, Le Sauch returned the paper, saying: "I recollect very well on what occasion and for what purpose that despatch was made. I myself drew it up, and those are my very words. A duplicate of it was forwarded to the Emperor." The Legate then, apparently very much amazed, observed: "I have never uttered the words contained in this extract, nor do I think that Mons. de Bèvres and the President could affirm such a thing."

Perceiving by this last sentence that the Legate's intention was to lay the charge at his (Le Sauch's) door, as the secretary who had drawn up the despatch, he made him a suitable answer, as may be seen by the enclosed duplicate of his letter† to the said Bèvres and President, informing them of the occurrence. There was, however, no anger in the Cardinal's words. On the contrary, his complaint was uttered in the mildest possible tone. The Emperor's discontent was quite true, and he himself knew of it.

Perceiving that he had only been sent for that he might hear from the Cardinal's own mouth the account of his grievances, he (Le Sauch) asked him whether he could write home to announce Jean Jockin's return [to England.] Upon which he said: "You may; we ourselves are now writing to inform the Emperor of his arrival." Le Sauch replied: "Monseigneur, it is not my intention now to write to the Emperor, as there would be no one here to take my letter to him. Should I know of any person now going to Spain, I should most certainly write, for such I consider my duty to be. Whatever the Emperor may think of this

* "Comment il estoit au port de Gennes prest a partyr avecq le Roy de France pour le mener à l'Empereur en Espaigne, pour ce que la saison est trop dangereuse pour le mener à Naples."

† Not in the Archives.

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matter, my duty is to inform Madame." Then he said: "Well, you may write and say that Jean Jockin has come [to England], but that his mission has no other object than obtaining a safe-conduct for the Chancellor of Alençon (Jean Brinon), whom the Queen Regent of France (Louise de Savoie) is now sending with the Pope's advice to make certain overtures concerning general peace. This has been done in consequence of the embassy which the said Regent (Louise de Savoie) sent to the Emperor, and also to treat of certain matters which especially concern us."

Having then inquired whether the said Chancellor was really to come [to England], the Cardinal answered: "Yes, he is coming; his safe-conduct has already been forwarded to him, and he will be in London in eight or ten days at the latest."

Thus ended the conference, he (Le Sauch) promising to call next day and bring, for the Cardinal's inspection, the draft of his letter to Mons. de Bèvres and President (Laurens).

Received on the same day letters from Commander Peñalosa, dated Pleume (Plymouth) the 20th instant, announcing that he had not yet left the port owing to contrary winds, but hoped to sail shortly. Has since heard from merchants of this city that he, Peñalosa, took his departure a few days after.

In consequence of the appointment made, Le Sauch returned to the Cardinal on the ensuing Thursday, and read him the draft of his letter to Bèvres and President, so as to convince him that what they had conjointly written was in consonance with his (the Cardinal's) words. He still insists that he never said "sans conditions;"* and, to speak the truth, the conditions are differently expressed in the Commissioners' letter, in the paragraph immediately following that of the abstract in which the President's conversation with the Legate is reported; for it is said there that he (the Cardinal) would not do it, and yet the King and he were not to be driven to despair, for otherwise they might execute their threats, that is to say, join the [Italian] league and grant the marriage-alliance mentioned in the said paragraph. The Emperor or those next to his person might have taken these words in bad part, without considering the reservation made by the Cardinal in the paragraph immediately following. His (Le Sauch's) impression was that these and similar reports addressed to the Emperor respecting the Cardinal's conduct in various affairs had induced the Emperor to speak of him as he has done.

The Cardinal ended by thanking him (Le Sauch) for the trouble he had taken in this affair, saying he trusted in the great prudence and discretion of Mons. de Bèvres and President and in his (Le Sauch's), that the affair would be

* "Toutesfoiz maintient il que non sans condicions. Et à la verité la dite condition est aultrement contenue en nos dites lettres, en l'article ensuyvant cestuy de l'extraict faisant mencion de la communicacion, qu'eult Mons. le President avec luy seul."

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hushed, and that they would write to the Emperor accordingly. Begged him particularly to do so, as he had such great confidence in him. Has done it, as requested, as Madame may see by the enclosed copy* of his letter.

After this the Legate began lamenting over his bad luck. After working so hard and so efficiently for the Emperor's interests, his services had never been appreciated at their worth. Not only had he laboured to maintain the old alliances and confederations between the two countries (Spain and England), but had so tightened the ties of friendship that they might now be considered indissoluble. He had persuaded the King, his master, to declare war against the French King and promise the Emperor the hand of the Princess (Mary), to lend him considerable sums of money, and incur heavy expenses on his account. And now his sole reward for all this was, that he had—through the malicious reports of people who understood nothing about State affairs, and who wished, perhaps, that things should turn out disadvantageously for them—fallen into disgrace with the Emperor. Had he even uttered one part of the words and sentiments attributed to him, his affection for the Emperor ought still to have been taken into account. As to Madame, he looked upon her with as great a respect as upon the Princess herself; she is Lady in this world for whom he would do most, considering her virtues, good sense, prudence and honourable behaviour.

After such complimentary tirade, Le Sauch was rather embarrassed, and knew not what to say to please the Cardinal. He resolved, however, to bring him to a point (*foncer à travers du blé du bon homme*), and said to him: "I am exceedingly sorry at your Reverence imagining that the Emperor's discontent proceeds from reports made by Madame or by her Commissioners in London, and afterwards forwarded to Spain and accepted. If your Reverence grants me permission, and promises not to be offended, I will readily point out the cause of the Emperor's discontent, which, in my opinion, is a different one." "Out with it," replied the Cardinal.

Le Sauch said to him: "Monseigneur, your Reverence must admit that the various favours conferred on the Emperor, and which your Reverence has just enumerated, have been on all occasions duly acknowledged by His Imperial Majesty, yet I am given to understand that for a long time both the Emperor and Madame [of the Low Countries] have heard from various trustworthy sources certain unfavourable expressions uttered by your Reverence respecting their persons and acts; which expressions, though both may have dissembled for a time, have not always been taken in good part, so much so, that now-a-days His Imperial Majesty, considering your Reverence's behaviour in these affairs, is inclined to think that had he not been victorious [at Pavia], and had he not

* The copy alluded to is not appended to the original.

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crushed the common enemy, there is no knowing what would have become of him. This and the subsequent seizure of Mons. de Praet's letters have so added to the anger in his breast, that, not being able to repress it any longer, the Emperor, as I presume, has made it known to the English ambassadors.* This, and no other, I take to be the cause of His Imperial Majesty's discontent, if any there be, and not any report of Madame's or her Commissioners, at this court. I hope, however, that everything will be made right in time, and the means found to appease the Emperor's anger."

"And what, pray, may I have said about the Emperor and Madame so to cause their displeasure?" "Monseigneur" (said Le Sauch) "it would be a very difficult task for me to enumerate the many reports that are afloat respecting your Reverence, for I myself have not heard them from the mouth of your Reverence. Yet I have heard many people who have had business to transact in this country complain of the light manner in which your Reverence spoke, both of the Emperor and of Madame, his aunt. When Mons. de Rœulx passed through London, he could not see the King; the gentleman whom the Archduke of Austria (Ferdinand) sent here for his own affairs was also dismissed without seeing him. Somebody overheard your Reverence say on one occasion that the Emperor had not one ducat to send to market to buy provisions for his table; that Council there was none, either in Spain or in Flanders; neither country had men sufficiently experienced in State affairs to conduct them for the common advantage, and your Reverence had always to take the initiative (*et que c'est tousjours a recommencher pour luy*). These and other similar expressions which I forget, have been related to me.† No wonder if those to whom they were addressed, esteeming, as they ought, their master's reputation, have reported them. Many things are said in conversation and whilst discussing business which one is apt to forget. I recollect what trouble I and my colleagues had on Good Friday to bring to your Reverence's recollection, in his own oratory, the fact that upon two different occasions it had been agreed that a descent should be made in Picardy; and that when the King or his Lieutenant should be at Calais the Emperor's Captain-General was to go thither, in order to discuss and fix the time and point of invasion, &c., all of which your Reverence at last owned having said, as we had twice informed Madame. In a like manner, your Reverence told us that unless the Low Countries furnished the 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot required, the Emperor and all his subjects, as well as Madame, were

* "Le tout s'est accumulé en son estomac si gros, qu'il ne l'a plus volu porter, et l'a bien volu, comme presupposé, declarer aux ambassadeurs du Roy."

† On 2d of June the Emperor complained to the English ambassadors residing at Toledo that the Cardinal had called him a *liar*, lady Margaret a *ribald*, Archduke Ferdinand a *child*, and Bourbon a *traitor*. *See* Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. iv., part i., p. 616.

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sure to lose the affections of the King of England and yours (*perdroint l'amour du Roy et le vostre*), and might give you occasion to treat with the enemy. And when we told your Reverence that we could not imagine that such a threat could be carried into effect, we were distinctly told that your Reverence would not willingly take such a measure, but that we were to take care not to drive him to despair, for the King, out of spite, might set his army to make war on us."

"Monseigneur, when we (the Commissioners) or any others who may happen to be sent, either by the Emperor or Madame, on a mission to the King of England or to you, hear similar expressions falling from the mouth of one who, like your Reverence, has the King's entire confidence, and to whom he trusts his most important and troublesome (*odieux*) affairs, they cannot fail to devote all their consideration to their real meaning. Nothing would be easier for the Imperial servants than to take such expressions in the sense that your Reverence intends them to be. I really believe that that would be by far the best plan; yet, in such mighty affairs, it would be rather difficult, not to say impossible, to unravel the secrets of a heart (*sçavoir congnoistre le ceur ny le vouloir d'autruy et s'en asseurer en son ceur*). An ambassador is, therefore, obliged to acquaint his master with such reports and expressions, which practice has also its dangers. I beg your Reverence to excuse me if I have spoken too freely. I protest that my intentions are good, and that what I have just said is nowise intended to embitter the question or retard the settlement of our common affairs. Neither have I received a commission to that effect. If I have done wrong, I am alone responsible for it; at any rate, I have said nothing which has not been related to me by trustworthy people as having been done or said by your Reverence at some time or other."

"Monsieur le Secretaire" (replied the Cardinal), "you have just said things to me, some of which I own to be true, whilst others I deny. If reported to the Emperor as you have stated them, they are entirely false. If Mons. de Rœulx has complained to the Emperor of his reception in England, he is quite in the wrong, for I treated him with as much consideration and respect as any other of the Emperor's ambassadors at this court, knowing his rank and qualifications. True, I happened to be, at his arrival in London, laid up with fever, and that may be perhaps the reason for my not receiving him as soon as I could have wished; but if he said that I made him wait three or four hours in an anteroom among servants and valets of my household, I must declare that his report is untrue. Neither is it correct to say that I prevented him from seeing the King. What I told Mons. du Rœulx was that he would not, if he went to the King, get a different answer from that which I gave him; he might go if he chose, and I offered to facilitate his journey. Mons. du Rœulx told me on this occasion many strange stories concerning Mons. de Bourbon,

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and principally the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), on all of which I made him a gracious and suitable answer at the time. If people have chosen to relate the occurrence in a different manner, and calumniate me, it is no fault of mine, and I am innocent of the charge. But I am singularly grieved to hear that, after so many services as I have rendered the Emperor, I should be rewarded by losing his favour, and that he should pay more attention to the malicious reports of my enemies than to my exertions in conducting his affairs as faithfully as I have done. Nevertheless I will do what I consider my duty for the common benefit of His Imperial Majesty and of the King, my master, since the love he professes towards him and his intentions are equally known to me. Besides, how could I ever be a party to ruin and destroy the work of my own hands? Time will show that my intentions were righteous and good. I fancy I have said enough to you to purge myself of so heinous a charge to the Emperor's full satisfaction. I can assure you that I never could have been so indiscreet or imprudent as to have uttered the expressions which you say have been reported to the Emperor and to Madame. I take God to witness, on my word and dignity of Cardinal Presbyter, that I never uttered the said expressions, or even thought of them, especially as regards Madame, whom I consider as much, and would willingly serve on a par with, the Queen of England, as I have told you on a previous occasion. I wish I could be of the condition of Mons. de Berghes, who, if I am rightly informed, said the other day to Madame in the Council Chamber, and whilst some of the councillors were passing judgment on me and my acts: 'Let the Legate say whatever he pleases, provided he acts well. Who the Devil cares about what he says*? Let us only discuss whether he has hitherto behaved well and is likely to do so in future, and let him say what he likes.' But, no, it is my bad luck that my words and my actions are always to be misinterpreted!! The Emperor, however, if ill-disposed towards me, cannot do me any harm. Here I am in the service of the King, my master, who knows what I have done for the Imperial cause, and therefore will preserve me from danger."

Le Sauch's reply was: "Monseigneur, I do not imagine in the least that matters are in the state in which your Reverence represents them to be; nor do I think the Emperor capable of attempting to do your Reverence personal injury (*chose qui puist estre au prejudice ou rebouttement de votre personne*). Your Reverence has known him long enough to perceive that his nature is not vindictive; I therefore beg your Reverence to cast off such an idea from your mind."

* "Laissez dire à Mons. de Legat ce qu'il veult, mais qu'il nous face du bien. Que diable nous chault-il de ses parolles?"

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Upon which the Cardinal replied: "Let it be as you say, I hope everything will turn out well." He then requested him [Le Sauch] to write to the Emperor the substance of the above conference, which the Secretary promised to do, and inquired whether there was in the port any "zabra"* ready to set sail with the despatches, and upon Le Sauch informing him that there had been none for some time, as one had been placed at the disposal of one of the King's messengers going to Spain [Curzon?], and on board the other Knight Commander Peñalosa and one of the King's gentlemen had sailed, he said: "We will provide your messenger with some good ship for his voyage."

He (Le Sauch) has always been of this opinion, namely, that if compelled to reside in England and take charge of the Imperial affairs here, sooner or later he will get into trouble, for he has not the patience and coolness that are required in diplomacy. Considering the opportunity at hand, he told the Cardinal in plain terms what he thought about the matter. Seemed to take it in good part, but notwithstanding, he (Le Sauch) is sure that, in reality, he is very angry. Cannot say how matters will turn out. Begs for somebody to replace him [in London], for fear he should altogether spoil the negotiation.

Recollects that upon one occasion this King suggested that the post from Flanders, to avoid the dangers of the sea, might come through France. Thought that on the Emperor's request the French would grant the passage without difficulty. Now as the King of France is a prisoner in Spain, it may easily be managed, that all couriers from the Emperor or from Madame, as well as those from the Low Countries, be furnished with permission to pass through France. In this way the Emperor and Madame may regularly have news every month, and perhaps every fortnight. The same may be said with regard to the communications between England and the Low Countries.—London, Friday, the last day of June 1525.

Signed: "Le Sauch."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays Bas."

French. Original. pp. 12.

4 July. **123.** Jean le Sauch to the Emperor.

K. u K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, No. 40.

Commander Peñalosa has no doubt informed His Imperial Majesty of the answer made by this King and Legate to the various points of the Commissioners' joint charge; also that a gentleman† has been sent along with the said Commander,

* *Zabra* in Spanish is the name for a light vessel, generally used to carry despatches.

† Curzon, who arrived at Toledo on the 30th June. *See* Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. iv., part i., p. 661.

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bearing instructions and full powers for the English ambassador [in Spain] to treat on the said matter and others equally important.

Madame has since written to say how a gentleman,* sent by the Regent Louise, had arrived at her court, begging she would mediate between the Emperor and the King of France, so that peace might be concluded on fair terms. The said gentleman, however, had made no new overtures; and when Madame had interrogated him as to whether he had any new offers to make, he had answered in the negative. Upon which Madame Margaret had said to him: "Let Madame the Regent of France know first what the demands are on the part of the Emperor and King of England, and if she finds them too excessive, let her say so. I shall be glad to mediate in this affair, and render every good office possible, provided the Regent or the King, her son, make offers that are acceptable." After which the gentleman went away, and returned to France.

Jean Jockin is back in London. The Legate has told him (Le Sauch) that he has come for the purpose of obtaining a safe-conduct for the Chancellor d'Allençon [and others] who were here this last winter, and whom the Regent of France is now about to send again [to England], with certain overtures about the peace, likewise to be transmitted to the Emperor [in Spain]. The Legate added that after the Chancellor's arrival [in London], and when he had explained his charge, he (Le Sauch) should be fully informed of the whole.

About a week ago, the said Legate complained to him (Le Sauch) of certain false and malicious reports about his person, which, he said, had been forwarded to His Imperial Majesty. They were spread (he added) by wicked and ill-intentioned people, always ready to misinterpret his words and acts. Hearing which, he (Le Sauch) took the opportunity of denying the fact, as he knew full well that neither Mons. de Bèvres, nor the President (Laurens), nor himself had ever written a single word against the Legate. The Cardinal then produced the abstract of a letter to Madame, dated the 20th of April last, and the duplicate of which was duly forwarded to Spain, wherein the above-named Commissioners and he (Le Sauch) had really used the expressions complained of. The letter being read and acknowledged to be their own, the Cardinal expressed his astonishment, adding: "This is very wrong indeed, for I never said to Madame's Commissioners the words here attributed to me." He (Le Sauch) replied that Monsieur de Beures and President (Laurens) were men of honour, incapable of telling a falsehood; they understood Latin well, and had written the draft of the letter just read. He had no doubt they would maintain their

* Perrott de Warthy, groom of the bed-chamber to Francis. See above, p. 201.

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assertion. The Legate then said: "I very much doubt that they will, for my words on that occasion have been most singularly misinterpreted. What I said was: 'If you will not assist us or do anything in this affair, take care lest you drive us to despair, for we shall be obliged to look to our own affairs in another quarter, and do so and so.' Between a conditional warning of this kind, and the assertion that 'we were ready to execute our threat,' there is a very great difference, which Madame's Commissioners cannot fail to recognize. You ought to have reported according to truth, bearing in mind the affection I always professed—and still profess—to the Emperor. I hope, however, that Mons. de Bevres and the President (Laurens) will acknowledge their error, and make proper amends for it. I appeal to their conscience and to your own." His (Le Sauch's) answer was: He was ready to write to his colleagues on the subject and report the conversation he had just had [with the Cardinal]; as far as he himself was concerned, he should have no difficulty in stating, to the best of his recollection, the Cardinal's words at the time.

After this, having consulted the copy-book, and read attentively the said letter of the 20th of April last, he (Le Sauch) found in the paragraph immediately following that which the Cardinal had read the accurate description of what passed when President Laurens remained alone with him, when, in reference to the said conditional warning and threat, the Cardinal said, in very explicit terms: "I will not do it; but still you ought not drive us to despair, lest we should execute our threat."

Hopes that the Emperor's discontent does not proceed exactly from these and similar expressions, as reported and transcribed in the Commissioners' joint despatches, and that discontent, if it exists, has another and more ancient origin. Having called again on the Cardinal, and communicated the above doubt to him, he said: "I am aware that Mons. du Rœulx has likewise written against me; but I take God to witness that he has no reason whatever for complaint;" and then he went on describing the kind and benevolent manner in which he had treated him (Du Rœulx) on all occasions. How far this assertion of the Cardinal may be consistent with truth is a matter to be settled between the two parties, and on which he (Le Sauch) avoids expressing an opinion. But from whatever source the said discontent may proceed, there can be no doubt that the Cardinal is marvellously affected by it. He (Le Sauch) has frequently heard him lament, with sorrow on his countenance, that, notwithstanding the signal services rendered by him to the common cause and to the Emperor in particular, he has been unable to gain his confidence and persuade him of his goodwill and constant affection, His Imperial Majesty having often listened to the malicious and false reports of his ambassadors without the least reason

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or foundation for so doing, as if he (the Cardinal) could be so indiscreet or devoid of sense as to do and say what has been imputed to him. "If the Emperor" (he added) "will only consider what I have done for his service, he will find that I have good reasons to complain, if such injurious reports are admitted and credited, without further examination or inquiry. I will, nevertheless, continue to work, as I have done hitherto, for the common weal of the Emperor and of the King, my master, who, I know for certain, bears him greater affection and love than to any other Prince in the world." I should be very ill-advised indeed if I were induced to act against my sentiments and professions; even if I did—which I never shall—I would take care not to declare my intentions. I am not the man to destroy the work of my own hands, as the events will show, and I sincerely hope to live long enough to vindicate every one of my acts before the Emperor, and regain his full confidence."

He (Le Sauch) thanked the Cardinal for his goodwill and intentions, and begged him to persevere in them, assuring him that everything would come right in time, and that His Imperial Majesty was not—as he must have had occasion to judge—an ungrateful or vindictive Prince.

His Imperial Majesty knows best what services the Cardinal may have done him. Such, however, is his authority with the King, his master, that nothing important is decided without his counsel and advice, now more than ever. He (Le Sauch) deems it necessary to state his opinion on these matters, that the Emperor may act accordingly.—London, 4 July 1525.

Signed: "Jehan de le Sauch."

Addressed: "A sa Majesté de l'Empereur Roi d'Espaigne."

French. Original. pp. 3.

5 July. **124.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 27.

On the 14th of June last the bills of exchange for 80,000 and 20,000 ducats on Genoa were duly received and cashed, save 15,000 cr. (*escudos*), which remained in the hands of Ansaldo Grimaldo until their acceptance by the Viceroy and Council of Naples. They have since been paid, but as the above sums are insufficient for the increasing wants of this Imperial army, and the money promised by the Venetians is not forthcoming, the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva have been raising money on their own plate and jewels, to the amount of 15,000 crowns. The former has written besides to Naples, to say that if the Treasurer and Council of Naples do not accept his bills they are to mortgage or sell the whole of his landed property in that kingdom.

The Venetians have decided not to pay the 80,000 ducats of their share unless His Imperial Majesty first confirms the

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league made with them, or we can show them proper powers to that effect, which is only a usual device of their own whenever they want to gain time. Out of the 50,000 cr. (*escudos*), afterwards reduced to 40,000, which the King of England remitted in bills of exchange upon Venice some time before the battle of Pavia, 30,000 were paid at once. There remained 10,000, of which one half has just been paid, owing to the exertions of the Imperial ambassador in that city, Alonso Sanchez, but there is very little chance of recovering the remaining 5,000. The same may be said about Lucca and Sienne, whose contributions are respectively 5,000 and 10,000 crowns. Neither has the Pope paid the remaining portion of his share, namely, 20,000 crowns, so that money is scanty and our debts are considerable.

Respecting the Imperial troops now quartered on the estates of the Church, His Holiness insists upon their being sent somewhere else, according to promise. The Duke of Bourbon and Marquis of Pescara have entreated him to allow the men-at-arms to remain where they now are for a fortnight or twenty days more, as they have no place to send them to. It is feared that the Pope will not consent to this; and if so, it will be necessary to send them to Piedmont, where the rest of the cavalry and most of the infantry are quartered. But, according to intelligence received from that country, the vassals of the Duke of Savoy have taken up arms to resist the entrance of our soldiers in their walled-in towns and other places of importance. On the 23d of June last, he (Najera) started for Turin, with a view to persuade the Duke [of Savoy] to allow our men to keep their quarters; but, finding on his arrival that he had left that very day for Savoy, he (Najera) went on and overtook him at a place called Novales, at the foot of the Moncennis, where Captain Çucar* was taken prisoner. The Duke referred the matter to the Infanta (Beatrix), his wife, and to his brother, Count of Geneva, who, after much altercation, agreed to pay, within ten days, 15,000 cr. (*escudos*) towards the maintenance of the Imperial army, on condition, however, that, previous to the payment of the said sum, the whole of our infantry should evacuate his territory, and that upon the delivery of 15,000 more the men-at-arms should do the same. This proposition he (Najera) refused to accept, but offered instead to withdraw the whole of the infantry on the payment of 20,000 crowns down and 10,000 more at a short date, and send them to the marquisate of Saluzzo, there to feed on their own account, provided the provisions were sent from the Duke's lands. As to the men-at-arms no agreement could possibly be made, as there was no place to send them to.

Having made the said offer, he (Najera) returned to Milan, to communicate with the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio de Leyva, who decided to go to Pied-

* Sandoval calls him Chuchar and Chucharo; he was an Albanese.

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mont, there to correct and punish some excesses which the soldiers, owing to their total destitution and want of money, are committing at present, and to see to their being quartered in the way least offensive to the inhabitants. They will leave in two or three days, with 20 pieces of artillery, intending to take possession on their way of the marquisate of Saluzzo, and give it up to the Count of Geneva, as well as for the sake of frightening the Duke of Savoy, who, from fear of the enemy, presumes to shut the gates of his own house against his friends, and have the Imperial soldiers slaughtered in their quarters. It must be said, however, that the Duke is very sorry at what has happened, and would willingly suffer any annoyance for the Imperial service, but his vassals are French at heart, and will never tolerate the quartering of our troops amongst them. Only the other day, at Turin, because a Spaniard, on Corpus Christi day, happened to kick a dog in the street, the people rose in arms, killed five or six soldiers of our nation, wounded, dangerously, a great many, and assailed the house where Johan de Leyva* was at the time, having gone thither for the purpose of treating with the Duke [of Savoy] and Count of Geneva about the troops' quarters. And, though the latter have promised to give reparation and punish the guilty parties—for which purpose they have sent 400 arquebusiers (*escopeteros*)—nothing has been done yet; and there is every reason to think that the said force is rather intended for the protection of their own people than for the detection and punishment of the offenders. The Infanta, however, regrets the ill-treatment of our soldiers as much as if the army were her own. She resides generally at Turin; the estates that form her dowry have been respected, and no troops quartered in them, which is but a small reward for her good wishes and the love she professes to His Imperial Majesty.

The Marquis del Gasto (Guasto) is with the men (*con la gente*) in Piedmont. If the Duke of Bourbon, Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio de Leyva have not gone yet on their intended journey [to Saluzzo], it is owing to their wish to conclude first with the Venetians, and try to unravel the intrigues of the Italian Princes, and penetrate into their secret dealings with France, especially since the King's departure for Spain, which has created such a sensation and given rise to such suspicions in Italy that it must be considered as the source and origin of all their present intrigues.

The most Reverend Legate Cardinal Salviatis left Parma on the 2d inst. to embark at Spezzia. He takes with him five galleys, three of the Pope, and two of the religion [of Malta]. He is an honest and worthy man, and has always been favourably disposed towards the Emperor, to whom he is

* There were about this time two officers of the name of Johan or Juan de Leyva; one a nephew of Antonio, the general who so gallantly defended Pavia against the French, the other a natural son of Juan Martinez de Leyva, Antonio's father.

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now sent. A gentleman, belonging to his suite, passed the other day through this city [Milan] on a mission to Madame [Louise], the Regent, to inform her of his voyage to Spain and other things. He is to wait for him at Nice.

The Bishop of Vayus (Bayeux), a shrewd Italian and thorough Frenchman,* was some days ago at Verona, his native city. From thence he went to Rome, and afterwards to Venice, where he was to meet a gentleman of Madame, the Regent of France, with instructions of what he (the Bishop) was to negotiate in her name. As, on his arrival at Venice, the French messenger had not yet come, and the Bishop wished to do something about his commission, he went to the Signory, and proposed to them to intercede and be the means of the French King's liberation. The said messenger arrived some days after and started for Rome.

It is reported that the object of the Duke of Savoy's journey to Spain is to procure for Madame, the Regent, the liberation of the King, her son, and the conclusion of peace. But he (Najera) has reasons to believe that Mons. de Lignan, the son-in-law of his Excellency (Mercurino di Gattinara) the Emperor's Chancellor, has lately brought such a resolution on the part of His Imperial Majesty as is likely to impede his departure, unless the Duke, as he gives it to be understood, goes to Spain for his own private affairs, and to accompany the Emperor on his intended visit to Italy.

Captain Bracamonte arrived on the 3d inst., bringing letters of the 14th of June, to which he (Najera) has no answer to make, save saying that the Emperor's orders shall be faithfully executed, and all attention given to the preservation and maintenance of this Imperial and victorious army. He (Najera) entreats the Emperor to decide as soon as possible on the best course to be pursued not to keep these troops inactive and at such a heavy expense, against the will and the detriment of the poor country people, and prevent the maturing of the wicked plans which the Italian and other Princes seem to have conceived out of envy at the Emperor's aggrandisement. Thanks the Emperor for the grant of a pension of 500 ducats a year on the bishopric of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and for the promise of future favours.

Has heard from Lope de Soria, Imperial ambassador in Genoa, that bills of exchange have been received in that city to the amount of 25,000 ducats, for the fitting out and provisioning of the galleys that are to take Mons. de Bourbon to Spain. As there is very little chance of their being made ready immediately, and as His Imperial Majesty may have since taken another decision in consequence of the departure of the Imperial galleys for Spain, he (Soria) wishes to know

* Called elsewhere Bishop of Tricarico; for such was his see before his promotion to that of Bayeux in France. His name was Ludovico or Luigi, count of Canossa. Many of his letters were collected by Thomasso Porcacchi, and published in the collection intitled: *Lettere di Principi a Principi*, &c.

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what he is to do with the money no longer required for that purpose. The Duke of Bourbon is of opinion that it cannot and must not be applied to any other purpose. The Marquis of Pescara, Antonio de Leyva, and he (Najera) are of a different opinion; they think that the money may be spent for the use of the army; and have accordingly written to the ambassador (Soria), requesting him to do so; but as he (Lope de Soria) might not consider himself at liberty to make such employment of the money in his hands, the Emperor is humbly entreated to sanction the said application of the funds, that the wants and sufferings of this army may be somewhat alleviated.—Milan, 5th of July 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."
Closed and sealed on the 8th.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, etc."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Abbot of Najera. 8th July."

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 11.

5 July. **125.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 9.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness, as it would appear, is not at all satisfied at his not getting possession of Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera, as he anticipated. Is also suspicious and much afraid, because (he says) the King of France has been conducted [to Spain] by the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy]. The Italians, and principally the Milanese, are ill-treated by the soldiery, and much discontented. Has written to Mons. de Bourbon and Antonio de Leyva to take care that no disaster ensues from the excesses of both Germans and Spaniards. —Venice, the 5th of July 1525.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 3 July, No. 4. Answered."

Italian. Holograph in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

5 July. **126.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 10.

(*Cipher:*) Since he wrote yesterday has heard on good authority that Cavaglier Casale, ambassador of the King of England, lately sent to the Pope at Rome, has told His Holiness that His Imperial Majesty's 'aggrandisement ought to be looked into, and that neither the King [of England] nor his ministers saw with pleasure his growing power. That if the whole of Italy would now unite in a league against the Emperor, he (the King) would not fail to

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join them and grant his help and protection. It appears, however, that His Holiness has not yet answered the above overtures in the manner that the English ambassador expected. In his (Caracciolo's) opinion this step shows that the King of England is afraid of the Emperor's coming to a final arrangement with the King of France, to the detriment of all Italy, and without thinking of him.

It might be that Casale had made no such proposals, or if he had, that they were conceived in different terms, and yet the channel through which the intelligence has been received is that of a very prudent and faithful person. However, this may be, one thing is certain, that the King of England, the Pope, the Venetians, and all the rest of the Italian confederated Princes are full of suspicion and doubt concerning His Imperial Majesty's intentions.—Milan, the 5th of July 1525.

Indorsed: "Paragraph of letter from Prothonotary Caracciolo in cipher."

Italian. Contemporary copy deciphered. p. 1.

7 July. **127.** The CARDINAL OF YORK to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 37. f. 98.

Has heard from the King's ambassadors residing at the Imperial court that for some time back certain reports have been made likely to injure his reputation, the authors of them having attributed to him words and expressions that he never uttered, and which, being misinterpreted by his enemies, might lead to the belief that, either from passion or from other motives, he had forsaken those sentiments of respect and affection which he has always entertained towards His Imperial Majesty. The above malicious reports, which, as above-stated, are the work of his enemies, cause him deep affliction and regret, inasmuch as he had reason to expect that his love for the Emperor, and the constant assiduity with which he has forwarded his affairs—displaying the same zeal and attention in them as if they concerned the King, his master alone—would be repaid otherwise than by listening to calumnies about his person. God knows with what care and solicitude he has attended to the Emperor's affairs, as if they were his own, and as if he had been his vassal and councillor, trembling at even the least appearance of danger.

Such being the case, and unable to bear any longer the gratuitous accusations brought against him and his acts, the Cardinal has not hesitated to exculpate himself with the Emperor's ambassadors in as plain, straightforward, though respectful terms, as if he had been in the Imperial presence. For it would seem that, owing to some sinister purpose which he (the Cardinal) cannot discover, or to his thoughts and sentiments having been misunderstood, the Imperial ambassadors and agents in this kingdom have so misrepresented what he said on various occasions as to make him appear hostile and ungrateful. He leaves it to the Emperor's pru-

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dence and judgment to decide whether, in case of his having decided to follow a different course from the one hitherto pursued, he was likely to reveal to such false councillors and unfaithful servants, as the Emperor's ambassadors at this court are, the secrets of his heart and thus disconcert all his plans. The above seems to him a sufficient reputation to those who, by such injurious reports, wish to tarnish his reputation. Begs His Imperial Majesty to believe that as long as he lives he will never fail to foster that amity and good intelligence now existing between the Emperor and the King, his master. Doubts not but that His Imperial Majesty, whose virtues, kindness, and clemency are well known, will take the above reasons into consideration, and trust to his professions; for God, who penetrates the secrets of the human heart, knows well that he loves the Emperor, more indeed than any other Prince in Christendom, the King, his master, excepted, and as much as he loves his own person.—Westminster, 7th of July 1525.

That His Imperial Majesty may judge how much the Cardinal takes the above things to heart, he appends his signature, so well known to him, begging him to excuse if, owing to a fluxion from his eyes, this letter is not entirely written in his own hand.

Signed: "T. Cardinalis Eboracensis."

Addressed: "A la Sacree et Royalle Majeste de l'Empereur."

French. Original. pp. 2.

7 July. **128.** Antonio de Leyva to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. 1. Hist. d. Esp. No. 25.

Has received by Bracamonte the Emperor's letter, dated the 14th of June, from Toledo, which reached Milan on the 3d July. Is glad to hear that His Imperial Majesty regards his poor services; they are not so great as he could have wished, but his intentions are good. Begs His Imperial Majesty to remember the services of those captains who were with him at Pavia, and grant them his favours, for it will act as a stimulant for the future. Has often applied for leave to go home and attend to his own private affairs, and to the payment of his debts, which are considerable; but since the Emperor thinks that he (Leyva) ought not to quit Italy, and that his presence in the camp is necessary, he will remain at his post as long as required.

Has mentioned in some of his preceding letters how destitute the army is of everything since the Viceroy's departure, and the great sums that are owing to the soldiers for arrears of pay. The Marquis of Pescara and he (Leyva) have tried to procure money among their friends, pledging everything they had left, and sending orders to Naples to sell whatever property they possess in that kingdom; but still the sum raised by such means is nothing in comparison of the immediate and pressing wants of this army. As the soldiers have no

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money to pay for food, they commit lamentable excesses, which cannot be avoided, the consequence being that the country people are getting exceedingly hostile to them.

Has likewise informed His Majesty of the change which this sudden departure of the Viceroy for Spain with the King of France has produced in the minds of the [Italian] people. They are afraid that His Imperial Majesty will make such an agreement with the French King as will bring on their ultimate destruction and ruin, that being the reason why they are making all sorts of experiments to form a league for the security and protection of Italy, as they say, and against any future aggrandisement of His Imperial Majesty. All Italy joins in such a project, and not one of its Princes remembers the favours received at the Imperial hands. We shall be on our guard not to allow these people to harm us; but want of money to pay the troops is very much against us. Had we the means of concentrating our forces [in Lombardy], the confederates would never dare to do what they are doing.

The Marquis and the Abbot have both written in cipher what they know about these Italian intrigues; and since the Emperor knows what they are about, let him send money and instructions, and everything shall be made right by striking the first blow, as it would not do to wait patiently for the enemy's attack.

(*Cipher:*) Has a friend in France, named Galeaço Birago, a native of this city (Milan), and a man of great talent (*grande ingenio*), who wishes to become the Emperor's servant. He now forms part of the Privy Council of the King of France; and as he knows a good deal about these recent negotiations and plans of the Italian Princes has secretly sent a secretary (councillor) of his to report what is going on, and promises to do the same in future. The secretary has also conferred with the Marquis of Pescara and with the Abbot of Najera, and revealed to them all the Italian intrigues. It appears that the Pope and the Venetians have asked the French King to help them with 10,000 Switzers and 50,000 ducats for the expenses of the war they meditate against the Emperor; infantry and cavalry they do not ask for, as they consider they have enough in Italy. Galeaço only wishes to be allowed to come back [to Milan]. Has promised him that if he continues to do good service in this way, the Emperor will grant his request and bestow his favours on him. Had we only money to pay the Imperial troops and concentrate them, we should have nothing to fear from these intrigues, and His Imperial Majesty might at once chastise those whom he considers his enemies.

(*Common writing:*) Has lately been trying to obtain from the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) some grant of land or such like reward for Garci Manrique, Sancho Lopez, and others who were with him at Pavia. The Duke has promised, but not done anything yet in their favour. Begs His

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Imperial Majesty to write to the Duke and remind him of his promise, since he has gained so much by their services; he (Leyva) will consider this a great favour.

M. de Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescara left yesterday for Brecil (Verceli) in Piedmont, to attend to the Imperial army quartered in that country. He (Leyva) remains [at Milan] for the purpose of procuring money for the troops, now quartered on the estates of the Church, which the Pope wants us to evacuate immediately.

Sends his own servant, Morales [to the Emperor], upon his own private affairs.*—Milan, 7th of July 1525.

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. Anthonio de Leyva, 7th July 1525."

Spanish. Origina, partly holograph. pp. 5.

7 July. **129.** The Abbot of Najera, Imperial Commissary in Italy, to the Grand Chancellor, Mercurino di Gattinara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 24.

Captain Bracamonte arrived at Milan on the 3d inst., bearing letters for him and others of the 15th of June last. Has heard from his brother, Dr. Diego Marin, that His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to grant him, at the Chancellor's request, a pension of 500 ducats on the bishopric of Ciudad-Rodrigo. Returns his most grateful thanks for such a favour, which he has no doubt is entirely owing to his powerful influence.

Respecting the state of affairs, he (the Abbot) has nothing to add to the contents of his last despatch. Begs that he (the Chancellor) may use all his influence with the Emperor to execute at once his designs on Italy, in order to avoid the enormous expense of keeping so large an army unemployed, and thus relieve the poor people from the misery of having the soldiers quartered upon them. This would remove all temptation for the Venetians and other Italian Princes to treat with France, as they are said to be doing at present. Indeed some of the parties who have received most favours, and who are continually getting new proofs of the Imperial munificence, are precisely those who display the greatest activity in these negotiations against the Emperor's interests.

The constancy of the said people during the last war prevents him (the Abbot) from believing in such rumours and in what Mons. de Liñan (Lignan) told him at Turin on the 25th of June last; yet the matter is so important that he has not hesitated to apprise His Imperial Majesty of this fact, in order that if the information should turn out true, the perpretators of

* This last paragraph and the preceding one are both in Leyva's hand.

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such a misdeed may be punished according their deserts.—Milan, 7th July 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To His Excellency Mercurino di Gatinaria (*sic*) Grand Chancellor, etc. at the Imperial Court."

Indorsed: "To the Grand Chancellor. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera, 7th July."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

7 July. 130. Antonioto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 16.

Wishes that fortune would be favourable to him, for then he would spare no trouble to show his goodwill towards His Imperial Majesty. God does not permit that he should be in a condition to do him service, for his own resources and those of his city are diminishing every day, and man cannot do, for want of means, what his inclination and love of the Imperial service would otherwise prompt him to do. No provision has yet been made for the four caracks and galleys which His Imperial Majesty has ordered to be got ready for his passage, owing to the pestilence which is still raging in the city, as his own ambassador [in Spain] will no doubt inform him.—Genoa, 7 July 1525.

Signed: "Antonioto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the Imperial Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. From the Doge of Genoa. 7th July. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. $1\frac{1}{3}$.

7 July. 131. Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 18.

On the 2d inst. Captain Bracamonte arrived with the Imperial despatches for the Doge and for him (Soria), besides others for the Duke of Sessa [at Rome], for Milan, and Venice. These last he has forwarded to their address by express messengers of his own.

Has placed the Emperor's last letter in the Doge's hands, and conversed with him and the Community respecting the four caracks to be got ready for the Emperor's passage. Their answer was that owing to the pestilence which has begun to show itself, and to the inhabitants having left the city in numbers, they could not reply at once, but would let him know on the fourth day what could be done about it. They accordingly called this very day (7th of July), and informed him (Soria) of their willingness to fit out the four caracks, properly manned, and with their crews paid for

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a period of two months, as on a trading expedition,* provided, however, His Imperial Majesty advanced the money required for the armament, and paid the crews of the said caracks as long as they were in his service. They also engaged to refund the money as soon as the citizens, now absent, returned to town, when they would be able to hold their councils and provide the means. This the ambassador believes they will do very readily, as both the Doge and Community seem much inclined to the Imperial service.

As there are now in the ports of Spain, at Iviça, Lamota,† and Cartagena, five good Genoese caracks, His Imperial Majesty might, if required, lay an embargo on some of them, besides engaging these four for a period of two months. Besides which, as many caracks of this port go periodically to Iviça to load salt, nothing easier than to retain any of them for the Imperial service, pay the crews, and then recover the money from this Republic. By this process no time would be lost, and the Genoese could in the meanwhile provide sufficient means for the payment of the sums thus advanced.

Has written to the Duke of Bourbon, asking his opinion and advice about this and other points, for, since the date of the last Imperial despatch, matters have changed considerably. The galleys are no longer in this port, and the King of France has sailed for Spain. If, therefore, the Duke intends to cross over [to Spain], it will be necessary to lay hold of some of the caracks and vessels now in this port, and fit them out for his crossing. He (Soria) has already retained for that purpose two very good ones, quite new, that were bound for Iviça. Will follow entirely the Duke's instructions and orders on the subject, and has written to him to say that merchant vessels can be procured almost to any amount on this coast; but galleons, properly manned and provided with artillery, there are none. Brigantines and other small vessels may also be had, but if these and the two aforesaid caracks are to be mounted with ordnance, the pieces must come from Lombardy, for there are none here.

Stefano Grimaldo has accepted and will pay when due the bills of exchange for 24,000 ducats drawn by his brother Nicolao.

Has ordered 2,500 hundredweight of biscuit to be made, as it will always be useful for the Imperial fleet; part or the whole of this the Duke [of Bourbon] might take when he sails for Spain.

Captain Sarmiento not having made his appearance in Genoa, he (Soria) has given orders to suspend the fitting-out of the galley he was to command, for, besides that, it is not

* "Como suellen salir por sus mercaderias."

† Lamata in the original; but *La Mota* is a small seaport on the eastern coast of Spain, between Alicante and Carthagena.

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prudent to arm a single galley and send her on without other vessels to keep her company. This Republic, however, has promised to keep the said galley in readiness and place her at His Majesty's disposal when wanted, though without crew or armament of any sort, as their present want of funds will not allow them to make any provision for it.

If the said caracks are to take troops these shall be paid at the time and in the manner specified in the Imperial despatches, though he (Soria) is of opinion that no more forces are required, the Viceroy having already taken with him 2,000 Spanish infantry. Everything, however, shall be done according to the Duke's instructions. He (Soria) has communicated with him, but as yet has had no answer.

With respect to the Genoese galleys now in Spain, he has nothing to add, since they are already in the Imperial service. Will endeavour to obtain from the Doge the supply of powder and ammunition required, and has also written to the Duke [of Bourbon] about the ordnance that is to come from Lombardy to arm the said caracks.

There is a rumour afloat that the Marquis de Pescara left Milan on the 4th inst. to go to Piedmont, owing to the resistance made there by some of the towns and villages to have the troops quartered among them. All that country is in a state of excitement. The inhabitants of Mondevi, among others, have refused to receive the soldiers billeted upon them, and some forces are now marching in that direction with artillery.

The Duke of Savoy [Carlo Emmanuele III.] has crossed the Alps and gone to France, alleging that the Regent [Louise de Savoie] has sent for him to accompany her to Spain, where she is to hold an interview with His Imperial Majesty.

Whilst writing the above the Pope's Legate (Salviatis) has entered this port with his fleet of galleys and those of the Grand Master of Rhodes. Both are going to Spain.—Sestri de Ponente (of the West), 7 July 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

P.S.—8th July. The present is a duplicate of the despatch taken by Secretary Seron.* Encloses copies of letters since received from the Duke of Bourbon and Marquis de Pescara. Will do everything in his power to follow the instructions of both those generals, and retain as much of the money of the last exchange as he possibly can until he hears again from Spain. As His Imperial Majesty might in the meantime decide about the Duke's journey being postponed, the expense attending a sea armament might be spared.†

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope de Soria, 7th of July."

Original. Spanish. pp. 3½.

* Secretary of the Council of Aragon and on a mission to Naples.

† This last paragraph or postscriptum was added to the duplicate of the same letter in A. 35, ff. 20–21.]

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10 July. **132.** The Duke de Bourbon to the Imperial Ambassador, Lope de Soria.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 29.

Yesterday (the 9th), between the 20th and 21st hours, his letter, enclosing despatches from Spain, was received. Begs that as soon as the bills of exchange are accepted and paid, he may proceed to the distribution of the money in the manner pointed out by his steward, Monsieur de Varena (Varennes).

Being summoned by His Imperial Majesty to Spain in all haste upon most important business, he (Soria) must with all possible diligence get ready for him the three large caracks and two more vessels, mentioned in his last, properly fitted out with every necessary for his voyage. Must beg the Doge and Community, in his name, to keep in readiness not only the said five ships, but all the eight which the Emperor has ordered, so that on the arrival of the Spanish galleys—which, according to the last advices, cannot fail to enter the port of Genoa within a very short period of time—he may at once sail for Spain. This is the greatest favour he can receive at the ambassador's hands, whose prudence and zeal are well known to him.

Glad to hear that the plague at Genoa is not so bad as at first reported, and will not impede his negotiations.—Novara, 10 July 1525.

Addressed: "To Don Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter of the Duke of Bourbon to Lope de Soria."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

12 July. **133.** The Same to the Same.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 39 v°.

Has received his letter of the 8th inst., and is glad to hear that M. de Varena (Varennes) is to bring him shortly 3,000 cr. (*scuti*). Begs that the money be sent as soon as possible, that he (the Duke) may at once carry out his intentions.

Respecting the two caracks which he (Soria) says have been retained for his intended voyage to Spain, the Duke thanks him for his activity and zeal, and begs that everything may be kept in readiness for the return of the Spanish fleet, so that he may sail at once.

With regard to the pressing wants of the Imperial army the Marquis de Pescara has written at full length. He needs not refer to his letter, and begs that one half of the last credit, after deducting the sums already spent, be appropriated for the soldiers' pay. This can very easily be done, as the last advices from Spain bear that a sum of 50,000 cr. (*scuti*) is about to be remitted for the wants of the army exclusively. Had the bills arrived there would be no necessity to make use of the former letter of credit, but that not being the case, and the wants of this Imperial army being on the increase, he (the Duke) must request that one half of the money in

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Soria's hands be forthwith sent to the camp. On the arrival of the second and larger credit, he (Soria) may deduct the sums now advanced and apply the remainder of the money in his hands to the armament of the fleet. Such is the Emperor's intention, as he will see by his original letter, which he now encloses, begging for its return to be kept with other papers.

Does not write by this post to M. de Varennes, his steward, because he fancies that on the arrival of his letter he will be already on his road back.—Novara, 12 July 1525.

Addressed: "To Don Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the Duke de Bourbon to Lope de Soria."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

12 July. **134.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Until the departure of Secretary Seron, who left on the 19th June, he (the Duke) has written several times, and at length, on the affairs of Rome and Italy. Since then, on the 2d inst., he has communicated verbally with the Lieutenant of of the Royal Chamber of the Sumaria [at Naples], who is gone to Spain; and, more lately, on the 8th, has written by a courier whom the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) despatched by way of France, though he hears that this last has been stopped and his letters seized.

What he (the Duke) has to advise since that date is that everyone [in Italy] is in expectation, he might almost say anxiety, as to what His Imperial Majesty may decide respecting the King of France, because they fancy, and hold even as certain, that the whole affair will terminate in the Emperor becoming the master of all Italy, and reducing its present rulers to such low condition that they will never be able to raise their heads again.

(*Cipher:*) The foremost in these conjectures and fears are the Venetians, who have not ceased negotiating—as they do at present—with the Pope, and, it is asserted, with the Queen Regent of France also, besides entertaining hopes that England will join them in their plans. The Bishop of Bayoso (Bayeux) and Tricarico has again left this city, on his way to Verona, as he says to visit his family, but in reality to go to Venice, where he met Il Sormano, already well known by this name.* He (the Bishop) is a creature of the French King, who holds him in great esteem owing to his ability and talents. Since the Bishop's departure another agent has come to replace the him, and it is understood that he has there [at Venice]

* "Partido tomó otra via y en un mismo tiempo fue en Venecia con el Sormano, que ya se debe conocer por este nombre."

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character of an ambassador. He enjoys much credit at this court (Rome), and no small favour with the Datary, and it may be that they are at this moment brewing mischief. The Imperial ambassador in Venice (Alonso Sanchez) is of this same opinion ; he thinks that both of them (the Datary and Bishop) are after no good. When the Duke called last on the Pope, he told him frankly that he thought this a very strange way of negotiating, and likely to bring suspicion on those who would not and could not be suspected.

The Pope answered in very fine words, protesting that his only wish had always been to look upon His Imperial Majesty as upon his true son, and to persevere in perpetual union with him, provided, however, he was not altogether cast on one side. That up to this hour he had more to complain of than to praise in the Emperor's behaviour to him, but although he did not deny that most advantageous offers had been made to him, he would listen to none until His Imperial Majesty's decision was made known to him.

The truth of the matter is that since the Viceroy's departure the Pope shows great mistrust and fear. There are many symptoms that in Lombardy the same feeling prevails, such as the sudden departure of the Bishop of Tricarica ;* the longer and more frequent audiences granted by the Pope to the Venetian and English ambassadors ; the discontent which this latter shows in public whenever he has an opportunity, besides his wonderful propensity to admit and propagate any news, however improbable, tending to confirm their (the confederates') suspicions and fears, all of which are to him (Sessa) so many signs of the feeling prevailing just now among the Italian potentates. The Chevalier Casal came here last and is now gone back to England. It is said that Cardinal (Wolsey) wishes very much to be solicited by these people. The Datary negotiates with them all ; and it is publicly said at the Palace that the Duke of Milan is full of apprehension, and has again sent to Venice Chevalier Landriano [to inquire] ; so that it would appear that they are communicating amongst each other as Italians ;† on the other hand the partisans of France add fuel to the flame, thinking they may thereby obtain better terms for the King.

Many things do they say are to be accomplished through these plans, but the principal foundation seems to be the liberty of Italy.

His Holiness dissembles as much as he can with him. Yet the Duke thinks that if His Imperial Majesty only granted his request, the Pope would continue to be his faithful friend and confederate. On the contrary, should he be refused, he will try every possible invention, and trust to fortune for success.

* The Bishop of Bayeux, named in a former despatch.

† "De manera que parece que hablan entre si como Italianos."

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(*Common writing*): Has already informed His Imperial Majesty of the receipt of the confirmation of the league which came by way of M. de Bourbon. Having at the same time received orders to present it to the Pope and have it ratified by him under his leaden seal, he (the Duke) had waited on His Holiness, who at once showed a desire that the ratification should be made by the copy of the treaty, which is here enclosed. But as this step seemed to him [the Duke] most prejudicial to the Emperor's interests, he consulted the Lieutenant of the Sumaria and the Imperial advocate thereupon, when both were of opinion that such ratification could not be accepted, because His Imperial Majesty not having confirmed the other articles, His Holiness could not be obliged to confirm these ones. Having since notified to the Pope that the said form of ratification could not be accepted, he has answered that if that is not to our liking, another may be prepared for his inspection. His (the Duke's) idea is that the Pope wishes to gain time until he hears the Emperor's decision concerning the Duke of Ferrara which is the thing he has most at heart.

(*Cipher:*) The ambassador's impression is that unless the Emperor give the Pope complete satisfaction in such general matters, and especially in his own private affairs, he is sure to join the confederates [in their intrigues], though he is naturally inclined to a lasting union with His Imperial Majesty.

(*Common writing:*) Has received on the 8th inst. by the ordinary post the despatch brought by Capt. Bracamonte [to Italy]. Makes his excuses for not having written before, with protestations of his fidelity. Has not availed himself of any of the couriers whom the Archbishop of Capua has sent, because he did not consider them safe; whenever he has, he has, for greater security, used his own private cipher.

His Imperial Majesty's letter to the Pope was by him (the Duke) delivered into his hands. His Holiness seemed to be pleased with its contents. The whole question seems to be reduced to this. The Pope is determined to have Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera back, and has again told him (the Duke) to write to [Spain] about it. He (the Pope) cannot see what merits the Duke of Ferrara may have in his Majesty's eyes preferable to his own, nor why he is to be more trusted, nor what disturbance he (the Duke) can make in Italy as long as he (the Pope) remains united with His Imperial Majesty.

Such are the Pope's feelings on this matter; and the ambassador cannot help adding that if this article about Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera be included in the treaty, on no other one will His Imperial Majesty find him (the Pope) reluctant, whereas now-a-days the most trivial business, even in ecclesiastic matters, is indefinitely postponed; and it is to be feared that if his demands be ultimately refused, he will do us all the

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harm he can or dissemble until the time comes for gaining his point.

About the salt of Milan His Holiness makes likewise a great stand. One Domenico Sauli, a Genoese, has just arrived here, who says that he has contracted with the Duke (Francesco Sforza) on the same terms as before, so that the negotiation with the Infante must needs be at a standstill.

He [the Duke] had delivered to His Holiness the message about the memoranda which Don Hugo de Moncada took. He showed much satisfaction, saying that he would purchase universal peace at the price of his own blood; that he was sure His Imperial Majesty was in earnest when he made such offers, and that he waited confidently for the fulfilment of his promises, as from a good and affectionate son, always obedient to the Apostolic See. Notwithstanding this language, he (the Duke) thought that the Pope would not be sorry to be the medium of the negotiations above alluded to.

(*Cipher:*) Everyone here talks about this matter openly; some fear and others hope. The English ambassadors make no mystery of it, saying in public that the King of France is gone [to Spain] amply provided with the means to bring his case to a satisfactory issue.

(*Common writing:*) The Archbishop of Capua continues at the head of affairs, transacting all State business, though he now and then has to suffer a rebuke, owing to the reserves made in Spain in this matter of the ratification, as well as to the Viceroy's sudden departure, and to the bad impression which the latter is known to have carried with him of the Pope's late doings.

(*Cipher:*) The Datary conducts as usual the affairs of his office, but meddles also underhand with politics, and receives all those who come here for the aforesaid negotiations. True, he dissembles as much as he can, pretending that he has nothing to do with these matters, but he [the Duke] would swear to the contrary, since there is no affair, great or small, that the Pope does not communicate to him, he being his only pet son. He goes about as a frightened man, conscious of his sin; and it is to be feared that he is now treating with our enemies, knowing, as he does, that he has lost for ever the Emperor's grace, as some of his friends have written to him from Court.

Miçer Agustin Folleta is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, and consequently has been deprived of his usual place [in the Council?]. He has been for several days wanting to see the Pope, but has not yet obtained an audience. He (the Duke) cannot guess what has occurred between them. Micer Agustin most humbly kisses His Imperial Majesty's hands for the pension of 500 ducats granted to him on the bishopric of Mazara.

(*Common writing:*) Letters from England have been received here of the 14th last. The English ambassador has

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told him (the Duke), almost in a tone of condolence, that Commander Peñalosa had made in the Emperor's name most preposterous demands, asking, among other things, that the Princess (Mary) should at once be delivered into his hands, and that they (the English) should contribute with 400,000 ducats towards the expenses of the war in those parts, besides 200,000 more for Italy.* They had answered him (Peñalosa) that they would wait until their ambassadors in Spain had sent the Emperor's answer to their representations. The Duke replied to the ambassador that the demand respecting the Princess [Mary] seemed to him a just one; she had been promised in marriage to the Emperor; the Spanish Estates General (*Cortes*) were continually urging him to contract matrimony, in order to get a succession, and he could not help giving them satisfaction on this head. That as regards the money, he (the Duke) did not think the sum excessive; on the contrary, a very moderate one, considering that the King of England claimed also the crown of France. In his (the Duke's) opinion it was the King's answer that was most strange and preposterous, not the demands made by His Imperial Majesty. He (the Duke) sees nothing in those people (the English) worthy of praise, neither in their doings in the last war, nor in any part taken by them in the victory [of Pavia]; and, as to money, they have only contributed a small sum out of the 50,000 ducats which they promised, and even those they gave on the most niggardly and humiliating terms.

(*Cipher :*) The negotiation with Venice has not advanced, in the least. They have agreed to offer 80,000 ducats, but though the sum is much lower than might have been expected, various pretences are put forward for not paying the money, and in the meanwhile the afore-mentioned intrigues are going on.

(*Common writing :*) Church provisions, and presentation to various bishoprics. Cardinal Colonna has resigned the archbishopric of Rosano in favour of a servant of his, named Penpinelo. He has also obtained that of Aquila in exchange for the bishopric of Sienna.

The Marquis of Pescara has written to him (the Duke) concerning the wants of the army under his command, and requesting that the Viceroy of Naples should provide for the pay of the men-at-arms. He [the Duke] has done what he could in the matter, and written to the Viceroy about it; he has, moreover, advised the Marquis to ask the people of Sienna to pay him the 15,000 ducats which they offered to

* "Y este embaxador me ha dicho casi doliendose que el Comendador Peñalosa fue [a Inglaterra] con demandas de V. Mag. muy estrañas; que demandaba que le entregassen luego la Princessa y que contribuyesen con 400,000 ducados para hazer la guerra por esas partes y con 200,000 para la destas."

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Secretary Seron. For this end he (the Duke) has sent to Sienna Knight Commander Aguilera.

The bill of exchange which His Imperial Majesty announced as having been sent to the Viceroy of Naples, that he might pay the sums borrowed by him (the Duke), has not yet arrived. Waits anxiously for a settlement of his creditors, without which he and the Spaniards who became securities for the borrowed sum must need constitute themselves prisoners.

About ecclesiastical provisions, he (the Duke) will do all he can, though there never has been in this court so bad a prospect as there is now. Ever since the departure of Cardinal Sanctiquatro (Sanctiquatuor), who, not very pleased and under the plea of ill-health, has left for Florence the Pope has entrusted his office to Juan Vincle, a German, who, except in cases of extreme justice, or when a bribe is offered, transacts no business at all. In cases of grace his answer is generally that when His Imperial Majesty favours the Pope then it will be time for reciprocity. He (the Duke) thinks that the brief applied for by the Bishop of Siguença (D. Fadrique de Portugal) will be issued, but that they will refuse to confirm that of the Archbishop of Saragossa, the Pope having often told him (the Duke) that it had been the cause of all the troubles and rebellions in those kingdoms. Respecting the affair of Juan Baptiste de Diviciis, he (the Duke) has spoken to him (the Pope) in the terms prescribed by His Imperial Majesty, though without success. He will on the first opportunity repeat his application, as well as bring before His Holiness the case of Montaragon, Santa Christina, and other abbeys, about which, however, he (the Duke) sees no chance of a speedy and favourable decision.

Some days ago there came here a canon of the church of Avila, called Maldonado, with a letter from His Imperial Majesty to the Pope, and a petition asking for the revenues of the Cruzada. He (the Duke), before delivering the letter, sounded the Pope upon it. He answered in very fine words, but promised nothing. Conversing some days later with the Archbishop of Capua on the subject, he said: "How can His Imperial Majesty expect that the Pope will grant him grace, when he refuses him what is but just and reasonable? Let the Emperor give His Holiness satisfaction, and nothing shall be refused to him."

In short, having since had occasion again to speak to His Holiness on the subject, he expressed himself in very plain terms, saying that it was well known at Rome of what importance the grant of the Cruzada was, as now demanded by His Imperial Majesty, since it was the surest and quickest mode of procuring money in those kingdoms (of Spain), the revenues of that institution exceeding annually the sum of 500,000 ducats. It was no inconsiderable thing to make such a grant without previously consulting the Cardinals, who, seeing that

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His Imperial Majesty was so backward in conceding what so nearly touched his own honour and that of the Church, would necessarily hesitate in making so splendid a grant.

Respecting the Cardinal's hats to be given to the Chancellor and to the Bishop of Moriana, there is no need to say anything; it is a settled matter.

The affairs of Sienna continue in the same state. They (the citizens) attempted some time ago to pass sentence of exile (*confinar*) on all the absentees, who are upwards of eighty in number, and the wealthiest in the place, going so far as to confiscate and sell the estates of some of them under the plea that they were usurped from the people; and though he (the Duke) wrote to them not to interfere in such matters until His Imperial Majesty's pleasure should be known, they took no notice of his warnings, and went on with their arbitrary proceedings. But on the arrival of Commander Aguilera, whom he (the Duke) sent thither, as before stated, for the sake of the proffered money, they promised to refrain from certain acts, though without specifying which. He (the Duke) is of opinion that they ought to be summoned in due form, because if they are allowed freely to indulge in their passions, which they call liberty, no means is left to His Imperial Majesty to bridle them, and turn them to use in case of emergency. They have lately given to a brother of Cardinal Colonna the command of their cavalry, with an annual sum equivalent to that appointed for the maintenance of 100 men-at-arms of His Imperial Majesty. It is understood that they are about to send Severino as their ambassador [to Spain]. His Majesty ought to hear both parties. He (the Duke) has not been able to go thither, as he intended, for reasons which have been fully explained in his previous letters.

In Germany the Diet is being held. No intelligence has yet been received of what they have proposed, nor of the answer made by the Infante (Archduke), with the exception of a few articles about which the Archbishop of Capua has been advised. The 20,000 ducats which the Pope is to give are at very long dates. The peasants, it is stated, are every day losing ground, and many are slain in daily encounters.

His Imperial Majesty's arrival in Italy is generally credited, especially after the orders that have been given to the fleet of Genoa to get ready for sea-service. Most people wish for it, and are already dreaming of new dominions and changes of estates, but those now in possession are full of fear and confusion. His Holiness the Pope affects not to believe in the Emperor's visit, but to wish for it, saying that if it takes place it will be for the benefit of Christianity, as expected from so great a Prince. He hopes, however, that before undertaking the journey, His Majesty will inform him of it, and that the

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affairs of Italy will be in better plight than they are at present. —Rome, 12 July 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Postscriptum.—After writing the above, he (the Duke) has seen the Pope again upon the Montaragon business. The first thing he did was to show him the copy of a Royal ordinance which His Imperial Majesty has ordered to be promulgated in his kingdoms of Aragon for the protection of his *jus patronati*, adding: "After such a step as this taken by the Emperor, there remains nothing for me to do. If Church business is to be treated in this manner, I had better retire at once to Mount Soracte." It was of no avail telling him that no harm whatever was to be apprehended from the measure; he (the Pope) would not listen to him, and ended by saying that at first he was inclined to please His Imperial Majesty by committing the whole affair to the Legate, as requested; but seeing the present proceeding he could not help showing his grief at the manner he had been treated, and demand satisfaction from His Imperial Majesty. He (the Duke) placed before him the danger of not acquiescing at once in the Imperial wishes, and the evils that might result from the Holy See refusing to sanction similar ordinances; that greater evils might now be apprehended, and that it was very hard to deny to His Imperial Majesty that which was commonly granted to a private individual; that ecclesiastic causes were every day taken out of the Rotta and put into the hands of Cardinals, etc. To this the Pope replied that he was determined to act thus for the present, and that it would take some time before his resolution was changed. He (the Duke) has thought fit to inform His Imperial Majesty of what is going on, and that this affair is to be committed to the Pope's Nuncio at that Imperial court, in order that he may personally resent [the offence].

(*Cipher:*) Chevalier Casale has departed. He sent one of his men to make his excuses for not taking leave of him (the Duke), for whom he says he professes great friendship. He goes post-haste. As before stated, his departure at the present time has been so sudden, and is so much without motive, that it gives rise to much suspicion. Should he (the Duke) gain any intelligence as to the intentions and plans of the ambassador, he shall not fail to advise His Imperial Majesty.

Enclosed is the news received from Germany.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Duke of Sessa, 12 July."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 11.

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12 July. **135.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, pp. 35–37.

After writing the enclosed he (the Duke) has heard from a reliable source * that the Pope has sent orders to the Marquis of Mantua to increase his men-at-arms and light cavalry, and to raise besides 2,000 infantry. Similar orders have been sent by him (the Pope) to Count Guido Rangone, and to Joanin (Giovannino) de Medicis. Is not sure that this intelligence is true, but seeing the Chevalier Casale go away in haste at the present moment, and without any apparent motive, as he (Sessa) has already informed His Imperial Majesty, and hearing that the Venetians are also making great preparations, fears that his information is quite correct. As the rest [of the confederates] have money at hand, and His Holiness is pretty sure of prevailing on the Florentines to follow his opinion, and surmounting other minor obstacles in his way, he (Sessa) is very much afraid that His Imperial Majesty's affairs [in Italy] may suddenly be thrown into confusion. He is the more inclined to believe this that he sees the Pope practise dissimulation with him at times on the most trivial applications on Church affairs, openly showing his discontent and ill-humour on other occasions, or when he feels that he is observed, appearing more temperate and calm. Holds it as certain that the Archbishop of Capua is not aware of these secret negotiations going on between the confederates. As soon as he (Sessa) got a knowledge of them, he wrote to the Marquis of Pescara. He now informs His Imperial Majesty of the whole affair, though at the same time the matter is of such importance that he dares not vouch for the truth of the above report. Will try to obtain more positive information. As far as he can judge, it is through the Datary that the whole intrigue is conducted. His Imperial Majesty may be certain that there are negotiations on foot between these people, of paramount importance and very prejudicial to the Imperial service. They are mostly caused by despair. Is very much afraid that the farce will begin with the Sienna question.† Will do his best to procure positive information of the whole intrigue, and, when obtained, will not fail to apprise His Imperial Majesty of it by one or more express couriers if necessary. In the meantime, the whole thing must be kept secret, for it would not be prudent just now to let these people know that we suspect them. We must, on the contrary, treat them as if they were our most staunch friends.—Rome, 12 July 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Duke of Sessa, 12 July 1525."

Spanish. In Cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

* "Me han avisado de un lugar do me suelen decir *Turquia* (Turkey). This seems to be a mistake of the deciphering clerk, who, instead of *bue*, which means *verdad* (truth), read *buc*, i.e., Turquia."

† "De temor no comience la burla por lo de Sena."

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12 July. **136.** PEDRO JURDAN DE URRIES to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 41.

Most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty.—I, the undersigned, came to this city in company with M. de la Roche, for the purpose of pleading suit for the abbacy of Montaragon, which your Majesty was pleased to confer on me after the death of its late possessor, the Archbishop of Saragossa.* I have from time to time written home in order that your Majesty should be rightly informed of the state of affairs in this city; but as I am not sure that my letters have reached their destination, I send the present, humbly requesting your Majesty to appoint as an ambassador at this Papal court, one who may not be wishing to be created a cardinal and to hold benefices in the Church, and who may also prevent the Datary from interfering as he does in your Majesty's affairs and the provision of ecclesiastical benefices within the Imperial dominions. I humbly beseech your Imperial Majesty to come over as soon as possible here to obtain the empire of the whole world. It is no interest of my own that prompts me to speak out in this manner, but only the love of the Imperial service and of the increase of our Holy Faith, the importance and revenues of the abbacy of Montaragon not being sufficient to make me write things against the Imperial service. I am, and shall always be, a faithful servant of your Imperial Majesty, ready to execute your commands at any time, and if I wish for preferment and worldly weal, it is only for the better service of your Imperial Majesty.

And since the Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy] must by this time be in Spain, I firmly believe that, with his opinion and advice, your Imperial Majesty will soon make the necessary provision, and that by visiting these countries will have occasion to appreciate his true and loyal servants. —Rome, 12 July 1525.

Signed: "Pedro Jurdan de Vrries."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Pedro Jurdan de Vrries, 12 July 1525. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

12 July. **137.** PARAGRAPH of LETTER from PROTONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR. (*In cipher.*)

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, fol. 75.

By letters dated from Antwerp of the 19th [ult.], intelligence had been received here that the ambassadors of France were about to sail for England, accompanied by Joachino. It is also reported that another ambassador has come from England [to France?] with proposals showing that the King is not at all satisfied either with His Imperial Majesty's growing power

* Don Alonso de Aragon, natural son of King Ferdinand.

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or with Rome.* It is, moreover, understood that the English ambassadors talk openly enough against the Emperor and his ministers, and against his recent increase of power, to arrest which they offer their co-operation and help. Gregory de Casale has left Rome, and is now returning to England. He is to take the route through France. In Italy, however, there is no stir of arms for the present. He (Caracciolo) calculates that the Princes are waiting to see what decision the Emperor will take respecting their affairs, after hearing the advice of the Viceroy of Naples. All are in a state of suspense.

Italian. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

13 July. **138.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Marquis of Pescara.†

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 452.

After writing the enclosed, Jaime Perez de Nueros arrived in this town (Genoa), bringing letters from him (Pescara) and from the Duke of Bourbon, besides a copy of what the Emperor writes to the latter respecting the use to be made of the money in his (Soria's) hands. No one is a better servant of the Marquis, but on the present occasion cannot comply with his wishes. The mandates of kings must be strictly obeyed, especially in State matters and with respect to money, which, when once spent, cannot be easily replaced. The Emperor's orders are that he (Soria) is to attend principally to the fitting-out of the fleet of galleys that is to take the Duke [of Bourbon] to Spain. This appears also to have been the Duke's wish. He now writes to say that, independently of the sums required for the above service, he (Soria) is to remit 12,000 ducats for the use of the Imperial army in the duchy [of Milan]. Cannot possibly attend to both demands. Sees by the copy of the Emperor's letter to Mons. de Bourbon that if the wants of the army are such as he represents, a portion of the money destined to the fleet may with his consent be applied to that purpose. Finds himself in a most awkward position, because, wishing to content both parties, does not know how to manage if he is to conciliate the Emperor's service with his own reputation. Is now writing to the Duke [of Bourbon] that if he thinks that the naval preparations for his intended voyage [to Spain] had better be suspended, and what has been already spent in that service thrown away, he had better tell him so at once, and depute a person properly empowered to receive the money. In this manner only can he (Soria) please the Marquis. Is aware how difficult it is to manage soldiers when there is no money to give them.

* "Che propone partiti demostrativi de poca contenteza de la grandeza de V. Mag. et de Roma."

† This letter, without either date or signature, but which must have been written about the 13th July, before Bourbon's voyage to Spain, is placed in the volume A. 37 of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, among letters of papers of the year 1526.

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The Marquis, however, must bear in mind that this last remittance amounts only to 21,900 ducats, or rather less, for although the original bill was 24,800, the ducats are three *libras* or eight *sueldos* less than the crown (*escudo*) of this country, so that they will be reduced to 20,100. Out of these 3,000 have been remitted to the Duke; 3,000 spent in flour to make biscuit for the caracks that are to take the Duke's horses and heavy luggage, and in other minor expenses.

Should the Duke be absent, he (Soria) begs the Marquis to read his letter to the former. In a like manner has begged the Duke to open and read his letter to the Marquis, so that each of them may duly appreciate his excuses.

The brigantine that is to take a messenger [to Spain] is ready to set sail.—Genoa, [13 July 1525].

Indorsed: "Copy of what the ambassador, Lope de Soria, writes to the Marquis of Pescara."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. $2\frac{1}{4}$.

13 July. **139.** Commander Aguilera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 42.

Has come to Siena by the command of the Duke of Sessa for three different objects, more or less important to the Imperial service. 1stly. To demand from the Signory 15,000 ducats for the maintenance of the army now in Lombardy. 2dly. To inquire into the form of government established in this city, and see whether it is fit for God's service and the exoneration of the Imperial conscience. 3dly. To put a stop to the hostilities and feuds now existing between the citizens, and see that no damage is done either to property or person until His Imperial Majesty provides for the whole and decides on the form of government to be adopted, so that God's service and the Emperor's may be accomplished.

Since his arrival in this city Commander Aguilera has carefully attended to the above business, according to the instructions received from the Duke of Sessa; but as the Signory has since appointed ambassadors, who are to go to the Imperial court and report on the above and other matters —one of them being Hieronimo Severino, who is rightly held as the man best disposed to the Imperial cause—the object of the present letter is merely to state what he (the Commander) has done in fulfilment of his commission.

Respecting the service in money, the citizens are so poor at present, and so much in debt, that they are incapable of raising among them the 15,000 ducats demanded. The members of the Government, however, who seem all well disposed, and show a strong inclination towards the Imperial cause, have assured him (Commander Aguilera) that if His Majesty will only confirm the privileges granted to the city by his predecessors, they will be able to raise among the citizens the above 15,000 ducats, or any sum that may be

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required, as a contribution towards the maintenance of the Imperial army.

With regard to the form of government, he can only say that it is both orderly and just, and that no better one could be devised for the service of God and of His Imperial Majesty. Justice is administered to all classes of society, much better than it ever was of old, and nobody seems to complain. The citizens in general are so much attached to the Imperial cause that, in his opinion, the Emperor may command them as he would the inhabitants of Valladolid or of any other town in Spain. Indeed, San Severino, who is, without dispute, the most influential and active amongst them, is, heart and soul, an Imperialist, and hardly anything is done without his advice and consent, for which reason he is well deserving of the Imperial favours.

As to the suspension of all measures against the outlaws (*foraxidos*) which he (the Commander) has been instructed to procure, he can only say that at his request the Governors of Sienna have consented to stay all manner of criminal proceedings against them until the Emperor's pleasure be made known to them. These *foraxidos*, or outlaws, are the same who, following the banners of the Duke of Albany, took service in behalf of the French King, and supplied money and artillery; seven or eight of the principal citizens, who promoted the riot in which Alessandro Vique (Bichi) lost his life. It is said that their intention was on that occasion to have Severino assassinated, because of his being so much attached to the Imperial cause and their being afraid of things coming to the state in which they are now.—Siena, 13 July 1525.

Signed: "El Comenddor Aguilera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Commander Aguilera, 13th July. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. 1¼.

14 July. **140.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 46–9.

(*Cipher:*) Hearing that a courier was being despatched from Naples, he (the Duke) determined to send by him a duplicate of his letter of the 12th, and, if possible, to communicate such news as he had been able to gather since he wrote last.

As he (the Duke) could not ascertain the truth of the report mentioned in his last letter concerning the military preparations made by the Marquis of Mantua and other captains, and as some days must have elapsed before he could obtain the desired information, he determined at once to call on His Holiness and ask him about it, which he did, mentioning to him [the Pope] the rumours that were afloat, and expressing

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his astonishment. The Pope at once swore that it was a joke (*burla*), and that his intention was the same already manifested on another occasion; he would not change even if His Imperial Majesty entirely excluded him from the league, and treated him as a stranger. He (the Duke) answered as he best could, but, notwithstanding all the Pope's protests, he can certify His Imperial Majesty that the day before the departure (for England) of Chevalier Casal, Gismond, the King of France's secretary, left also post-haste (for Paris) to Madame the Regent, taking with him a memorandum of the plot that is being concerted here. His Imperial Majesty may be certain that His Holiness will hesitate and waver until he sees clearly what advantages he may derive from one or other party, and will then act accordingly. He (the Duke) persists in his first idea, that the Pope will always prefer moderate terms from His Imperial Majesty to very good ones from his (the Emperor's) enemies; should he be repulsed in Spain, and find here some stone whereupon to rest his foot, there can scarcely be any doubt that he will make use of it. For this indecision everyone here seems to blame him.

All has originated in the discontent shown in England. It is they (the English) who are now disturbing in their slumber those who ought to be reposing in their tombs. The Venetians, on the other hand, are doing all they can to foster the negotiations; their ambassador (Marco Foscari) here is never at rest; but it is to be hoped that his activity will meet with the same reward as before. Among the discontented is the Duke of Milan, whom they have succeeded in attaching to their cause by making him fear a change in the dominions of Italy. Neither have they forgotten the Duke of Ferrara, instilling into his mind similar fears of dispossession, &c.

(*Common writing:*) Respecting ecclesiastical provisions, he (the Duke) has advanced nothing of late. Finds great difficulties in his way, specially in what concerns the Abbey of Saint Envil and the Priory of Sancta Christina.—Rome, 14 July 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

P.S.—The departure of the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele) for His Imperial Majesty's court has been confirmed here; likewise that the Duke of Bourbon has been sent for. All this is a proof that the agreement with the King of France is not so much advanced as some affect to believe; and it need not be observed that the generality of the people here are very glad to hear it.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "Duplicate of the 14th July. To the King. 1525. From the Duke of Sessa."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

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14 July. **141.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 36.

His last letters were of the 7th and 8th inst. The former went by Secretary Seron, the latter by a brigantine from Barcelona that brought the despatch of the 21st June last for the Duke of Bourbon.

On the receipt of the Imperial letter, in date of the 20th of June, and of the enclosed from the Duke of Bourbon, he (Lope de Soria) called upon the Doge and concerted with him the immediate fitting-out of the five caracks now in port. Hopes they will be ready and fully victualled against the arrival of the galleys, and that the Duke will be able to undertake his voyage [to Spain] whenever he wishes.

Encloses copies of letters received yesterday from the Duke [of Bourbon] and from the Marquis of Pescara, urgently asking for one half of the 24,800 ducats which His Imperial Majesty has lately remitted for the expenses of the fleet; and certainly he (Soria) has been thrown in great confusion and doubt by the said demand, because if, on the one hand, the wants of the Imperial army are very great, he has strict orders to apply the funds in his possession exclusively to the fitting-out of the fleet that is to convey the Duke to Spain. Has already sent 3,000 ducats to Mons. de Bourbon for his own private expenses, but, much as he would wish to comply with the Marquis' urgent request, he cannot, without further orders from Court, make up his mind to apply any funds to the wants of the army.

Cardinal Salviatis, who goes as the Pope's Legate to His Imperial Majesty, and the Grand Master of Rhodes touched at this port on the 8th inst.

Andrea del Borgo is at three days journey from hence, on his road to Genoa, where he is to embark for Spain, on a mission from the Archduke (Ferdinand). The Lieutenant of the Sumaria of Naples also left Rome on the 8th, on a visit to His Imperial Majesty.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Lope de Soria. Genoa, 14 July. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

16 July. **142.** The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Wrote on the 8th inst., informing His Imperial Majesty of the scarcity of funds for the maintenance of this army, and likewise of the negotiations which Venetians and other Italian powers were conducting in France. Gave also other advices, as His Imperial Majesty must have seen by his letters.

What he has now to say is that, according to a letter of the 6th inst. which Jacopo Bannisis writes to the Duke of Milan

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and to Hieronimo Morone, Gregorio de Casal (Sir Gregory Casalis), agent to the King of England, had actually persuaded His Holiness, the Pope, to enter with the other Italian powers into a defensive and offensive league against His Imperial Majesty, with a view to diminish, as they say, the strength or check the growth of the Empire. It is said that, after many conferences held for that purpose, the Pope has consented to the said Gregory Casal returning immediately to England, that he may concoct there some sort of dilatory negotiation, and wait to see what His Imperial Majesty is likely to do after the arrival of the French King in Spain, and also whether the King of England intends to persevere in this new line of politics, devised, as is asserted, by the said Gregory Casale, who has not yet left Rome. Believes that when he does set out on his journey, he will come by way of Milan. Both the Duke and Hieronimo Morone have promised to do all they can to ascertain what the said Casale is going to England for, and, if they do, they will not fail to inform the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio de Leyva. He (the Abbot) will lose no time in acquainting His Imperial Majesty with anything that may come to his knowledge.

The Bishop of Vayus (Bayeux), they say, is trying to draw the Venetians into the league, but hitherto without success. They (the Venetians) have not yet declared their intentions on this particular, nor is it generally believed that the Signory or the rest of Italian potentates will enter into a league or in any way declare themselves against His Imperial Majesty, unless the state of suspense in which they all are is indefinitely protracted, or unless they discover that His Imperial Majesty is likely to come to an agreement with the King of France to their detriment, for in that case they are almost sure to join the Italian league. Only on this last supposition, or under the impression of fear, can it be anticipated that people who owe so much to the Emperor can be drawn into a confederacy against him.

On the 12th inst. the Marquis del Guasto took possession of Saluzzo, where the Marchioness was with her son. 1,500 Germans are already quartered on her estate. The Marchioness has lately sent a message to the Duke of Bourbon and to the Marquis de Pescara, asking for leave to occupy the castle of Rebello in the neighbourhood of Saluzzo, and to remain there a month in expectation of the Emperor's final decision. If at the expiration of the said period, the marquisate should be given to another, she will surrender the castle. Presumes that this capitulation will be accepted by the Duke [of Bourbon], provided the Marchioness delivers all her estates and castles.

The Count of Geneva is expected to-day in Milan to settle about the quartering of the troops in the estates of his brother, the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele). The in-

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habitants of walled towns offer some resistance against receiving our soldiers. They will in the end be compelled to do it, or make some sort of compensation in money that the men may be enabled to go elsewhere; otherwise there is no possibility of maintaining this army.

Lope de Soria has always refused, and still refuses, to give up for the wants of this army the 25,000 ducats which His Imperial Majesty ordered to be remitted to him for the expenses of the fleet, unless the Duke of Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescara ask him for them and send a person duly empowered to receive the money. The Duke was willing that only one half of the above sum should be used for the wants of this army, and wrote accordingly to Soria; but when the latter applied for the money, Estevan (Stefano) de Grimaldo showed letters from his brothers (in Spain) bidding him not to pay the bills until further advice. Estevan (Stefano), however, had already accepted the bills, and could not help honouring them; he has already paid about one third of the amount, or 7,000 cr. (*escudos*), out of which 3,000 were handed over to the Duke of Bourbon's agent; the remainder the ambassador kept to buy biscuit and other provisions for the fleet.

News have come from Naples that the bills for 15,000 ducats drawn from this city (Milan) have been accepted; that they had sent 15,000 more in bills by a captain named Sancho Lopez, and will shortly remit 10,000 more. Of the 10,000 ducats of Sienna, 5,000 of Lucca, and 5,000 more of England which remain to be paid at Venice, there is no means of getting a quatrino.—Novara, 16 July 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera, 16th July."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

17 July. **143.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 75.

(*Cipher:*) Has heard by letters dated from Antwerp, the 19th June, that ambassadors from France, and, among them, Joachino (Passano), were crossing over to England. That another ambassador had come from England [to Lyons], proposing terms and conditions not very advantageous to His Imperial Majesty. At Rome it is a known fact that the English ambassadors speak their mind freely respecting His Imperial Majesty and his ministers, showing discontent at his (the Emperor's) aggrandisement, and promising that the King, their master, will readily co-operate in any plan tending to diminish the said growth of power. Gregorio Casale is coming back from Rome on his way to England; and he

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(Caracciolo) has been told that his intention is to pass through France. In Italy, however, there is at present no stir of arms, and his opinion is that all are waiting to hear the Emperor's decision.*—Milan, 17 July 1525.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 17 July."

Italian. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

20 July. **144.** The Emperor to the Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 56, f. 225.

Has received his letters of the 18th, 23d, and 24th of May.

The Viceroy of Naples has come with the King of France to Spain. The King is already at Valencia. He (the Emperor) wishes to conclude a general peace, and thinks the King of France is equally inclined. Madame Dalanchon (d'Alençon), the King's sister, and Monsieur de Bourbon are likewise on their way to Spain, the former to negotiate about the peace, and contribute by her presence to the settlement of all differences between the King, her brother, and him. The King of England, on the other hand, is also desirous of peace, and has sent powers and instructions to that effect to his ambassadors in Spain. He (Sessa) is to request the Pope, in the Emperor's name, to send his Nuncio [in Spain] full powers to conclude peace.

Affairs of France.

The King of England, as his ambassadors represent, has no other intention save to conclude an honourable peace. It is quite false, as reported at Rome, that he advises a general attack on France. Hopes to God everything will end well.

Sienna.

Encloses an answer to the College of Cardinals concerning their application for a pension of 10,000 ducats on the see of Toledo. He (Sessa) is to deliver it in person.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

21 July. **145.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

S. E. L. 1554, f. 457.

Has declared to the Papal Nuncio, Count [Baldassar] Castiglione, and written to his ambassador, the Duke of Sessa, what his intentions are concerning a general peace. He (the Emperor) really wishes to pacify Christendom and quiet Italy, as may be shown by the treaty he has just renewed with the Venetians, and by the fact that he is trying to settle

* Though bearing a different date this letter seems to be a repetition of the one at page 226, dated 5 July.

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affairs in a conference to be held in Spain with the French, English and other plenipotentiaries convoked for that express purpose. Begs him not to withhold his sanction from these conferences, and hopes the time will soon come when a general war against the Turk may be undertaken.—Toledo, 21 July 1525.

Addressed: "Summo Pontifici, etc."

Latin. Original draft, written by Alfonso Valdes, and corrected by the Grand Chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara. p. 1.

21 July. **146.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 89–91.

Most Sacred Imperial Majesty.—On the 16th inst. I informed Your Imperial Majesty of the good offices (*buenos oficios*) that Gregory Casal, agent of the King of England, was rendering at Rome, trying to persuade His Holiness the Pope and the rest of the Italian potentates to enter with his King into a league against Your Majesty. What I have now to advise is that the said Gregory Casal arrived here, at Milan, on that very day, the 16th, and, after spending four days in almost complete seclusion, went away on the 20th, without having communicated with any of the generals of this army or servants of Your Imperial Majesty. We do not yet know whether his (Casale's) journey to England is to be through France or through Germany, but it is an understood thing that his object is to cement a union between his King and that of France and the Italian potentates, who, all without exception, are very solicitous in forwarding the liberty of Italy, as they call it, to Your Majesty's detriment. This is a fact that cannot be doubted, and for this purpose a secretary of Alberto Carpi, named Sigismundino, has lately gone to France, and was to arrive at Lyons on the 20th or 21st inst., and, after despatching his commission, return home in great haste. The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), general of the Venetian forces, has lately been spending a few days in Venice, and after holding several conferences with them has come to Brescia, where he has collected much artillery and placed it in the castle.

(*Cipher:*) In view of these preparations, the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio de Leyva resolved to come back from Novara to Milan, in order better to watch the progress of the intrigue. It is their opinion that Your Imperial Majesty ought as soon as possible to enter into some sort of agreement with the King of France or with the King of England and the Italian potentates, and, that being done, to inform them of Your Majesty's wishes that they may keep this army ready in order, and in the most suitable positions, before the enemies become aware of Your Imperial Majesty's intentions.

(*Common writing:*) It is also most needful that Your Majesty should have this army provided with money, because

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otherwise it will be impossible, as the Marquis more particularly writes in his last despatch, to keep it together.

The Duke of Milan has been, and is still, suffering from a tertian fever, caught through playing at ball with excess, and longer than is required for bodily exercise. He is now a little better. God be thanked for it!

On the 18th inst. a brigantine came from Barcelona with a courier said to be going to Rome in haste. Lope de Soria, Your Majesty's ambassador in Genoa, writes to say he has letters from Bartholomew Ferrer, at Barcelona, of the 11th inst., advising the arrival there of the King of France, who had afterwards left for a place called Venisalo. He [Lope de Soria] has had other private letters from Barcelona, telling him how the marriage of Your Majesty with the Princess of Portugal was considered certain, and a report is here current that the King of England will give his daughter in marriage to the King of Scotland.

Captain Sancho Lopez arrived here from Naples on the 17th, with advices that a servant of the Marquis of Pescara who had been sent thither to raise money on his estates and pay the 15,000 escudos borrowed at Milan for the wants of this army, had been successful in his negotiation, and had accepted the bills conjointly with the Council of Naples. The same Captain Sancho Lopez has brought bills of exchange for 13,000 escudos more, equivalent to 15,000 ducats of the kingdom (of Naples), besides the promise of 10,000 more that were to follow as soon as possible. We are now trying to have these discounted here, giving as security the Duke of Bourbon's jewels and certain promissory notes of the Marquis of Pescara and of Antonio de Leyva. The Marquis has again written to Naples, ordering everything he possesses there to be sold for the maintenance of this army, and it would seem to me that Your Imperial Majesty cannot fail to take into account this and other sacrifices of the Marquis, especially at times so perilous as the present.—Milan, 21 July 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4½.

21 July. **147.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 81–85.

The Bishop of Lodi* sent some time ago a friar to him (Sanchez), saying he wished to be the Emperor's servant and hold a conference with the Imperial ambassador. Went secretly to see him at a monastery where he was staying.

* One of the Sforza family, and a relative of the Duke Francesco. His name was Ottaviano Sforza, son of Galeazza Sforza. It was he who first revealed to the Imperial ambassadors the plans of Morone.

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The Bishop repeated to him his offer to serve the Imperial cause and forsake that of the King of France. Having asked him what he knew about France and the French, the Bishop answered that the Pope was at the bottom of all these intrigues. It was he (the Pope) who had caused the mother of the King of France and Monsieur de Lautrec* to send the Bishop of Bayeux as ambassador to Venice, that he might induce the Republic, by great promises, not to conclude an alliance with him (the Emperor). The French, added the Bishop, do not care much about the liberation of their King, as, whether a peace be concluded or not, they are sure to invade Italy soon. They (the French) are now negotiating with the King of England, and have no doubt that he will favour them. The Bishop returns to Ferrara to-morrow, and has taken with him a cipher, by means of which he purposes writing to him (Soria).

The Pope urges this Republic to make peace with France. He himself would already have concluded an alliance with the French had the Venetians been ready to do the same. The Venetians, however, say that the power of the Queen mother [of France] is not sufficient, to which the French ambassador replies that the English have already made peace with France, and find the power of France sufficiently strong to accomplish the aim of the Italian league.

The Pope and the French propose what they call the *Concordia* of Italy.

News concerning different Italian states.—Venice, 21 July 1525.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Alonso Sanchez, 21 July."

Spanish. Holograph in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7.

21 July. **148.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

S. E. L. 1557, f. 457.

Will hear through his Nuncio, the Venerable Balthasar Castiglione, how much he (the Emperor) wishes for peace. The Duke of Sessa, his Lieutenant (*Vicegerens*) in Italy, will also inform him how the better to obtain that blessing, which is the constant aim of his life. He (the Emperor) is now trying to settle the affairs of Italy, to renew his alliance with the Signory of Venice, and to hold a congress here [in Spain] with France, England, and the rest of the Christian potentates,† where with his (the Pope's) counsel and advice some measures may be adopted to ensure the tranquillity of the Christian world.—Datum Toleti, xxi. Julii 1525.

Latin. Original draft. Corrected by Gattinara.

* Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec.

† "In generalique conventu isthic habendo cum Gallis, Anglis et cæteris ad id evocatis." This is added in the minute, or rather interlined by the Chancellor himself.

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21 July. **149.** MEMORANDUM of what PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ are to demand from the DOGE AND SIGNORY OF VENICE.

S. E. L. 1454, f. 105.

It was stipulated in the treaty of alliance concluded between us and the Signory of Venice on the 25th day of July 1523 that the Doge and Signory of Venice should pay us 200,000 gold ducats (*ducentum millia ducatorum auri largorum*) in the following manner:—25,000 on the next festival of the Nativity of our Saviour; 25,000 more on a similar day of 1524; and so on every year until the completion of that sum. That by way of indemnity to the outlaws (*exteri*), a sum of 5,000 gold ducats should be paid to them or their heirs, annually, as a compensation for their confiscated property, until an equivalent in land yielding the above sum in rent should be distributed among them. The Doge and Signory agreed to raise for the defence of the Duke and duchy of Milan a force of 800 lances "more italico," 500 light horse (*levis armaturæ*), and 600 foot, with competent artillery, ammunition, &c., all at the Signory's expense, till the end of the war. They, moreover, bound themselves to furnish 15 galleys (*triremes*), with their crews, to be employed in the defence of our kingdom of Naples, if attacked by the enemy.

Not one of the above stipulations having been fulfilled by the Signory, notwithstanding our frequent demands, especially at times, when pressed by the enemy our army most required the promised assistance, we have decided to appoint the Reverend Marino Caracciolo, Apostolical Prothonotary, and Alonso Sanchez to be our orators and ambassadors at Venice, that they may cause the above treaty with the Signory to be confirmed and executed, or negotiate a new one, &c.—Toledo, 21 July 1525.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 3.

24 July. **150.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 95–99.

His last letter to the Emperor is of the 14th instant. It went by a courier who was to start from Naples, and who took also the duplicate of his letter of the 12th. What he now has to advise is:—

(*Cipher:*) The explanation given by the Pope respecting the reported armaments in the Mantuan territory has since proved to be correct; somebody must have spread the rumour on purpose. The Pope, however, begged him to write home that things in Italy were in great confusion, and the people in a state of anxiety and suspense owing to the Viceroy's sudden departure without having previously settled any of the then pending matters. He (the Pope) had always been, and was still, requested by many parties to enter into a league [against the Emperor]. The English wanted it above all

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things. They were trying for a new convention to be entered into, but hitherto His Holiness has not acceded to their wishes, nor will he in future, as he has repeatedly instructed his Nuncio [in Spain] to tell His Imperial Majesty, notwithstanding that he has sent such as good and sincere advice on this matter as any father can bestow on his own son. If after such advice so affectionately proffered, he (the Pope) was disbelieved, and no attention was paid to his warnings, he considered that he had done his duty towards God and towards the Emperor, and would leave matters to be decided by future events. He could not but complain bitterly of being ill-treated, not only on account of the preference given to the Duke of Ferrara in the settlement of his claims, but also with regard to Church preferment. He said he knew for certain that the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] had left for Spain under a very unfavourable impression respecting him; that the Venetians made the same complaints, pretending to know, through M. de Bourbon, that the chief object of his (the Viceroy's) journey to Spain had been to persuade and encourage His Imperial Majesty to declare war against them. "This" (added the Pope) "appears to me almost incredible; and yet one thing is certain, namely, that they (the Venetians) hold it as a fact, and are in great fear of the consequences, and out of despair have already entered into secret negotiations with the Emperor's enemies. In my opinion," said the Pope, "should they not find in France or England what they expect, and try to obtain for their own remedy and security, they will undoubtedly apply to the Turk."

This is the substance of what His Holiness told him (Sessa) in the last audience, after begging him to acquaint the Emperor with his sentiments; and though the ambassador, in his late despatches, has often written on this subject, he cannot help referring to it again, the Pope having particularly requested that he would so, and having since reminded him of his promise thrice in two days.

The Venetians are actively at work. Scarcely a day passes without their ambassador (Marco Foscari) going to the Palace or despatching a courier. Cannot find out exactly what he is about, for the whole affair is conducted between His Holiness and the Datary. Even the Archbishop (of Capua) cannot penetrate the mystery, and confesses his ignorance. The confederates lay great stress on the discontent of the English, which is openly talked of. Presumes that Alonso Sanchez, the ambassador, has kept the Emperor *au courant* of what is going on at Venice, and of the frequent and secret audiences the Signory has given to the Bishop of Bayos (Bayeux), who is already declared ambassador of France to that Republic. The news of this court are his (Sessa's) business, and he shall not fail to advise when necessary.

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The day before yesterday letters were received in this city (Rome) from England. The last dates are the 28th of June. Joachino (Passano) had arrived at that court; and the Cardinal had said to the Pope's Nuncio (who has since forwarded the intelligence to this Papal court) that the French ambassadors had already been provided with safe-conducts, and were shortly expected in England. That there was no other news of importance, and especially no rumour of war. They (the English) had heard of the arrival of the French King in Spain, and were shocked at it. They complained bitterly that the thing had been done without consulting them, and otherwise manifested their discontent at the whole transaction. (*Cipher:*) Cannot help thinking there is under all this some mystery which he cannot unravel. Hopes that upon the return of Chevalier Casal, of whose sudden departure he has already informed the Emperor, the whole thing will be cleared up. Mentioned the other day the departure of Gismond, the King of France's secretary, who resides here with the French ambassador. He has no doubt gone to France to inform Madame, the Regent, of what is going on here. Four days after his departure, Alberto del Carpio (Carpi) came, who, after spending upwards of one month at Viterbo, on the plea of taking the baths, returned to Rome. The truth is that he went there on account of the league entered into between the Pope and His Imperial Majesty, there to hide his shame,* and then migrate to some other country, since by the article of the capitulation concerning the rebels he is forbidden to enter Rome or any other town in the territory of the Church. In his opinion Carpi's return is entirely owing to these new intrigues; he is a good hand at this sort of thing. The Datary sees him often; but until now he (Carpi) has not been seen at the Palace.

Has not yet imparted to the Pope his suspicions about the aforesaid personage [Alberto di Carpi], but intends doing so as soon as he knows the Pope's decision respecting the ratification of the league. Has given His Holiness a new draft [of the treaty of league], according to his desire, and after consulting the Imperial lawyers thereupon. Encloses a copy of it.

Eight days have already passed, and no answer from the Pope has come, though he (Sessa) has often applied for it. Can easily understand that the Pope will delay it as much as he can, till he hears how things turn up there (in Spain), and what beginning is made here. Will do his best to find out what the plans of the confederates are, but at the same time

* "El qual era en Viterbo, son mas de xxx dias con color del estar á los baños, pero la verdad fue por la liga hecha con V. Mag. para no sallir vergonçosamente y de alli tomar la derrota que le conviniesse, que por el articulo que trata de los rebeldes no puede estar en Roma ni en otra tierra de la Iglesia."

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it behoves him (Sessa) to entreat His Imperial Majesty no longer to keep this affair in suspense, and to take at once such a decision as may be best for the Imperial service.

(*Cipher:*) About the Emperor's coming here (to Italy) much is said. The Pope seems to wish for it, especially if matters could thereby be more firmly established than they are at present.

His Holiness told him yesterday of a certain letter he had received from the Count† of France, and related to him (Sessa) most of its contents. Has since procured the letter itself, and had it copied. Sends it enclosed. Begs the Emperor not to show it to the Pope's Nuncio, because if he comes to hear of it, he (Sessa) will not be able to obtain any more letters in the same way. Thinks, however, that a copy of it will be sent to the Nuncio. Fancies that these people are not glad of the Legate's journey [to Spain], for they are doing everything in their power to prevent it. Should they not succeed in their attempt (for it is said that he has already sailed), they will persuade the Pope to recall him. This would seem to be in contradiction with what has been said about their secret plans; but in reality it is not so, for it must be borne in mind that when Sigismondo arrived, the King's mother had not yet made that provision, nor had Alberto Carpi returned here, nor Cavaliere Casal arrived in England, nor the Bishop of Bayos (Bayeux) begun his negotiations with the Venetians; all this having occurred almost simultaneously.

(*Common writing:*) Pescara has taken possession of the whole of Saluzzo, the Marquis having gone over to France with some of the infantry he had left. M. de Bourbon has returned to Milan. They tell me that he can hardly keep his men together for want of pay.

From Germany the news is that the Suabian League has again defeated the peasants who were coming to the assistance of Cardinal Salsburki (Salzburgh). The Infante (Archduke) had been advised not to make any arrrangement with the rebels of that province, as they (the leaguers) intended soon to go there and punish them.

Commander Aguilera has just returned from Sienna, and is about to write—at Sessa's request, and for the Emperor's perusal,—a report of the late events in that city. Severino and another man whose name he does not know are going as ambassadors to His Imperial Majesty. Hears that the object of their mission is to offer 10,000 ducats, and if these are not considered sufficient, 10,000 more, to obtain permission to proceed judicially against the absentees (*foraxidos*), on the plea that they have plundered the public money, and to offer 80,000 ducats more out of the confiscated property.

By the above-mentioned letters from England and others since received, we hear that the demands made by Commander Peñalosa in the Emperor's name for the hand of the Princess [Mary] and 400,000 ducats had been made public

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in that court, and were considered exorbitant. It was further believed that this had been done in concert with France. —Rome, 24 July 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain, of the Two Sicilies, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. Duke of Sessa. Rome, 24th of July."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

25 July. **151.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA, his Commissary in Lombardy.

Arch. Cent. Madrid. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^ta^ Mar. d. Naj., f. 378.

The King, &c.—Knight Commander Lope Hurtado de Mendoça, our councillor, whom We now send as our ambassador to Savoy, has received orders to pass through Lombardy and deliver to you certain verbal messages of ours respecting the affairs of Italy. We beg you to give the said Lope Hurtado full credence, and to put at once into execution the orders of which he is the bearer.—Toledo, 25 July 1525.

Signed: "Yo el Rey. By His Majesty's command: Alonso de Soria."

Addressed: "From His Imperial Catholic Majesty to the Abbot of Najera, his Commissiary at the Imperial Army of Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

28 July. **152.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 114-6.

Sacred Imperial Majesty.—I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty by various ways, on the 9th and 21st ult., and 17th inst. (*Cipher:*) Since then Micer Gregorio Casale, the English ambassador, has passed through this city; and, according to the statement of Hieronimo Morone, with whom I have conversed, he (the ambassador), whilst visiting the Duke, who is still unwell, has thrown out words similar to those which he used at Rome, thereby showing that his King is dissatisfied with Your Majesty's greatness and growing power. The said ambassador is supposed to have a safe-conduct to pass through France, and to have followed that route. This is confirmed by the report here that Sigismondo, the secretary of Micer Alberto [Carpi], has actually left for that country.

From Rome, as well as Venice, Your Majesty no doubt has daily information respecting the practices there going on. As the rumour from various parts was that this Duke [of Milan] not only listened, but even adhered to, the said practices—though the report seemed to me incredible for many reasons—I called on his Excellency, who has not yet

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recovered from his long illness, and had a long conference with him, showing how prejudicial the said rumours, if true, might be to him, and how contrary it was to his obligations and interests to take part in such intrigues. I used at the same time such words as seemed most applicable to His Holiness' conduct on this occasion. He (the Duke) swore to me that it was a calumny, and that he was innocent of the guilty practices attributed to him, adding by way of confirmation: "May I remain for ever laid on this couch, and never recover from the disease under which I am labouring, if what they impute to me be true. You do not, I hope, consider me such a rogue, or such a fool, or such an unfeeling brute, that whilst owing this my estate to His Imperial Majesty, and after having done with my subjects throughout more than could reasonably be expected from us, exposing our lives and property to utter ruin at times when success was doubtful, should, now that His Highness is so exalted by victory, condemn myself to perpetual infamy and manifest ruin by adhering to those very parties, who not only have shown me no love at all, but were at one time the cause of my expulsion from my estate. How could I, besides, take part in such intrigues against His Majesty when I am expecting from the Imperial benignity to be confirmed in my estate, as I have lately been informed by Micer Camillo [Giulino], my secretary, who assures me of His Imperial Majesty's goodwill and kindly disposition towards me?" The Duke ended by saying that, when firmly established in his estate, as he had no doubt he should soon be, through Your Majesty's benignity, no one would be found a more loving or faithful subject of the Empire.

It would be impossible for me to explain the feelings of mistrust which the whole of Italy now entertains of Your Majesty's designs. The Bishop of Baius (Bayeux), who is now in Venice as ambassador from France, does not rest one moment, and the manifestations of the English ministers rather increase the said suspicions. My opinion is that all this proceeds from fear they have that the questions at issue [between Your Majesty and the King of France] will not be settled to their advantage. I consider it convenient and even necessary that Your Majesty should at once come to some determination, because otherwise these people might advance so far in their intrigues that they could no longer retreat. Irresolution seems to me most dangerous at the present moment; and I fully believe that were they to be convinced of Your Majesty's goodwill and kind intentions towards them, they would desist from such practices, for it is in the Pope's interest to be on good terms with Your Majesty for many reasons, whilst the Venetians, in case of war—which they dislike—have everything to dread from the Imperial arms. Though reluctantly enough, the Venetians might yet be induced by necessity and their natural disincli-

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nation to war, to refrain from hostile practices, especially as the two foundations on which they would have to raise their structure are very unsound. One is France, and they know very well that the moment Your Imperial Majesty comes to an agreement with its King, the whole building will come down. The other is England, a country too far off, whose people do not throw away their money, and who act, as we have seen, principally when they are away from home. It is therefore very important to come to some resolution, inasmuch as the army consumes much treasure, is badly paid, and behaves licentiously, as the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) and other generals cannot fail to inform Your Majesty.

Whoever could at the present moment bring about a universal and permanent peace would, in my opinion, do a very meritorious act in the eyes of God; but at the same time France, Italy, and the whole world ought to acknowledge and testify to the immense benefit received at Your Majesty's hands by delivering them of such terrible calamity as war is, and turning the Christian arms against the enemies of Faith and religion.

Camillo [Giulino], the Duke's secretary, is about to return to the Imperial court, to solicit and promote his master's affairs.—Milan, 28 July 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "A la Sacratissima Cesarea Real Maestà."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Prothonotary Caracciolo. 28th July."

Italian. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4½.

1 Aug. **153.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 125–8.

On the 25th last he (the Duke) informed His Majesty of the bad state of health of Cardinal de Vique (Vich), who died on the same day.* No sooner did the Duke hear of his death than he called upon the Pope to request him not to fill up the vacant bishopric of Barcelona. He hesitated, promised nothing, and although the Archbishop of Capua also interfered in the matter, it was of no use; for, on Friday last, without giving any previous notice, the Pope proposed Cardinal Cortona, and had him appointed in Consistory. Taking offence at this, he (the Duke) strongly remonstrated with the Pope, who answered that he saw no offence whatever in exercising the

* Guillermo Raymundo de Vich, Bishop of Barcelona and Cardinal of Saint Marcello, a brother of Hieronymo Vich, Ferdinand's ambassador in Rome, (1510–16). The vacant see was conferred upon Silvio Passerino, Cardinal of Cortona.

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right conferred on him by Pope Adrian's bull, and that he (the Duke) ought to recollect that at his own prayer and request he had upon a late occasion relinquished that same right in the case of one of his subjects whom he wished to appoint to the see of Plasenzia. He thought His Imperial Majesty might have gratefully acknowledged that service by settling some pension on that bishopric in favour of the person recommended by him; the same had happened in the case of the bishopric of Mondoñedo, and he did not see why, on the present vacancy, he was to give up the supremacy and privileges of the Apostolic See. The Duke's answer was that having, as he had, on late occasions behaved like a kind father to His Imperial Majesty, and carefully preserved all his privileges, it was painful to him to observe that he was so changed. The Cardinal had died two days march from court, and a similar appointment at such a time looked very much like a slight done to the Imperial authority. His reply was that his appointment had fallen on a person who would prove a faithful servant of the Emperor, and would do whatever he was ordered. His Imperial Majesty must know by this time who the candidate is, and what are his parts.

He (the Duke) begs His Imperial Majesty to give the bishopric to his brother, Don Juan de Cordova; and if his not being a native of Aragon should prove an obstacle to the promotion, to bestow it on the Archbishop of Monreale or on his brother, Don Luis de Cardona, provided either of these two, when appointed, shall give up the whole of the pensions to his brother (Don Juan de Cordova). This the Archbishop of Monreale would consider a great boon, and both he (the Duke) and the Archbishop will easily arrange matters with the Cardinal.

Of political news he (the Duke) has nothing to add respecting the secret negotiations that are going on, the sudden departure of Casale, the English ambassador, the journey to France of Sigismondo, the secretary of Alberto del Carpio (Carpi), having already sent full particulars. (*Cipher:*) His (the Duke's) impression is that the Pope is only waiting to hear what has been done in Spain, or what agreement these people will come to, in order to lean to one side or the other, as his interests will dictate. He shows much discontent at the departure of the Viceroy, and fears the consequences of it. It is generally believed that the Pope has collected a certain sum of money; but he (the Duke) thinks that he will not be so liberal in the spending as he has been diligent in procuring it. The Pope makes greater efforts than ever to persuade those who surround him that His Imperial Majesty has no longer the sympathies of England, but declares at the same time that as long as the Emperar does not cast him from his side he will remain, as heretofore, a good and affectionate father.

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(*Common writing:*) When the league was concluded, he (the Duke) insisted upon the banishment of Alberto del Carpio (Carpi) from this city, on the plea that he was a rebel. He went away to Biterbo (Viterbo), on the excuse of taking the mineral waters there, and has resided in that town until about a week ago, when he came back to Rome.

(*Cipher:*) He (the Duke) has not taken any notice of, or remonstrated against, his return, because the Pope has not yet ratified the league, having merely tendered a modified draft of the treaty and taken instead the one the Duke had by him.

Carpi labours as much as he can, and is not without friends, who pretend that neither he nor they are responsible for their acts, since they asked for mercy at the time and were not pardoned.

(*Cipher:*) From Venice His Imperial Majesty must have full information through his ambassador. The Duke on the other hand never fails to advise of the turn affairs take in this city [Rome], and he corresponds also on the subject with the Marquis of Pescara, who does his utmost to keep the Imperial army together—no easy matter, indeed, when money is so scarce.

Severino writes from Sienna that a bastard son of Alessandro Viqui (Bichi) followed him on the sea, and tried to assassinate him, a very ugly act indeed considering that he (Severino) is actually the ambassador of that Signory. The people here give as an excuse that Severino had Viqui's father slain in the most atrocious manner, and therefore that the sons of the deceased are bound to revenge him. The citizens of Sienna, on the other hand, suspect that the attempt on the life of Severino was the work of the outlaws (*foraxidos*), but he (the Duke) has carefully investigated the matter, and finds that it was really an act of private revenge. (*Cipher:*) Such is the state of things in that city, and they will get worse every day unless His Majesty makes adequate provision. They (the citizens) are likely to take advantage of this last attempt to confiscate and sell the property of the outlaws (*foraxidos*). It would be wiser to place over the Siennese a good governor, who might keep the two factions in order.

He (the Duke) thought until now that the Pope would appoint his own nephew, Hyppolito [de' Medici], to be a cardinal. He is the son of Juliano, and they have been for some time procuring his legitimation But now it is said that Hyppolito is to marry the niece, and be the head of the house; and that to the son of Lorenzo, Alessandro by name, a cardinal's hat is to be given. There is no knowing what all these changes mean. Joanin de Medicis is at Ferrara, and sends daily messages to the Pope, asking him for money, which under the present circumstances is anything but agreeable to His Holiness.

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Church provision.

Eight days ago M. de Bourbon sent a mandate, directed to him (the Duke) and to the Viceroy *in solidum*, to proceed criminally against Count della Mirandula, adding that a person of his suite would soon come to converse on the subject. The Count has received intelligence that proceedings are to be instituted against him. He is taking his measures and preparing for the event; but it will be of no avail if his criminality is proved.

Advices from France state that Cardinal Salviatis had succeeded in crossing that frontier, notwithstanding the provisions of Madame the Regent to the contrary; and that the Grand Master of Rhodes remained at Marseilles. It is also reported that Madame was very much disgusted, and on the point of coming to Avignon.

By letter dated the 26th of July, he (the Duke) has heard that his father, the Count,* was dangerously ill. He hopes that God will preserve his life for the sake of his sons and grandsons; but should it be otherwise, he begs His Imperial Majesty to grant him (the Duke) the lieutenancy of Alcalá [La Real] and the charge of *alguacil mayor* of Cordova, which have for many years been in his family.—Rome, 1 August 1525.

Post datum.—He (the Duke) has received two letters from the ambassador at Venice (Sanchez), informing him (*cipher*) that the Venetians were pressing the negotiations. Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence he called on His Holiness, and on entering the Palace found the Venetian ambassador (Marco Foscari) closeted with the Pope. The audience lasted nearly two hours, and the Duke saw him come out of the audience room with a bundle of papers in his hand, which he had no doubt been reading to the Pope. He seemed rather disconcerted at the meeting, and appeared in greater haste than usual. His (the Duke's) suspicions being raised by this, he remarked to the Pope how strange the Venetian's manner was, and that he thought his extreme urgency very inopportune. His answer was that everyone in Italy was highly disgusted, especially the Venetians, who, if they knew how to avoid the ill-will of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), and the bad reports he was likely to spread about them, would readily help each other. They knew for certain that the said Viceroy was meditating their ruin, and was of opinion that the whole of Italy ought to change masters. Though His Holiness had the same reasons as the Venetians and others to entertain similar sentiments towards the Viceroy, and was constantly requested to join them, he excused himself on the ground of the league just made with

* The Duke of Sessa [Luis Fernandez de Cordoba] was the son of Diego Fernandez de Cordoba, third Count of Cabra. By his marriage to Doña Elvira de Cordoba y Figueroa, only daughter and heiress of the Great Captain Gonzalo de Cordoba, he became Duke of Sessa, &c.

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His Imperial Majesty, and thus gained time until he knew what was decided. These assurances do not satisfy him (the Duke), because he sees them always treating of the matter, and if once a general convention is agreed to in Italy, it is likely to be approved of, even by the dead.

He (the Duke) will not fail to advise His Imperial Majesty of any new thing that occurs, although, the matter being Italian, it is very difficult to penetrate its mysteries, as everyone here considers the cause his own. It is quite certain that they are still trying to win over the Duke of Milan. Jacopo de Bannisis is no longer here, having gone to Lucca to take the mineral waters; Chevalier Landriano is likewise going away. In his (the Duke's) opinion all are waiting to see what Casale will bring from England, and Sigismundo from France, and in the meantime will wait for His Imperial Majesty's resolution, and shape their own accordingly. They are much surprised to hear, by a secretary of the Duke of Milan, that everything was to be suspended [in Spain] until the Viceroy's return. The Nuncio's letters to His Holiness* were intercepted in France, but from private ones it would appear that they are not at all contented. Though the Archbishop of Capua is afraid of all these intrigues, he does not know the pith of them.†

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 1st of August."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

2 Aug. **154.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. de G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

By his letters of the 8th, 16th, and 21st last, the duplicates of which he (the Abbot) now sends, His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of the state of affairs here [in Italy]. What he at present has to advise is that the 40,000 ducats which the Council of Naples, through Captain Sancho Lopez, promised to provide for this army, have been negotiated, and are already spent. The Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio de Leyva have nothing of their own left that can be pawned or sold. The army is in great distress; and as it might be that His Imperial Majesty had already supplied its wants by a courier said to have left on the 13th inst. in a frigate from Barcelona, he (the Abbot) considers it necessary to observe that the frigate was captured at sea by Andrea Doria, and the despatches have not come to hand.

* "Las letras del Nuncio que venian para *Su Mag*^{d}? fueron interceptas en Francia," says the original letter, but it is evident that the Duke's secretary by a slip of the pen wrote *Mag*^{d} instead of *Sant*^{d} or Holiness, which was really meant.

† "El Arçobispo de Capua teme estas tramas; no creo que sabe la medula de ellàs."

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An agreement has been made with Count Gineba (Geneva) that upon the payment by the Duke of Savoy of 7,500 cr. (*escudos*) on the 5th inst., and of a similar sum on the 12th, the infantry of this Imperial army shall evacuate the Duke's territory and be quartered in places where the soldiers are to live at their own expense. That upon the payment of 12,000 cr. more, monthly, that is to say, 3,000 every week, the men-at-arms will collect in four or five districts of the duchy, there to live at their own expense. He (the Abbot) is very much afraid that this engagement will not be fulfilled; and yet such are the wants of the Imperial army that no other arrangement could probably be made for its maintenance.

The Italian potentates go on negotiating. It is said that they are so far advanced in their plans that they only wait for intelligence of what Sigismundin, the secretary of Alberto del Carpi, and Gregorio Casal, the English ambassador, may have achieved respectively in France and in England, to declare themselves. The Venetians are laying in stores of provisions, and increasing their infantry and light cavalry. He (the Abbot) hopes that all these preparations will prove of no avail the moment His Imperial Majesty comes to terms with the French King on such conditions and with such securities as may be considered just and firm; for without the help of France Italy can do nothing but work its own ruin.

The Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) has been this very day informed, through one of his secretaries residing here, and whose name is Juan de Castro, of the above intrigues and negotiations, that he may forthwith send 3,000 Germans to Trento, 1,000 of whom must come at once under the leadership of a captain named Corradino, well trained for this sort of service, who has this day left in company with Juan de Castro to that effect. They (the Germans) are to bring the money required for their maintenance. As to the other 2,000, if money can be procured here (at Milan) for them, it shall be sent; otherwise they are not to come unless the Infante can give them their marching pay till their arrival here. 6,000 or 7,000 more Germans are to be kept ready in case of need; and the Infante is besides to procure intelligence of what the Switzers are about.

The Duke of Bourbon and the Marquis de Pescara left this very day for Novara, thence to go to Verceli, to be nearer the army, and see to the execution of the agreement entered into with the Count of Gineba (Geneva). Antonio de Leyva and himself (the Abbot) will start after to-morrow.

On the last day of July a courier arrived here which Rocandolf* sent by sea. He brought letters from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) and from other noblemen residing at the Imperial court, in date of the 12th of last month. A

* Rokendelf or Roggendorf, colonel of the Germans at Perpignan.

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gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon had brought them as far as Perpiñan by land, but, fearing lest they might be opened and read in France, gave them to the courier to bring by a sea route. The said gentleman is the bearer of His Majesty's official despatches, and is expected here to-morrow or after, for he cannot possibly be longer on his way, unless he is detained by Madame [Louise] the Regent. The Duke de Bourbon is highly pleased to hear that his presence at court is required, as he has been wishing for many a day [to go to Spain]. The Duke of Milan is still unwell; since he had the ague, he has occasionally fever and pain in his bowels. He is in great hopes of receiving soon the investiture, owing to the intelligence brought to him by his secretary, Camillo Giulino, who, they say, is now returning to Spain to forward his master's interests.

Arana, a servant of Antonio de Leyva, and one of the men-at-arms of his company, who is an hidalgo, and much greater in spirit than he is in body, whose discretion and fidelity are well known to all of us, is going to Court to communicate certain matters relating to His Majesty's service.

The Prince of Navarre is continually asking the Marquis of Pescara to fix his ransom, and set him free. He has made several offers; and it is my opinion that he will come up to the sum of 90,000 cr.; 50,000 within one month, and the remainder at six months, date. The Marquis—seeing the ever increasing wants of this army, and that it is far more profitable to feed Your Majesty's soldiers than keep the Prince a prisoner, after consulting with the Duke, with Leyva, and him (the Abbot)—has listened to his propositions, promising to release him on the payment before the 20th inst. of the 50,000 escudos, unless His Imperial Majesty sends in the meanwhile orders to the contrary. This agreement has been made with a double object; first, that the Prince may at once set about collecting the sums demanded, and that the Imperial army may be relieved by it; and, secondly, to fix and settle beforehand the price of his ransom, not to lose the same in case His Imperial Majesty decides, in the treaty with the King of France, to set him at liberty. The Prince is always at Pavia under good escort. Antonio de Leyva increases the fortifications, though he is not provided with sufficient means. Lodi and Alexandria are also to be fortified, as both are important points in the event of a war.

The Marquis de Pescara and the Duke of Bourbon have just promised to Count de Gineva (Geneva) that if it turns out true that the Marquis de Saluzio, as reported, has violated the truce he made with the Marquis del Guasto, they will give him his estates, provided he undertakes to hold and defend them after the army has evacuated the marquisate. The Count has answered between his teeth that he will, but he (the Abbot) does not believe in him. At any rate, if the Marquis de Saluzio has violated the truce, his estates shall

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be taken from him, and given to the said Count, according to His Imperial Majesty's instructions. Some malicious persons have lately accused him (the Count) of being in treaty with France, but although he may have shown some discontent on account of the troops quartered upon his brother's estate, and of matters at Saluzio not having been settled entirely to his wish, he (the Abbot) considers him a perfect gentleman, incapable of such a treacherous act. He is soon going to Spain by land, in obedience to His Majesty's orders.

Letters from Rome, in date of the 29th ult., advise the death of Cardinal Vich (Guillermo) on the 27th, at an abbey of his called Casamare, outside that city. It is added that the Archbishop of Capua is to get the vacancy, and that Cardinal Cortona has been already appointed by the Pope to the archbishopric of Barcelona. No other Spanish cardinal sits in College, and yet they are very necessary, not only to forward the Imperial service at this court, but also to favour and protect numbers of Spanish subjects who daily flock here on business or to seek fortune, among whom, when necessary, 500 and even 1,000 soldiers may be had for the Imperial service, besides money, guarantees (*fianças*), information and all sorts of assistance for the preservation of the Imperial dominions in Italy. For this reason His Imperial Majesty ought to ask the Pope to appoint a number of cardinals of the Spanish nation to reside at Rome, there to spend the revenues of their respective churches, which they are more sure to do on Spaniards than Cortona will those of the archbishopric of Barcelona.—Milan, 2 August 1525.

After writing the above, he (the Abbot) has been told by Julian de Riba, the Doge of Genoa's secretary, that the guards at the watch-tower of San Remo had signalled 12 galleys and other vessels in the direction of Monaco, which, through stress of weather, were obliged to put up at Villafranca. They may be our own galleys ; if not, they are those of France. Here people seem to think that it would have been expedient not to allow the six galleys of France to come this way, and to stop the six belonging to the Pope and to the Order of Saint John, if this state of things is to continue in Italy.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 8¼.

2 Aug. **155.** Cardinal de Montemayor to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 131.

Acknowledges receipt of the Imperial letters, dated Toledo the 28th of May last, in answer to his sent by the Bishop of Avila. Thanks the Emperor for so singular a favour, and

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hopes that his services are now fully appreciated, though they may have been concealed through the malice or ignorance of reporters and ministers. The said Bishop of Avila and other witnesses will bear full testimony that there is not at Rome a more faithful and devoted servant of His Imperial Majesty than he is. Would consider it a great favour if the Emperor employed him and sent him his orders, as they cannot but be directed towards the better service of God and of the Holy Apostolic See, of which the Emperor is a warm advocate. —Rome, 2 August 1525.

Signed: "Humilis servus A. Episcopus Portuensis Cardinalis de Montemayor."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati, domino meo observantissimo."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Cardinal de Monte[mayor]. 2 Aug. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

2 Aug. **156.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the GRAND CHANCELLOR (MERCURINO GATTINARA).

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist *Salazar*, A. 35, p. 133.

Protests his fidelity to the Emperor, and dwells upon his own services, and the pains he is taking to unravel and detect Italian intrigues. Complains that no notice whatever is taken of his advice; his letters, though dictated by the purest zeal, remain unanswered.

In his opinion it is urgent that His Imperial Majesty decide for one of the three following courses:—

1st. Either to make peace with France, and afterwards fall upon such Italian Princes as have not done their duty to the Empire.

2d. Or calm the fears and suspicions of Italy, and make such covenants as will enable him to prosecute the war with France, and to wrest from its King any conditions he may like to impose, in which case it will be necessary to maintain a true union and perfect understanding with England.

3d. Or else to conclude a general and durable peace between the Christian powers by setting at liberty the most Christian King of France.

Should His Imperial Majesty decide for the former of the above courses—namely, to come to some sort of agreement with France, so as to be able to make war upon Italy—in that case it would be necessary to set the French King at liberty, on such conditions, marriage alliances, and hostages as will bind him hereafter to the execution of the treaties. For in such event the Italian Princes are sure to unite, and, though not very powerful, will make a stout defence and give some trouble. Venice is both rich and strong, and it will take a long time to subdue it; besides they (the Vene-

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tians) will become ever after the Emperor's bitter enemies, do all they can to thwart his designs, and perhaps, also, succeed in securing the alliance of England. The first thing the Venetians are likely to do is to persuade the King of France to break his word. They will endeavour to win him over to their cause, keep him under their subjection and advice (*tenerlo in loro sententia*), or at least ensure his neutrality in the contest. Whoever has had occasion to study the French King's natural disposition and character, will easily perceive that he cannot tolerate his equal, much less his superior, among the Christian Princes; and to flatter his pride and vanity the efforts of the Venetians are sure to be directed. We have lately seen how—to gain the object of his ambition—the French King put his treasures, his men, the whole nobility of France and his own person at stake. If we consider that the interests of a State demand that a King should not see, without jealousy, his neighbour, not even his own brother, grow and increase in power; that the leagues, alliances and treaties of peace made within late years, though sworn to and confirmed by most solemn oaths, have lasted but little time, it will be clearly demonstrated that—now that the Emperor has the game in his own hands, and can impose the law wherever he pleases,—it would be highly imprudent to trust in the French King's promises and oaths, however binding, to keep the treaties, since that would be equivalent to letting one bird fly out of the cage in order to catch another that is in the air;* it would entail upon the Emperor the enmity of England, and alienate for ever the sympathies of Italy.

To those who may object to this plan on the ground that no reliance can be placed on people like the Italians, who behaved so ungratefully during the last war, his (Caracciolo's) answer is that they are to a certain extent right in their conjectures, but still there is a great difference between Italy and France, for Italy is not a compact nation, but an aggregate of members forming one body. She does not dispute, as France does, the Emperor's greatness, and what she would not do willingly and of her own accord she is sure to do out of fear, lest the whole forces of the Empire should be turned against her. To prevent this, they [the Italians] might easily be induced to enter into a defensive league with His Imperial Majesty, and even to furnish a good sum of money, though they might not be persuaded to take up arms against the French.

A league with Italy to make war on France would only afford the Emperor one advantage, which is that of having protection on the side of Italy, for there is no fear—weak as they are and divided into small states—of their ever taking

* "Et sua Mag. lassara libero uno ocello quale ha in gabia per pigliarne un altro che li e mostrato sopra la nove."

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up arms against His Imperial Majesty. They know that the Emperor has the stick in his hand, and can beat them whenever he pleases.*

Neither of the above plans, viz., to make peace with France in order to chastise Italy, or form a league with the Italian powers the better to attack France, offers, in Caracciolo's opinion, security enough ; on the contrary, each of them is likely to be attended with much difficulty, expense and trouble, and is of uncertain issue. Yet, of the two, the friendship of Italy, is, in his opinion, the most advantageous, because the Emperor, having the French King under his power—should Italy prove faithless—he can at any time, by setting his prisoner at liberty and entering into an agreement with him, wreak his vengeance on the Italian powers, and make a war of extermination upon them (*castigarla ad internitionem*).

There remains now to be considered how the Emperor's interests might be benefited by universal peace. In his (Caracciolo's) humble opinion, that would be the surest, most praiseworthy and fittest course to be followed, considering the Emperor's generous propensities and religious feelings (*bontà e religione*). A truce might be made, during which the preliminaries of peace could be discussed and arranged in conformity with the Emperor's wishes. Negotiations might be opened to obtain from the French King the whole or part of the provinces and territories now claimed from him, to which he (the King) would consent the more readily as he will see Italy disposed to form a league with the Emperor. M. de Bourbon's claims might be settled, or at least a large sum of money obtained as indemnity ; and, in short, such securities might be got from France and the Italian powers in the way of oaths, marriage alliances, hostages and other similar ties as would ensure the duration of peace. His Holiness the Pope would then grant a Cruzada or tithe on all Christian kingdoms, to be spent in war against the Infidel ;† and everyone shall extol the virtues and Christian zeal of the Emperor, who, having the power in his hand, relinquished all causes of enmity with France as well as Italy, and restored peace to the Christian community. Such being the case, there can be no doubt that the European powers will contribute most efficiently to drive away the Turk and ensure the triumph of Christianity.

Should the French King oppose such a praiseworthy idea—which he (Caracciolo) cannot believe‡—the rest of the Christian Princes ought to be solicited and called upon, in virtue of engagements previously entered into, to oppose the said King of France, and take the Emperor's part ; knowing, as they do, the generosity with which he has striven to promote the

* "Precipue che essi vedendo da quanti canti possono esser offesi da la Cesarea Mag. la quale ha il bastone in mano di posserli battere."

† "Da N. S. se havranno le decime supra tutti le potentati de Christiani."

‡ "E quando el Re de Franza volesse malignare, il che non credo," &c.

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ways of peace, notwithstanding the many reasons he had to treat his enemies with severity. Even in the case—not very probable, indeed,—of every Christian King failing and deserting the Emperor in his laudable purpose of bringing about universal and lasting peace, it is to be hoped that God Almighty, who knows the hearts and intentions of men, will so far help and protect His Imperial Majesty—as He has done hitherto—that he will be able to surmount all difficulties, and devote himself entirely to the support of the Christian religion, and the confusion and extermination of its enemies.

To accomplish this end, it is requisite above all things to make such provision respecting the Imperial forces [in Italy], that they may be maintained and quartered without giving the people offence, for certainly the excesses hitherto committed by the soldiery, besides alienating the affections of the country people, are a great burden upon the Emperor's conscience, who cannot allow his friends and subjects to be thus wantonly injured. He (Caracciolo) thinks, upon the whole, that the season is so far advanced that there is no possibility of making war this year, and therefore the best plan would be to negotiate a truce of at least eight months, during which the preliminaries of peace might be settled, or the best means found out of prosecuting the war with renewed vigour. By dismissing part of the Italian and German infantry—since, in case of truce, it could not be wanted—the enormous expense of the Imperial army might be considerably reduced.

The Duke [of Milan], though still unwell, is no longer in danger, so that his physicians give hopes of his recovery. He still suffers occasionally from fever and colic.—Milan, 2 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Al Ill^mo^ S^or^ Observ^mo^ el Cancellero di sa Cesarea Mag."

Indorsed: "To the Chancellor. 1525. From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 2 Aug."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 9.

4 Aug. **157.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 138.

Has delayed until to-day sending the present despatch for want of a trusty person, but its contents are such that he has at last decided to send it on by express to Genoa.

This morning the news reached Rome that the Emperor had made a truce with the King of France. As it came from different quarters it is considered as certain, though the period of its duration is not stated. (*Cipher:*) He (the Duke) called immediately on His Holiness the Pope in order to

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ascertain what effect the news had produced on him. In appearance he seems to take it well; but there is every reason to presume that in reality he is sorry for the event, and fears the consequences of the treaty.

(*Common writing:*) The Church livings vacant by the death of Cardinal Vique (Vich) have been distributed among various ecclesiastics of this court, without any of them being reserved, as they ought to be, for natives of those kingdoms. The bishopric of Barcelona has been conferred on Cardinal Cortonna, (*cipher*) a Florentine by birth, and a good Frenchman, or reputed as such. Cardinal Rangone, also a Frenchman in heart, has obtained the archdeaconry of Belchite. Rodolfo (Ridolfi), who has always shown himself a good servant to the Imperial cause, along with Cardinal Salviati, has been endowed with an ecclesiastic dignity at Valencia. (*Common writing:*) The Archbishop of Capua has had for his share the abbey of Casamar, near the frontier of Naples, and Filippo Strozzi the priory of Santo Tomé at Segovia, all of which endowments yield a fine revenue. Other parties have had the remainder.

The General of the Franciscans arrived lately, and was very well received by the Pope.—Rome, 4 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain, and of the two Sicilies, etc., our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Rome. From the Duke of Sessa, 4 of August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1¼.

6 Aug. **158.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 145–52.

On the 13th arrived, by way of Perpignan, a servant of Mons. de Rocandolfo,* who said that a certain treaty of truce had been announced and proclaimed at Marseille. Nothing was known in Genoa about it. Grimaldi, who has also arrived at Monaco, says that on his way thither from Valencia he encountered the French galleys. He (Soria) suspects that they are after no good.

Money affairs. The Doge's galleys, and the Imperial fleet. Death of Cardinal Vich at Rome.

The Doge [of Genoa] has had letters from Rome, stating that a league had been concluded between the Pope, France

* Thus written in the original. Though quite an Italian name, one might feel inclined to believe it meant for Roggendorf.

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England and all the Italian potentates, except Milan, and that even the Duke [of Milan] was strongly solicited to join it.

State of the army and navy in Italy. Andrea del Borgo, etc.—Sestri de Poniente, 6 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 6 Aug."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering in the hand of Secretary Alfonso de Soria. pp. 4.

6 Aug. **159.** The SAME to the SAME.

Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 148.

Duplicate of the foregoing despatch, with a few lines added respecting the Genoese galleys.

7 Aug. **160.** The COMMISSIONERS IN ENGLAND to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 38, ff. 99–100.

Richard Florentin arrived on Monday the 13th of July last with the Emperor's letter to Le Sauch, the copy of another to Madame, those of the King of France, and the answer made by His Imperial Majesty. Perceiving there was nothing in all these letters to alter or amplify the charge intrusted to Commander Peñalosa, save one single point, the Portuguese affair, whereof he (Le Sauch) had not heard before, he immediately sent Richart back to Madame, and waited upon the Cardinal, in order to announce to him that messenger's arrival, and that the letters he brought from the Emperor contained nothing new, but referred him (Le Sauch) entirely to those of Madame the Regent of France that he might conduct the pending negotiations accordingly. No change whatever was made in the said letters to the charge delivered by the Commander, and to which His Imperial Majesty was daily expecting an answer, and therefore he (Le Sauch) had nothing to add to his former declarations. He then shewed the copies of the letter which the French King had written to the Emperor, as well as the latter's answer, and the abstract which he (Le Sauch) had made of one of the articles relating to the arrival [in Spain] of the Bishop d'Anbrun (of Embrun), and first President of Paris (Selve), adding that the Emperor was decided not to treat with any of them, except in the presence of the English ambassadors, and not to conclude anything without the consent and approval of the King [of England], his brother.

The Cardinal showed his satisfaction at this, saying that the King, his master, was well disposed to do the same towards the Emperor, and that he (the Cardinal) would certainly co-operate

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with all his might, notwithstanding the injurious rumours that had been spread about his person. He then asked whether he (Le Sauch) had anything more to say, and upon the Commissioner answering in the negative, as was the fact, he expressed his wonder, adding: "Since the Emperor, as you say, does not mention other particulars in his letter to you, I will not dwell upon a subject which I should otherwise have brought under discussion. Yet there are things which Peñalosa had charge to bring forward, and to which Madame's Commissioners have made no reference whatever." To which he (Le Sauch) replied that the Commissioners had told him at the time everything there really was in the instructions brought by the said Peñalosa as well as by Richart Boullengier. True it was that the Commander had other verbal instructions, but of those the Commissioners knew nothing at all, as he (Peñalosa) had not thought proper to communicate them. Very likely it was nothing very important, for otherwise he would have said something about it. The Cardinal then remarked: "And yet I cannot help thinking that you have purposely kept from me certain matters and things about which you had Madame's instructions to speak to me." The Commissioners assured him there was nothing of the sort, and that they had fulfilled to the letter every one of the Emperor and Madame's commands, without omitting anything, and they proceeded to announce to him the French King's arrival in Catalonia, at which he seemed pleased, promising to tell the King, who was then residing at Windsor.

On the 17th Jonglet arrived, appointed by Madame to fill [Praet's] vacant place until the arrival of a new ambassador. Though old and infirm, he has accepted the charge, hoping his stay [in England] will not last long. Begs the Emperor to appoint another ambassador, if he has not done so already, or write to Madame about it, for he does not feel strong enough to make a long residence in England.

The day after his arrival, he (Jonglet) and his colleague, (Le Sauch), waited upon the Legate at Hautencourt (Hampton Court), to inform him that they intended shortly to go to Quelfort (Guildford), where the King is now residing, for the purpose of paying their respects, and for him (Le Sauch) to take his leave. To this the Cardinal had no objection to make, and accordingly the Commissioners were conducted thither by Master More, the Secretary.

The Commissioners were received by the King in the most cordial manner, and Jonglet having delivered the letters of credence he had from Madame—wherein the chief cause of his coming was sufficiently explained—the King appeared much pleased, and said that whenever he (Jonglet) wished to see him, he had only to announce himself, and he would be immediately admitted to his presence. After which, and

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with the usual compliments, both Commissioners withdrew, after he (Le Sauch) had first taken leave to return to Madame.

On Wednesday the 25th the Commissioners received a letter from Madame, of which the enclosed is a copy, and on the following day (the 26th) both waited on the Legate, and, following their instructions, acquainted him with the truce and suspension of hostilities just concluded with France, the reasons for which they proceeded to explain in the best manner they were able to do, to the great astonishment and discontent of the Cardinal, who seemed to know nothing about it.

After expatiating at length on the great help and assistance in money and men which the King, his master, had bestowed upon the Emperor's subjects, both in Spain and Flanders, thus enabling him to vanquish his enemy and have him at his mercy, the Legate's answer ran thus: "The treaties of Windsor stipulated that neither of the contracting parties was to conclude a truce without the consent and full approval of the other one. We have so far adhered to this that, though the King has often been solicited by the French, he has never given his consent to it. This present truce, therefore, and the mutual intercourse of trade and fishing lately agreed to, are so many infractions of the said treaties. I should never have thought that, after so many stipulations, promises and declarations made by Madame, she would have been the first to break through them."

The Cardinal went on in this strain, saying: "Any plans and designs which the Emperor, Mons. de Bourbon, and the King, my master, may have formed in this particular matter are ruined for ever through Madame having granted this truce to our common enemy. For all of us together intended to wage war on France; Mons. de Bourbon was to go one way, the Emperor another, we ourselves meant to attack [Picardy and Normandy], and now all our plans are frustrated. In fact, I do not know how I shall be able to appease the King's anger when he hears of it, for he has always maintained that Madame was incapable of doing anything in this matter without letting him know first. The perplexity and doubt by which Madame is said to be assailed, and which have induced her to take this step, are no excuse for her acting thus; for she ought first to have consulted the King, my master, and stated her reasons, instead of deciding, as she has done, for herself, and then sending an agent to acquaint him with her resolution, which was by no means an honourable proceeding."

Had he been consulted on the subject—as he had a right to be—seven or eight days previously, he would willingly have used his influence with the King, his master, to obtain his consent, and the existing conventions would not have been violated.

All this the Cardinal said with seeming regret, adding that he really did not know how the King would take this

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infraction of the treaties by Madame. For his own part (he said) he considered His Imperial Majesty to be so constant and firm in his determinations, and so faithful to treaties, that he had not the least fear of his doing anything against the King, his master; but still the King, his master, could not fail to express his surprise and dissatisfaction.

In answer to the above complaints, the Commissioners remarked that if the King [of England] chose, the whole of his kingdom and subjects might be comprised in the truce without any damage to them. To which the Cardinal replied: "Even that is no sufficient excuse for Madame doing what she has done without our consent; for although the truce is to be a short one, and only to comprise the Low Countries, there can be no doubt that the French will be encouraged, whilst your own army and those of the King and Mons. de Bourbon will be greatly weakened by it."

To the Commissioners' remark that it was not likely the English would cross the Channel this season, the Cardinal replied that they had always been—and were still—ready, and that it was no fault of theirs if the enterprise had not been attempted. And when they told him that the people of Calais and Guisnes had concluded a similar truce with the inhabitants of Boulogne, he denied the fact, saying that there had never been a truce granted to or asked by them, and the proof was that many days after the people of Boulogne had of their own accord published the truce made with the Low Countries, the English had seized and captured many French vessels in the Channel, and done other warlike acts, which certainly were no sign of their having ever consented to it.

With regard to the Scotch, the Cardinal said that the English had no truce with them, and therefore that we ought not to allow the ordinary intercourse of trade without asking for the King's consent. In short, whatever excuse they (the Commissioners) could offer—and in reality they were as numerous and plausible as the occasion required—the Cardinal went on persisting that Madame had wilfully infringed the existing treaties, and that the King could not but be displeased at it.

Four days ago the President of Rouen (Brinon) arrived in this town, and then called upon the Legate at Richmond. Though the Commissioners happened to be there at the time, they could not hear what the conference was about. Should he (Jonglet), after the departure of his colleague (Jean de le Sauch), learn anything about it, he will make it his duty to acquaint both His Imperial Majesty and Madame thereof.—London, the last day of July 1525.

The ambassadors were about to despatch this courier when the Legate sent a message, begging they would retain him for three or four days more, as it was necessary to inform Madame of certain occurrences [in England]. They have complied with his request, hoping that in the letter which he

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(the Cardinal) is about to write to the King's ambassadors [in Spain] he will explain what has passed between him, Jean Joackin and the President of Rouen at Richmond, at a Council attended by the Duke of Norfolk, Archbishop of Canterbury and others. All are gone to-day to see the King at More, a country residence belonging to the Legate; but the Commissioners have not yet learned what the result of the conference has been. The Legate is no doubt trying to gain time, and does not send the promised letter, at which they (the Commissioners) are greatly annoyed, and so is the courier who brought this.—London, 7th of August 1525.

Signed: "Jonglet," "Jehan de le Sauch.'

Addressed: "A sa Majesté de l'Empereur."

Indorsed: "Angleterre. To the Emperor. To be consulted."

French. Original. pp. 5.

7 Aug. **161.** Andrea del Burgo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 154.

Some time after his last letter was written, having obtained from the Queen Mother [Regent of France] the necessary safe-conduct to pass through her dominions, he started on his journey, but, owing to a very severe illness by which he was seized, and to other accidents on the road, he well nigh lost his life. Indeed, had it not been for the kindness and almost paternal care which this Doge took of his person, lodging him in his own palace, and treating him as if he were his own son—all owing to his fidelity and devotion to the Imperial cause—he would be by this time dead and buried. But, thanks to God the disease is now on the decline; the physicians augur well, and he himself hopes that within four or six days at the most he shall be able to leave his bed, and be consecrated bishop, soon after to prosecute his journey by sea or land. In case, however, anything should happen to prevent his departure, he will not fail to write to the Prince (Archduke Ferdinand), inquiring what is to be done with the despatches of which he is the bearer, some of them being of such importance that they could not be safely intrusted to anyone indiscriminately, whilst others might well take their chance through the post.

Begs that a letter of thanks be written to the Doge for the very kind treatment experienced at his hands, for certainly nothing can surpass his fidelity and constant devotion to the Imperial cause.—Genoa, 7 of August 1525.

Signed: "Andreas Burgus."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesareæ et Catholice Maiestati Domino meo Clementissimo."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Micer Andrea del Burgo, 7th of August."

Original. Latin. p. 1.

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8 Aug. **162.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 158–64.

Since the 22d of July, the date of his last letter, he has little to say, (*cipher*) except that negotiations between this Signory and the Pope are getting very active just now, and couriers are most frequent. On the other hand, those conducted in other quarters are not so brisk as they were formerly. It may be inferred that this is principally owing to their expecting an answer to the proposals which Casale took to England, and those which Gismundo, the secretary of Alberto di Carpi, has been charged to make in France. Neither are their negotiations with the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) so active or continuous as they were some time ago. However this may be, one thing is certain, that this Signory is very much afraid of the Emperor and the French King making peace together. They are fortifying and provisioning their towns, felling trees in the immediate vicinity of such towns and castles, digging trenches and pits, and throwing all manner of obstacles in the way of an invading army. Their fears and suspicions seem to have been much increased of late, owing to their not having yet received an answer to their late proposals, which, as announced in a former despatch, consist in paying 50,000 ducats now, and promising 30,000 more in future. That they are raising money and preparing for events of some kind there can be no doubt. The Duke of Ferrara has presented them with eight galleys, fully rigged and well provided with cast-iron artillery, part of those which he (the Duke) captured some years ago in the River Pò, and as the latter is not lavish of his money, it may be inferred that his making the Venetians such a present at this time is not without mystery.

(*Common writing:*) With regard to the Infante's (Archduke Ferdinand) just claims, two months after the Imperial ambassadors made the offer contained in their last despatch, the Signory answered the Archduke's agents residing in this city that they did not intend disbursing any money until the restitution [to the *fuorusciti*] was fairly accomplished. That they objected to the arbitration proposed in case of difference, because (they said) their case was quite clear. That although at the time they did not positively refuse to abide by the decision of a third party, they were not disposed now to submit to that condition.

(*Cipher:*) It is quite evident that the Signory by this means intend only to gain time. They are either unwilling to pay the money, or waiting to see how matters will end [in France]. By which of these two motives the Venetians are influenced he (Sanchez) cannot say, but certain it is that they will not pay a *quatrino* until matters [in Spain] are settled to their complete satisfaction. Suspects that next year the Turk will attack some of the Emperor's dominions in Italy, most likely Sicily or Pulla (Apulia); and it might

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happen that the Signory, out of suspicion and fear of the Emperor's designs, would have been the principal instigators. For a principal citizen, though not a member of the Government, told him (Sanchez) the other day that war would soon break out in Italy and rage fiercer than ever, and that the only remedy, in his opinion, was the invasion by the Turk of some Christian kingdom, that the rest might unite together and sign a universal and lasting peace. He (Sanchez) thinks that, at any rate, the coasts of Sicily and Pulla (Apulia) ought to be well fortified and prepared for the emergency.

After writing the above, he (Sanchez) has heard that the Signory have addressed certain remonstrances to the Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux), complaining that after so many protests as he had made to them, a truce had been concluded in France between the French King and the Emperor. The Bishop has excused himself in very fine words, but not in a manner to allay the fears and suspicions of these people, for they publicly say that, should war break out, they will defend their territory to the utmost, even if they had to call the Devil to their aid (*fasta invocar los diablos del Infierno*). They are not very well satisfied with the Pope, whom they mistrust, asserting that he had most solemnly promised them that Cardinal Salviatis should not proceed beyond Marseilles, and they hear that he has actually arrived in Spain as Legate *a latere*. If this last information be correct, the intrigues of the Venetians are likely to end in smoke. It would appear, moreover, that the intelligence they have from England is not very satisfactory or decisive either.

An agent of the Duke of Bourbon has been here, in Venice, for upwards of one month trying to borrow 5,000 ducats, but although they did promise to accommodate him with that sum, nothing has yet been done in the matter.—Venice, 8 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, 8th of August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6½.

8 Aug. **163.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 166–7.

Wrote on the 6th by the Secretary of the Sumaria of Naples, who is well informed of the affairs [of Italy], and who left the same day in a brigantine bound for Spain, on board which were besides a secretary of the Duke of Milan and a servant of Antonio de Leyva.

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Stefano Grimaldo has just returned from a visit to his brother (Ansaldo ?), who has arrived at Monego (Monaco), with orders from his brother, Joan Baptista, to pay the 24,800 ducats.

News from France, lately arrived in this city (Genoa), state that a truce has just been concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the French King; the conditions, however, are unknown. In case of the truce being prorogued, it would be advisable to have Genoa and this coast included in it, for Andrea Doria is trying all he can to molest the Lord of Monego (Monaco), accompanying the vessels bound for that port and preventing the payment of the customary duties, greatly to the detriment of one of His Majesty's best servants in these parts, as the said Lord undoubtedly is.

These Italian potentates persevere in their intrigues, and are only waiting for the return of Carpi's secretary, who has gone to France to see the [Queen] Regent, and of Gregory Casal, who started for England some time ago. He (Soria) hears that the Fragoso (Fregosi) are also negotiating at Rome, and very much in favour with the Datary (Giovanne Matheo Giberti).

The death of Cardinal Viqui (Vich) turned out to be true. Micer Andrea del Burgo is likewise ill, and with little hope of recovery.

The Duke of Bourbon is preparing for his journey to Spain. He intends to take with him some of the French galleys. The Imperial army is being concentrated, and for the present is to be quartered on the estates of the Marquis de Monferrato, at Asti and at Alexandria.

Micer Andrea de Burgo is better. He (Soria) has just visited him, and hopes he will soon be able to undertake his journey to Spain.—Genoa, 8 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope de Soria, 8th Aug."

Spanish. Original by duplicate. pp. 2½.

8 Aug. **164.** ANTONIOTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 156.

Cannot help writing in favour and commendation of Niccolo de Grimaldi, a gentleman of that city, whose acts, he hears, have been represented by his enemies at Court as those of a man little attached to the Imperial cause. This calumnious imputation, which he (the Doge) asserts is entirely due to the malignity and envy of his rivals, has taken by surprise all the good citizens and merchants of Genoa, who cannot believe that a man of his honour and character could be guilty of such a misdemeanor. He (the Doge) has no doubt that when the affair comes to be properly

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investigated, the Emperor, whose tact and prudence are universally acknowledged, will find him innocent of all charges. He can vouch for the honesty, faithfulness and sincerity of the said Niccolo Grimaldi and his brothers, who, he has no doubt, will triumphantly defeat the attacks of their enemies. Begs His Imperial Majesty to have their case investigated and decided according to Law. He (the Doge) will consider this a great boon; the citizens of Genoa will receive general satisfaction thereby, and be encouraged to persevere in the Imperial service, whilst those who might have entertained doubts of the Emperor's rectitude and kindness will modify their opinion accordingly.—Genoa, 8th of August 1525.

Signed: "Antonioto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Doge of Genoa, 8th of August."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

9 Aug. **165.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 166.

Niccolo de Grimaldi is back in Monaco.

The news of the truce with France has arrived; everyone in Genoa knows of it. Andrea Doria, notwithstanding, still molests Monaco.

The Italians persist in their plots. They are only waiting for the return of Sigismondo, the secretary of Alberto di Carpi, and of Gregorio Casale, the former from France, the latter from England. The intention of these Italian Princes is to form a defensive and offensive league against the Emperor; but the more intimate the alliance the less it will serve them, when made, if the Emperor decide to chastise them.

Has received a packet of letters from the Duke [of Sessa] to be forwarded to Spain.

Busbaci the Papal courier. Andrea di Borgo.—Genoa, 9 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Lope de Soria, Genoa, 9th Aug."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Aug. **166.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 158–64.

Since his letter of the 28th ulto, has very little to advise. If it were not that couriers go very frequently between Rome

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and Venice, he (Sanchez) should be inclined to think, as he said in his last, that the negotiations between the Pope and the Venetians were less lively than they were. Thinks they are waiting to hear the decision of France and England; to obtain which Casale has suddenly returned to England, whilst the secretary of Alberto di Carpi, Sigismondo, has gone to Lyons.

The Duke of Milan, who had also been in secret understanding with Rome, is said to have lately discontinued his practices. Such, at least, appears to be the case, if the information which the ambassador has received can be relied upon.

The intelligence about the Duke of Ferrara, and his present of several galleys to this Signory, is confirmed.

Respecting the Archduke (Ferdinand), the Venetians persist in their refusal to pay the money.

The Bishop of Bayus has, it is said, made great offers to the Venetians if they will only join the proposed league. Nothing certain yet from England.—Venice, 8 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Alonso Sanchez, 10th Aug."

Spanish. Holograph, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet by Secretary Alfonso de Soria. pp. 4.

10 Aug. **167.** The SAME to the SAME.

Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 161.

Duplicate of the foregoing despatch, with a few lines added by way of a postscriptum respecting the claims of the Archduke on Venice.

12 Aug. **168.** The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. .

My good father and brother.—I had ordered Peñalosa to tell you what you must since have heard through your ambassadors at this my court, who have likewise delivered your message to me. My answer to them has been that no alliance in the whole of Christendom could give me more pleasure than yours, not only owing to the great friendship which has existed of old between our Royal houses, but on account of the great affection and love which you have shown me, whenever we have met together. I believe that my sentiments are well known to you, and I can assure you that my affection has not diminished in the least, but, on the contrary, is daily increasing, so as to become in time an almost indissoluble tie betwixt two brothers.

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You must know as well as I do the disasters and public calamities which this present war has brought on the Christian world at large and on the Empire in particular, and the great lack there is of appropriate remedy. To the cure of those evils it is my intention to apply myself entirely, since I am duly bound to do so; but I find one great obstacle in my way. You are aware of the great evils and disasters which my absence from these kingdoms once caused,* owing to my not having been able to make such provision as was needed for the government of this country. In consequence whereof my subjects are pressingly requesting me to marry a Princess who may fill my place and govern during my absence, which is, in my opinion, the only way to keep them contented, and enable me to go about freely and attend personally to my affairs. The only remedy I see for this difficulty and for many others—which to so poor a writer as myself would take too much time to describe—is to anticipate the time of my said marriage, and likewise the payment of the sums to be allotted as the Princess's dower. But as your ambassadors here have positively declared to me, in your name, that this expedient can nowise be adopted, nor the said marriage effected until the conclusion of a solid and lasting peace, I see no way to obviate the said difficulties and ward off the impending evils. I hope you will be reasonable enough to appreciate at its due value the answer I have just given to your ambassadors, and will consider it as both just and expedient in the present state of my affairs. As to the continuance of our mutual friendship, on that point there is not the least danger. I can assure you there is nothing I desire so much, being of opinion that, although the form and terms of our alliance might be altered through my marrying in another quarter, yet our amity is to continue the same as ever, and so to be increased as to secure the mutual and lasting alliance which would have ensued from my union with the Princess, your daughter. The better to accomplish the said object and provide for our common interest, thereby promoting the welfare of Christendom at large, I propose that you and I should work together for the conclusion of a durable peace, likely to turn to our own mutual advantage and profit, so as to satisfy our consciences and discharge our duty towards God as Christian Princes; and if, through our enemy's fault, the said peace should not be made, to devise together such means as may ensure the fulfilment of our common wishes and the satisfaction of our claims.

If, therefore, owing to the above-named reasons, I were obliged to marry [another Princess], I beg you not to take it in bad part, or suffer it to be the cause of our mutual love and affection being lessened; for I can assure you that I shall

* The Emperor alludes here to the civil war known as *Guerra de las Comunidades*, which lasted from 1520 to 1522.

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wait for your answer, and delay as much as possible the said marriage; and that when the ambassadors receive your powers and communicate your wishes to me, you will be convinced of my goodwill and desire to foster and increase our mutual amity, and to procure your welfare as much as my own. And that you may trust to the sincerity of my professions, I hereby affix my signature, as a proof of my constant wish to be for ever your good son, brother, nephew and good friend."—Charles," [Toledo], 12 August 1525.

Addressed: "A mon bon frere le Roy d'Angleterre."

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

12 Aug. **169.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, f. 132.

Monsieur le Cardinal.--If I have delayed writing to you until now, it has been owing to the strange and unaccountable proceedings of the King, my good father and brother, towards me. I cannot, however, persuade myself that your intentions were otherwise than good, knowing the care and solicitude you have always shown in our mutual affairs, and therefore will not withdraw that trust and confidence I have always had in you, begging you will exert yourself to maintain and increase the friendship and affection which have hitherto existed between my good brother and myself, as you will see by the letter I have just written, and which my ambassadors have orders to place in his hands; in doing which I shall have occasion to know and appreciate your good intentions, just as you will also judge by the signature affixed, that mine are equally good and true.—Your true friend, "Charles," [Toledo], 12 of August 1525.*

Addressed: "A Monseigneur le Cardinal de York, Legat en Angleterre."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

13 Aug. **170.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA, his Ambassador in Rome.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 33, ff. 265–8.

After the departure of Lope Hurtado, by whom he (the Emperor) wrote, the ambassador's letters of the 8th and 18th June have been received.

The Pope is right in taking this matter of Luther so much to heart. As a Christian Prince and a protector of the Holy See,† he (the Emperor) is very much grieved at the spread of this evil, and quite ready to apply a remedy. Sees

* The name of the place whereat this and the preceding letter were dated is not mentioned; but as the Emperor is known to have resided at Toledo from the 27th of April to the 1st of September, I have not hesitated to class them as written from that city.

† "Por la parte que nos toca como á principe christiano y protector de essa sancta silla."

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no better one for the present than to attend to the establishment and consolidation of universal peace, as he is now doing; and when this is achieved, devote all his attention to the extirpation of heresy. He (the Emperor) trusts that the negotiations for peace will be conducted as befits his own Imperial service and the welfare of Christianity. A truce is about to be signed, which will no doubt lead to universal peace among Christians. Madame de Lançon (D'Alençon) and Monsieur de Bourbon are soon expected here (at Toledo). Cardinal Salviati, the Legate, has arrived at Barcelona; it is to be hoped he brings full powers from His Holiness, so that there is a fair prospect of the affairs being soon settled. He (the Duke) is to tell the Pope that the Emperor is very grateful for the assistance [in money] lately sent to his brother the Archduke, and that he also intends helping him before and after the conclusion of the peace.*

About His Holiness not being pleased with the manner in which the different corps of that army have been quartered, he (the Duke) is to tell him that Lope Hurtado has been sent to Italy for that express purpose, and to remove all cause of complaint on that head.

Should His Holiness allude again to the restitution of Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera, held by the Duke of Ferrara, he (Sessa) is to answer him in the mildest possible terms, according to the memorandum, as well as to the copy of the Pope's brief and our answer, all of which are enclosed, assuring him of the goodwill and earnestness with which he (the Emperor) is determined to uphold the interests of the Church, as its most obedient son and protector.

With regard to Sienna, the Emperor approves of the ambassador's plan of sending thither a governor who may set matters right. As soon as the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), who is now with the King of France, returns to Court, a trusty person shall be sent to that city to report on the state of things there, and remedy the evils, without, however, introducing any changes until his (the Emperor's) arrival in Italy.

Has given strict orders to the Council of Naples to attend to the payment of the sums borrowed by the Duke. Is to report and say what he knows about the negotiations which Casal is to open at Rome, and how His Holiness takes it. As to the suspicions said to exist at Milan, they will soon cease, for orders have been issued for the deed of investiture to be drawn, a copy of which has here been delivered to the Duke's ambassador.

Sorry to hear the Pope is in bad health.

Church provision. The Archbishop of Capua is well deserving of all his favours. Further proofs shall be given to him that his services are very acceptable to the Emperor.

* "Y que por nuestra [parte] le acudiremos como es justo antes y despues de concluida la paz: que obligacion es á que no se debe faltar en ninguna manera."

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Since the ratification of the league [with the Pope]* must have been received by this time, he (Sessa) is to follow in every respect M. de Bourbon's instructions and orders thereupon. He was quite right in hastening the conclusion of that affair when he did.

The ambassadors of the King of England residing at this our court deny that the French ambassador ever went [to London], as reported, at their express desire. On the contrary, it was Madame the Regent who sent him, of her own accord, and the French themselves have spread the rumour, in order to sow dissension between us and that King. We are hesitating whom to believe; but in the meanwhile will do our utmost to preserve the friendship of England. Should the Pope make allusion to this, he (Sessa) is to assure him that such is the Emperor's decided intention. Thanks him for the information he has sent respecting the proposed Scottish marriage, the bad passions stirred up by the Cardinal of England, the news from Germany, &c.

He (the Duke) is to procure for the Bishop of Siguença a brief similar to that which was obtained some years ago for the Archbishop of Saragossa, his uncle. The Bishop, who is now Lieutenant-General in Catalonia, has often written on the subject; and he (the Emperor) wonders how there can be so much delay in a matter of such importance for the administration of justice in that province, which cannot be attended to unless the said brief is obtained.—Toledo, 13th Aug. 1525.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6½.

14 Aug. **171.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. Nos. 42-3.

On the 6th inst. one of the Duke of Milan's secretaries and a servant of Antonio de Leyva left this port [for Spain]. They were followed, three days after, by the Lieutenant of the Sumaria of Naples in the carack "Monega." Every one of them took despatches of his for the Emperor.

Nothing new to advise since those dates, except that the Imperial army is being concentrated, and will take up its quarters in Monferrato and Asti, and in the marquisate of Cevà, which are all close to each other. The Duke of Bourbon and Marquis of Pescara have sent Corradin to Germany, to raise there 4,000 infantry for the reinforcement of the Imperial army in case these Italian potentates should attempt mischief, as the negotiations between them still continue, though, in the end, it is to be hoped that they will see the folly of attempting anything against the Emperor, and will remain quiet. As the Duke of Sessa [at Rome] and Alonso Sanchez [at

* "Pues habeis recibido la confirmation de la liga." These words are underlined, as if intended to be written in cipher.

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Venice] must already have acquainted His Imperial Majesty with these intrigues, he (Soria) has nothing to add on the subject, except that this city (Genoa) must also be attended to; not that there is any fear of the Doge, who continues to be in every respect a faithful servant of the Empire, but on account of the Fregosi, now in great favour at Rome, and to whom help has been promised to regain their position in this Signory. As the city is now almost deserted, owing to the prevailing plague; as Andrea Doria, who is so near at hand, is a friend of the Fregosi, and so great an enemy of His Imperial Majesty; as Genoa itself is divided into factions striving for power, the Imperialists are naturally afraid of some secret treaty being made whereby the Signory might be seriously damaged, for certainly if the Italian Princes decide to take up arms against the Emperor, one of the first things they will attempt will be to get possession of this city, which, with its castle and port, is such a convenience (*comodidad*) for the Emperor in these parts of Italy. So persuaded is the Doge of the danger in which things are, should the Fregosi attempt anything against Genoa, that he has lately increased his forces and repaired some of the defences; and it is to be hoped that these precautionary measures and the fact of the Imperial army being so near at hand, will prove a sufficient protection for the city; although, on the other hand, it must be said that the Fregosi place great reliance on the assistance of Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis, who is not far off, residing on an estate called Lunigiana, of which he has lately taken arbitrary possession.

Should, therefore, His Imperial Majesty make a truce or some such agreement with the French King, it will be important to have this city and its coast included in it, also to have it stipulated that Andrea Doria is not to be allowed to come down here with his galleys and harm the people of this Community and port. This last clause ought to be well specified, for Doria being himself an owner of galleys, a Genoese by birth, and an enemy of the Adorni, the French might excuse themselves by saying that what Doria undertook was not done by their order, but merely on his own account as a condotiero (*capitan de ventura*).

Nicolao de Grimaldo is still at Monego (Monaco). His brother Esteban (Stefano) delays payment on the plea that both are expecting orders from their brother, Joan Baptista, in Spain. Out of the whole sum he (Soria) has received one third. He has paid to M. de Bourbon's steward* 3,000 cr. (*escudos*), and bought besides 2,500 cwt. of biscuit for the fleet. 750 cr. (*escudos*) were paid to the crew of the carack "Lomellina" for one month's wages, and 300 more to the "Arca" which Andrea Doria captured. The rest of the money is in the ambassadors' hands.

* M. de Varennes.

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Should the Duke of Bourbon wish for one or more caracks to take his horses and luggage to Spain—as he is most likely to do—he (Soria) can at once freight as many as may be wanted, for those of this Signory happen to be now either in this port of Genoa or at Iviza and Carthagena, and in eight days' time any of them might be got ready. The Community besides has offered four more caracks, paid for two months, in case the Emperor should decide to come over [to Italy].

Micer Andrea del Borgo is much better, and the pestilence abating.—Sestri de Poniente, 14 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Post data.—After writing the above, has heard that one of Doria's galleys chased the other day the brigantine on board of which the Duke of Milan's secretary was, and obliged her to run into port at Monego. So that either the truce has not yet been proclaimed, or, if proclaimed, is not kept. Has also heard that the galleys of Rhodes and two more of France were getting ready to take Memoransy (Montmorency) to Spain. Since these galleys of the Order and those of the Pope are to be in Spain, it would be very important to have them secured.* The carack "Monega," where the Lieutenant of the Sumaria went, has been obliged to put up at Naya? near Savona, on account of contrary winds.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 14 Aug."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

15 Aug. **172.** The Duke of Sessa to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 44.

Writes in commendation of the Bishop of Phano (Fano), the Pope's Vice-Legate at Bologna†, who is such an affectionate servant of the Empire that he (the Duke) would do him injustice by failing to mention his many signal services. During the last war in Lombardy, he (the Bishop) governed Parma and Piacenza, where he took as much care of the Emperor's affairs and interests as if he were one of his ministers. He now sends to His Imperial Majesty one of his own servants, named Micer Raphaele, to negotiate certain matters of his at Court. He will be the bearer of this present.—Rome, 15 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Rome. The Duke of Sessa."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

* "Gran bien seria assegurarse destas galeras de Rodas y tambien de las del Papa, pues todas seran allá."

† Goro Gherio, bishop elect of Fano and governor of Bologna. Some of his letters are in Porcacchi's collection, *Lettere di Principi a Principi, &c.*

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16 Aug. **173.** The Milanese Ambassador in Venice [Francesco Taverna] to Hieronymo Morone.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35 f. 186.

They (the Venetians) know through the same individual that a treaty of truce has lately been concluded between England and France. The return of Chancellor d'Alençon is expected, who had gone [to England] to obtain the signature of the treaty. Indeed letters from Flanders announce that he (the Chancellor) had passed through and was returning to England.

Should peace be concluded between the Emperor and France, and they (the Pope and the Venetians) excluded from it, they must for the present show no hostility to the Emperor, but dissemble, and rather appear to be his friends

Italian. Copy in Sanchez' hand. p. 1.

16 Aug. **174.** The Emperor to the Sieur de le Sauch, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, No. 100.

Cher et bien aimé &c. You will see by the enclosed memorandum the overtures made to us by the English ambassadors and what we have answered on each point. As the matter itself is so important for the favourable issue of our affairs, common as well as private, We command you immediately after its receipt to communicate it to the King our good brother, and to Monseigneur the Legate, for although a similar memorandum has here been given to the English ambassadors, it is important that the King should be informed as soon as possible of our intentions, that he may forthwith send full powers to his ambassadors to renew our old friendship, make peace [with France], and, if necessary, prosecute war.

We have also ordered that a copy of the articles of the truce made in the Low Countries without our consent should be put in the hands of the said ambassadors, declaring at the same time our intention not to have the said truce ratified unless the King of England be willing to approve of it, as We would not for the world do anything that might turn out to my good brother's detriment. On the other hand a general abstinence from war between ourselves, the King of England, our ally, and King Francis is now being discussed and negotiated here [at Toledo], with the advice and intervention of the English ambassadors present at the conferences, and therefore, when concluded, will be submitted to the King's approbation, that he may ratify it. And as a proof that We do not intend to treat separately with the French We will have the same sent to the Low Countries, there to be published, causing all previous agreements to be declared nul and void.

You will take care to inform us of every new occurrence in London, and likewise of whatever the French ambassadors

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residing at that court may negotiate separately, although We have no doubt that just as We here communicate with the English ambassadors and tell them all We know in the matter, you will be equally acquainted there with all the stages of the negotiation.—Toledo, 16th of August 1525.*

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

17 Aug. **175.** The Milanese Ambassador in Venice [Francesco Taverna] to Hieronymo Morone.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 64–5.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 8th.† Has nothing to add, except that having called on the Signory and pressed them to give an answer respecting the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand's) claim, they have agreed to pay down a portion of the money owing [to him], although they have not fixed either the time or the sum. With regard to the differences, if any should arise, they consent to have the matter referred to a third person.—Venice, 17 Aug. 1525.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1525. From the Imperial Ambassadors in Venice. 17 Aug."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

18 Aug. **176.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 174–8.

(*Cipher :*) Notwithstanding what he (Sanchez) said in his last concerning a certain lull to be observed in the intrigues and plots of these Italian confederates, he (Sanchez) is always on the alert. On the 12th instant, Hieronymo Morone despatched a courier to the Milanese ambassador [Taverna] residing here [at Venice] with verbal instructions, but no letters from the Duke. The courier arrived on the 15th, and on the same day the ambassador said to him (Sanchez) that he had received a letter from Morone, written wholly in cipher, but had not yet had time to decipher it. He (Sanchez) having again inquired about its contents two days later, the Milanese ambassador answered that they were unimportant and referred exclusively to certain business of Moron's with a gentleman of this city.‡ His suspicions being raised by this apparently evasive answer, he (Sanchez) contrived to get into his own hands a letter which the Milanese ambassador was

* A copy of this letter, from a transcript in the Belgian Archives, is in Bergenroth's collection, vol. iii. fol. 328, (Brit Mus. *Add.* 28,547.)

† Enclosed in Sanchez' despatch of the 18th.

‡ "Me dixo que no nada sino de cierta inteligencia que aqui tiene con uno."

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actually writing to Morone, in answer to his of the 12th. But the letter being mostly in cipher, and nearly five pages long, he had no time to decipher it or copy its contents, as he had to return it three hours after. He, however, managed to copy the part that was in common writing, which he now encloses.* Strongly suspects that some new intrigue is going on, for otherwise the Milanese ambassador would have communicated to him (Sanchez) the substance of the letter, as he has done at other times. On the contrary, very far from this, he was silent and reserved in the extreme; for, having inquired of him whether there was any news from France or England in Morone's letter, the ambassador replied there was none, which he (Sanchez) does not believe, as there can be no doubt that something is going on in those countries against the Emperor's interests, and that Hieronymo Morone knows of it. Besides, as will be seen by that portion of the ambassador's letter which he (Sanchez) managed to transcribe, the rest in cipher must have referred to news from those countries (France and England), which the Milanese ambassador adroitly kept from him, whereas up to this day he has carefully imparted such intelligence as he received from those courts. The Milanese ambassador's letter to Morone went [by post].

(*Common writing:*) Yesterday the said ambassador informed him (Sanchez) that he had heard from the Duke of Milan, in date of the 14th instant. The Duke (he said) had intelligence from Spain of the 18th July last, by a gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon, to the effect that peace was on the point of being made between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. That His Majesty was to marry the Princess [Isabella] of Portugal; the French King Madame Eleonor (the Emperor's sister); Monsieur de Bourbon was to espouse Madame d'Alençon the sister of the French King.† This last was daily expected [in Spain], as was also the Pope's Legate. That with regard to this Venetian business, Lope Hurtado brought full powers for him (Sanchez) and Prothonotary Caracciolo to have it settled at once. He (Hurtado) was to leave Spain on the 23d. The ambassador added that the Duke, his master, had written to him to call on the Signory, communicate the above intelligence, and persuade them to come to terms with the Emperor, and pay what they owed him, as the only way to avoid trouble and vexation. He (the Duke) was shortly to receive his investiture, the deed of which had already been drawn out. With the Legate's arrival in Spain the affairs of Rome would be satisfactorily arranged, and therefore there remained no plausible cause for refusing the Emperor's conciliatory terms.

* Not in the volume, unless it be the fragment under No. 173.
† Margaret of Angoulême, widow of Charles, Duke of Alençon.

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Sanchez has since heard that the Milanese ambassador saw the Signory and read to them the contents of his master's despatch. Being asked whether he thought the Emperor would be satisfied with the sum proposed by them here at Venice, the ambassador replied that he could not tell, upon which they observed: "If the Emperor has peace so much at heart, how is it that the Marquis of Pescara is continually increasing his army, procuring money to pay the troops, and making all manner of military preparations? This can only be intended for one of two contingencies, defence or offence. The Emperor has nothing whatever to fear from us; and therefore it is natural for us to suppose that all these preparations are intended against our Republic." The ambassador replied: "I know nothing about the Emperor's designs, but think the Marquis is acting very prudently and like a clever physician, who, perceiving mild medicines to be of no avail, is preparing stronger ones for his patient."

To this last observation the Signory answered in general terms, protesting their fidelity and so forth. They thanked the Milanese ambassador for the intelligence and for the Duke's good wishes. But they are evidently anything but pleased with it, and much in suspense about this affair of the marriages and the preparations of the Imperial army. Such, at least, is the opinion of the Milanese ambassador and his own, to which may be added that he (Taverna) seldom goes to the Council Hall, and, therefore, (*cipher*) if there be any secret negotiations between Milan and Venice, they must be conducted through one of the Signory's secretaries.

The Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) writes about the 4,000 Germans who are to come down under the leadership of George Fraundesperg (Fruntsperg). By the tenor of his letter, received on the 17th inst., he (Sanchez) concludes that they are not yet in readiness, and therefore it is doubtful whether it would not be better to apply for the passage of these troops through the Venetian territory and their necessary victualling on the road, as has been done at other times, rather than ask for a safe-conduct and letters of transit, as the Infante recommends in his letter. He (Sanchez) is of opinion that the application ought not to be made at present; for if it is, these people are sure to grow exceedingly suspicious of His Imperial Majesty's intentions, and so will the Pope, who, according to what the Duke [of Sessa] writes, is in great fear, especially ever since he has heard of the agreement made between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. Indeed, both the Pope and the Venetians will suspect that this German infantry thus arriving in Italy at the request of the Marquis de Pescara, is for no other purpose than that of attacking and subduing them.

The above considerations have induced him (Sanchez) not to apply at present for a pass, lest the Pope and Venetians should take umbrage, and determine, through fear and suspicion, to bring their plans into execution. He sees no

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occasion for it at present, especially as the troops are not yet ready for marching. Has written to the Marquis [of Pescara], informing him of his determination. — Venice, 18 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed; "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Alonso Sanchez, 18 Aug."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

20 Aug. **177.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 188.

The Venetians and the rest of the Italian potentates continue plotting against His Imperial Majesty. This investiture of the Duchy, so graciously bestowed on Francesco Sforza, is nothing to them, and they are negotiating with France more actively than ever.

The Signory is daily increasing its forces, and the Marquis of Pescara has had letters from Lyons, stating that 1,500 French lances were approaching the frontiers of Italy. Nevertheless, he (the Abbot) cannot persuade himself that the Kings of France and England can lend a willing ear to these Italian intrigues. But as France and England are now allies, it is very possible that both may assist Italy, whilst only one of them comes to a rupture with His Imperial Majesty. Besides they may secretly give money to [the Italians], that they may carry on war against the Emperor.

The Marquis [del Guasto] does all he can to keep the Imperial army concentrated, and is fortifying the places we possess in the duchy.

Count of Geneva and the claims of the Duke of Savoy.— Milan, 20 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Abbot of Najera, 20 Aug."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 196). *pp.* 4.

21 Aug. **178.** The Bishop of Trent to Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 202.

His Serene Highness the Archduke [Ferdinand] must now be at Olma (Ulm), or in the duchy of Bitinbergo (Wurtemberg), at the head of 6,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, and preparing to march upon Alsatia and Fereto (Ferrette), to chastise the peasants of those districts,* who are still in revolt

* "Per andare in Alsacia et Fereto luogui suoi ad comprimere li villani de quelli stati."

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against his authority. Out of the said forces under the Prince's commands, 4,000 foot and 400 cavalry are paid by the Suabian League.

Respecting George Fraundsperg (Fruntsperg) it is quite true that he is now in the neighbourhood of Saltzburg, at the head of 10,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, partly his own bands, and partly the Duke of Bavaria's troops, sent to the relief of the Cardinal, besieged in his castle by the revolted peasants. The last advices from that locality are that a settlement (*compositione*) of some sort was soon expected, or else a most violent conflict, for some of the villages about Saltzburg had already accepted terms. There is no talk, however, at present of the said George crossing over to Italy with his bands, for he has been for the last six weeks—and is still—engaged in that Cardinal's service.

It is also true that the Viceroy [of Naples] sent to Germany one of his stewards, named Spaña (Spagna?), for the express purpose of raising there 3,000 infantry to serve in Italy, and that the said Spaña came to this city, whence he applied for a permission to pass through the Venetian territory. But shortly after the said Spaña received counter-orders from his master, the Viceroy, enjoining him to desist from his commission, and join him in Spain. The letter was brought, as it is generally believed, by Meneses, the Prince's gentleman courier, lately returned [from Spain] from a mission to the Emperor. The said Meneses, who passed through Trent, told him (the Bishop) how matters stood, and what reasons there were for sending a counter order. His Worship (Alonso Sanchez) must know what those reasons are. Besides, letters have been received from court, with the intelligence that a peace is likely soon to be concluded, with the acquiescence of that most Illustrious Signory,* and that several marriages are to take place, such as those of His Imperial Majesty, the most Christian King of France, the Duke of Milan and Monsieur de Bourbon.

It is no less a fact that to-morrow or after we expect the arrival here of 500 infantry to chastise those revolted peasants who only the other day murdered Micer Piero de Bussi (Pierre de Bussy), and also to compel the submission of many others in this bishopric and towns of the Archduke's dominions, who have refused to comply with the ordinances of the Diet unless certain grievances of which they complain be previously redressed.—Trent, 21 of August 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of paragraphs of a letter dated the 21st of August, from the Bishop of Trent† to Mossen Alonso Sanchez."

Italian. Contemporary copy, in the handwriting of Sanchez' Secretary. p. 1¼.

* "Et cum intelligentia bona di quessa Illustrissima Señoria se da ley non mancharà."

† Bernardo Clesio?

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21 Aug. **179.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 203.

The Emperor's letter, dated the 25 July last, has come to hand, as well as those for the Doge and Community, and for the Viceroy of Sicily, concerning the export (*tratas*) of wheat granted to this Signory in consideration of and as indemnity for the damages caused in their territory by the infantry in the King of France's escort. He (Lope de Soria) failed not, on the delivery of the said letters and grant, to represent to the Doge the great annoyance which the disorderly conduct of his soldiers on that occasion had given the Emperor, and his anxiety to make a suitable compensation. The Doge and Community have gratefully received this new proof of the Imperial benevolence and justice, and assured him (Soria) of their constant fidelity and obedience.

All the despatches that come for the Duke of Sessa and Counts of San Severino* and Monteleone† have been forwarded to Rome by express. The Duke will take care that these last are sent to Naples.

The capitulation signed here between the King of France and the Viceroy [of Naples, Charles de Lannoy] has not been fulfilled in many of its articles. For on the 16th of July last Andrea Doria captured, close to Savona, the carack called "Arca," which he (Soria) had engaged for the Imperial service, and took her with him to Villafranca de Niza. He also captured a brigantine coming from Barcelona, and put to the oars in his own galleys all the passengers and crew thereof, besides which he is continually annoying the Lord of Monego, attacking his towns on the coast, and preventing his officers from collecting the usual customs' dues on vessels coming from the coast of Provence, all of which he (Doria) does in utter contravention of the clauses of the said capitulation which engage that no harm shall be done by sea or land to the territory of this Republic, within which Monego and its immediate neighbourhood are comprised, the said Lord of Monego being a Genoese by birth, and a good servant of His Imperial Majesty. As the duties on all vessels coming from Provence constitute the principal part of that Lord's revenue, measures ought to be taken for his protection, as well as for the speedy liberation of the men taken on board the Barcelona brigantine.

Has carefully attended to the provision of biscuit for the fleet. Out of the 4,000 cwt. ordered by the Emperor 2,000 are already in store, and the remainder shall be ready against the arrival of the galleys. The Duke of Bourbon is anxiously expecting them, and writes to say that, immediately on their arrival, he will prepare to embark for Spain.

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* Andrea Carrafa, Conte di Sancta Severina, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Naples during the absence of Charles de Lannoy.

† Hector Pignatelli, Count, afterwards Duke, of Monteleone, and Viceroy of Sicily.

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Respecting the six caracks which he was ordered to get ready on the 25th of June last, before the departure of the French King was known at Court, he (Soria) purposely delayed the execution of the order until its confirmation should reach him from Spain, inasmuch as—circumstances having materially changed since—they might no longer be wanted, and, moreover, the fleet of galleys which they were to join was not immediately expected in Genoa. So urgent, however, were the letters of the Duke of Bourbon and of the Marquis of Pescara on this point, that he (Soria) engaged for that service the "Arca," afterwards captured by Andrea Doria, and another Genoese carack called "Llomelina," whose crew has actually been paid up and dismissed, in conformity with orders received from home. He is, however, afraid that the Duke will require one or two more for his horses and baggage, freighted at the Emperor's expense; and if so, he is doubtful whether it will be His Majesty's pleasure that he should engage them on his own account, though the cost cannot be very great.

Believes that His Imperial Majesty will be pleased with the French King's departure for Spain. No better plan could be suggested, and the Viceroy (Charles de Lanoy) deserves much credit for having thereby promoted the Imperial interests.

The negotiations lately established with all secresy by the Italian Princes seem to have experienced a check of late; and yet the Venetians show signs of fear, and are busy fortifying their frontiers and making all manner of military preparations. (*Cipher:*) These are the people who, from fear of being deprived of the territory which they unjustly hold, are continually striving to create dissensions between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. Should they at once be deprived of their forces, all Italy would be at peace, and the Emperor might firmly establish his rule as befits such a Prince. Otherwise it is in their power to kindle war at their pleasure, and expel from the country all those whom they consider as their adversaries, so great being their ambition and their cunning that they will always find the means of placing His Imperial Majesty at variance with the rest of the world.

He (Soria) has frequently alluded in his despatches to the necessity of reducing the city of Marseilles. As long as that port belongs to France, no security can be expected for the Imperial dominions. It is a nest of pirates and cruisers, who flock there from all parts of the world, and who, owing to the convenient situation of that port in the Mediterranean, plunder and capture the Spanish vessels bound for Italy and the Levant. Were Marseilles brought under the Imperial rule, the whole of the coast of Provence would be made secure, and the Spanish merchant navy could navigate the Mediterranean in perfect safety.

(*Common writing:*) Pestilence still reigns in this country, though not with much violence. The Duke of Bourbon and

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the Marquis of Pescara are at Vercelli, expecting every day the arrival of Lope Hurtado, who, they say, has been detained in France by Madame the Regent.

The Duke of Milan is better, and Micer Andrea del Borgo also.—Sestri di Ponente, 21 August 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 21 Aug."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp.

180. The SAME to the SAME.

Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 207.

Since he wrote on the 21st he (Soria) has seen Stefano de Grimaldo, who says he will have great difficulty in making up the 24,800 ducats of the last exchange, as his credit is affected in consequence of what has happened to his brother, Nicolao [in Spain]. He intends, however, to pay the second instalment very soon, and consequently has begged for a few days' respite to pay the third. He (Soria) thinks that this ought to be granted, for otherwise he might, if his credit fails him, become utterly bankrupt and leave the city. Has already received the first instalment, and is sure that the payment of the second will be made within three or four days at the utmost. Not having, however, received orders as to the employment of the said money, he (Soria) is rather perplexed. Both the Marquis of Pescara and the Abbot of Najera maintain that the said funds are exclusively destined for the army. Encloses copy of a letter just received from the Abbot asking for the money. He (Soria) does not consider himself justified in sending it, unless expressly ordered to do so.

On the 23d, at night, news came here how an Italian captain, named Antonio di Udena, who with 500 men was marching towards Monago, had entered a village of this republic, called Honeya (Oneglia), and sacked it completely, carrying away the inhabitants as hostages, and making them pay heavy sums for their ransom. They say that the Captain has a commission from the Duke of Bourbon; but certainly it may be safely asserted that if the General-in-Chief has given him one, it was not to enable him to perpetrate such misdeeds in a friendly country.

Pestilence having broken out in the carack where the Lieutenant of the Sumaria [of Naples] and Hieronymo Severino intended to cross over to Spain, it is believed that

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they will not embark in her, but wait for another opportunity. —Genoa. Sestri de Poniente, 23 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 24 August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

22 Aug. **181.** The Bishop of Trent to Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 208.

Wrote yesterday in answer to his, enclosing whatever news he had about the infantry now being levied in Italy by a steward of the Viceroy [of Naples], and how the enlistment had been suspended, and the steward himself recalled. But after his letter was closed, advices came from the Marquis of Pescara, saying that the *condotta* was not to be abandoned altogether; on the contrary, hopes of the levies being continued ought to be given out, for fear of the men disbanding and enlisting under the enemy's banners. The steward was moreover directed to go to the Archduke's, where he would find every facility for his commission.—Trent, 22 August 1525.

23 Aug. **182.** The Same to the Same.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 209.

Since his letter of the 22d the Bishop has to advise that a captain, named Coradino, has brought a commission to raise 2,000 infantry for the Imperial service, who, after obtaining permission, are to pass through the land of the Grisons.

News has been received from Saltzburg, stating that the army under Micer Forio Frunospergere (Georgio? Fruntsperg), a captain in the Cardinal's service, was close to Talena? and had begun to batter its walls with artillery. The people inside the town defended themselves with great courage. The captains of the army had promised two months' pay to the soldiers, one for the assault, the other to preserve the town from sack. If things turn out well, as he expects, he will not fail to give advice.—Trent, 23 August, 1525.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the Bishop of Trent to the Ambassador, Alonso Sanchez."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p 1.

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23 Aug. **183.** [Silvio Passerino] Cardinal of Cortona to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 210.

Although in his last letter [to the Emperor] he wrote at full length on the Barcelona business, and promised constant fidelity and obedience to the Imperial commands; though he trusts that His Imperial Majesty, through his ardent love of the Apostolic See and Church dignitaries, will soon give him possession of the said bishopric, yet, taking advantage of the departure for Spain of the Pope's Legate, Giovanni di Salviatis, and of the Reverend Apostolic Nuncio, he again repeats his most humble prayers on that score, and has begged the said ambassadors warmly to intercede in his favour; and as nothing can be more becoming to a great Prince than the exercise of justice—which His Majesty has certainly always shown towards others on similar occasions—he has no doubt but that his wishes in this particular will be accomplished, especially as nobody can doubt that the appointment to all vacancies at the Roman court belongs exclusively and is reserved to the Apostolic See. This, notwithstanding, the Cardinal will consider himself highly honoured by receiving the same at the Emperor's hands, protesting henceforwards of his constant fidelity and blind obedience to the Imperial commands, &c.—Florence, 23 of August 1525.

Signed: "S. Syl[vius] Cardinalis Cortonensis."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome (*sic*). From Cardinal di Cortona, 24th of August."

Latin. Holograph. p. 1.

23 Aug. **184.** The Emperor to the Duke of Sessa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 269–71.

His (Sessa's) letters of the 12th July have been duly received. Thanks him for the news contained in them, which agrees well with what Bourbon, Pescara, Leyva and the ambassadors at Venice, Milan and Genoa have communicated respecting the intrigues of the confederated powers.

By the Imperial despatches of which Lope Hurtado was the bearer, and by later ones of the 13th inst., he (the Duke) will now be fully informed of what the Emperor's wishes are. He must assure the Pope that upon the arrival at court of his Legate (Cardinal Salviati) all matters now pending and the business about Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera shall be satisfactorily arranged. He is to try to keep the Pope in good humour, and speak to him in the mildest possible terms, not forgetting to have his eye on the Datary (Giovanni Matheo), and ascertain what he and others, who are the enemies of the Empire, are plotting against him [in Italy].

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Was very much pleased with his answer to the English ambassador, when the latter inquired about Commander Peñalosa's mission to England.

The renunciation of the archbishopric of Rosano (in Sicily), made by Cardinal Colonna, in favour of Vincencio Pimpinelli, has been approved of and confirmed, merely to please the said Cardinal. He (Sessa) must try to ascertain what has passed between His Holiness and Cardinal Sanctiquatro,* for certainly the latter's journey to Florence under the present circumstances cannot be without mystery.

He (the Emperor) cannot imagine what objection the Pope can have to grant to the Bishop of Siguença† a brief similar to the one obtained by the Archbishop of Saragossa, nor what made him say that the brief in favour of the latter was the cause of the late troubles and rebellions in these kingdoms, for the Archbishop of Saragossa happened then to govern Catalonia and Aragon, and those kingdoms were entirely free from disturbance. As the administration of justice cannot be carried out without a brief of this kind, similar in all its parts to the one granted on that occasion, he (the Duke) is to do his utmost to obtain it.

Approves the sending of Commander Aguilera to Sienna.

He (the Duke) is again to solicit the Pope to send to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) the 20,000 ducats, for, although he may be told that the peasants' rising is on the decline, it is not thence to be inferred that he (the Archduke) has abundance. Is likewise to insist with His Holiness on the grant of the revenues of the Cruzade for the purpose of waging war against the Infidel. The Nuncio has already been spoken to, and given fair hopes that His Holiness will accede to the Emperor's just request.

His (the Emperor's) journey to Italy will not take place this year; at any rate not before universal peace is solidly established. He (the Duke) may tell the Pope so, and reassure him as to his (the Emperor's) peaceful intentions.

Hospital of Nuestra Señora de Gracia at Saragossa.

Lope de Soria must already have received bills to the amount of 80,000 ducats, which, added to the 100,000 which the Duke of Milan is to furnish in consideration of the investiture granted to him, and what will be drawn from the Venetians will amply suffice for the present wants of the army. —Toledo, 23 Aug. 1525.

Postscriptum in Gattinara's own hand.—Illustrious Duke, &c.—We have written to you about the affairs pending at that court, and the despatches will be ready for the courier's departure in two or three days hence; yet, in order to gain time, the present is sent by express, that you may at once announce to

* Elsewhere entitled Sanctiquatuor, but more correctly "Sanctorum Quatuor."

† Don Fadrique de Portugal, mentioned in No. 134, p. 240. Bishop of Calahorra and Segovia until 1512; appointed Viceroy of Catalonia in 1520, afterwards promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Saragossa (1532). He died in 1539.

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His Holiness the Emperor's betrothal to the very Illustrious Princess Doña Isabel de Portugal, &c.

Spanish. Original draft corrected by Gattinara. pp. 6.

24 Aug. **185.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 215–8.

Lope Hurtado de Mendoça is laid up with fever at Chambari (Chambery), where the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele) saw him. As his physician advised him not to continue his journey, he despatched a servant of his with the letters and instructions he was bringing [from Spain] for the Emperor's generals and ministers [in Italy]. The messenger started on the 17th inst., and arrived here yesterday evening [the 23d of August].

(*Cipher:*) As the instructions brought by the said Lope Hurtado are so very important in the present state of affairs, and as the despatch which Alvaro de Bracamonte is now about to take to Spain requires an immediate answer from Court, both the Duke of Bourbon and Marquis of Pescara have decided not to delay Bracamonte's departure, but to send another messenger afterwards with an account of what has been done in pursuance of the said instructions lately received. The said generals, besides, are in hopes of having, in a day or two, an answer to the despatches sent by Juan Baptista Castaldo and other gentlemen and messengers who left this by sea.

The Duke of Bourbon is only waiting for the galleys to get ready. We have received no account from Genoa since our last.

Antonio de Leyva went the other day to Milan for the purpose of seeing the Duke, and asking him for money and accommodation for his men-at-arms, most of whom were, and some are still, quartered on the lands of the Church. His presence, and that of Prothonotary Caracciolo, will be required here [at Vercelli] in order to advise with them as to His Imperial Majesty's orders in this last despatch brought by Lope Hurtado.

The Marquis of Pescara has read, besides the Emperor's letter to himself, that part of Hurtado's instructions which have reference to his own person. He thanks His Imperial Majesty for the grant of the dukedom of Sora; the title of Captain-General of the Imperial armies in Italy; the sum of money offered as compensation for Mons. de Labrit's ransom, &c.; but it would appear that he (the Marquis) intends not to accept the said grants (*mercedes*), because he considers them inferior to his past and present services and much less than he expected. That of Sora because it seems as a sort of winding-up of all his former services and is only to last one year. The title of Captain-General, because, though it comes from the Emperor himself, and without his (the Marquis) having applied for it, yet it contains clauses tending rather to tarnish his honour than to increase his

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military reputation. Respecting Mons. de Labrit, because he considers himself wronged through the Emperor having deprived him of the price of his ransom (*talla*), on which he (the Marquis) counted for paying his own debts, very considerable already, and which will naturally increase now that he is not to keep the estate of Carpi. He (Najera) considers it his duty to inform the Emperor of these matters, and beg him to take into account the Marquis' many services, for certainly since he (Najera) came to Italy he has had plenty of opportunities to convince himself that no Prince in the world had ever so faithful a servant.

By this last despatch two Imperial letters have come, addressed to him (Najera), one on the 26th of July last, brought by Lope Hurtado; the other in answer to some of his own despatches. The orders they contain shall be properly attended to.

Intends to leave tomorrow for Milan, and ask the Duke [Francesco Sforza] for the ratification of the contract (*contrato*) concluded in Spain with Chevalier Bilia, his ambassador; also to recover from him 100,000 ducats as part and portion of the 700,000 which he has to pay for the investiture of the Duchy just granted to him; and, lastly, to hold a conference with Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial ambassadors at Venice, respecting that part of the instructions which concerns them and the Venetians.

Humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to consider his Italian army, and the state of complete destitution in which it is. As the sum which the Duke [of Milan] is soon to give is by no means sufficient to pay our debts; as there is no certainty of the sum which the Venetians are to furnish, and as according to their usual practice (*mañas*), it is likely to come in late and considerably reduced from its original amount, it is most needful that His Imperial Majesty remit, as soon as possible, the 100,000 ducats promised from Spain, or find some other means of supplying the wants of this Imperial army.—Vercelly, 24 of August 1525.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. El Abad de Najera. Vercelli, 24 Aug. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3¼.

25 Aug. **186.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 225–6.

Received on the 22d inst. the Imperial despatch of the 25th July.

Respecting the negotiation with the Venetians, he (Sessa) cannot say for certain what turn it will take now that His Imperial Majesty has sent fresh instructions to his ambassadors

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at the Signory. All he can say is that these latter had almost agreed to receive 80,000 ducats. It might be that, seeing things in a better state than they were some time ago, Caracciolo and Sanchez may have agreed to increase their demands. He (Sessa) cannot tell, but has no doubt the Imperial ambassadors have reported fully on the state of the negotiation and the chances, if any, of getting a larger sum.

Creation of cardinals, Church provision, and other ecclesiastical matters.

Ascanio Colonna has delayed his journey to Spain on account of the birth of a son.

Chevalier Orsino has a lawsuit, of which he intends to take advantage in the present state of things.*

(*Cipher:*) Having, in pursuance with his instructions, asked the Pope to forward to his Legate [in Spain] ample powers to settle all affairs, and especially those relating to the Duke of Ferrara, his answer was more reserved than usual, for he said that he had already written, and would write to his Legate to promote as much as he could the restitution [of Rezzo and Rubiera]. He (the Duke) thinks that if the Pope saw England enter this general movement for peace he would be obliged to give in, though otherwise unwilling to join the confederacy,† and wait for a better opportunity to declare himself. Such is the Duke's opinion, and it is important that His Imperial Majesty should be informed of it.

About England very different reports are current here from those His Imperial Majesty seems to have heard at his court. Letters from Lyons state that the league between England and France had been proclaimed in that city, and that there was a talk of the Dauphin [of France] being shortly married to the Princess of Wales [Mary], the conditions and so forth being already settled. No answer has yet come, either from Chevalier Casale or from Gismundino (Sigismondo), and it would seem, as he [Sessa] had occasion to say in his last despatch, that since the news of an agreement between His Imperial Majesty and the French has become almost a certainty, the Italian intrigues have considerably abated.

Advices from Lyons of the 14th inst. state that on the arrival of Montmorency at that city, Madame the Regent (Louise of Savoy) and the members of the Council showed at first much satisfaction; but when they heard the details of the negotiation their joy subsided; and they had come to the resolution that Madame de Lançon (D'Alençon) should go on temporising until His Imperial Majesty answered the articles forwarded from Lyons. According to the tenour of that answer she (the Duchess) would hasten or delay her journey; and in case of her going [to Spain] was to be provided with full powers from all the Parliaments and Estates of France.

* "El caballero Ursino trae un pleyto de que piensa prevalerse para esta jornada."

† "No podra ál hazer que pasar por la ley que se le diere, quando no tenerse al acuerdo."

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(*Cipher:*) This last report he (the Duke) has from the Pope's mouth, and has besides read letters confirming the intelligence.

Thanks His Imperial Majesty for the orders on Naples respecting the money he (the Duke) was answerable for. The Council of that kingdom has paid the sum, but the moneys borrowed from the [Spanish] cardinals and from the Bishop of Salamanca about the same time are still due.

Pension of 10,000 ducats on the see of Toledo. Memorial of Alcalde Leguiçamo.

Brief for the Royal donative of Sicily was procured and sent, two months ago, to the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) in the very same terms as it had been asked for.

Has spoken to His Holiness about the affairs of the minister (*ministro*) of the Trinity of Toledo, but has received no answer about it. Has likewise conversed with him respecting the Austin Friars, and sent the papers to the General of that order now residing at Venice.

Don Pedro de Urries left [Rome] without taking leave of him, and therefore he (the Duke) could not write by him, as he would otherwise have done. Believes that Don Pedro is the bearer of the Pope's powers to the Legate, but not having gone to the Palace yesterday or to-day, he is not sure of the fact.

With regard to the Knights of St. John, and the Emperor's wish that they should establish themselves at Malta, he (Sessa) spoke to His Holiness, as he was ordered to do; but there was no necessity, for he answered that His Imperial Majesty had the Grand Master with him in Spain, and that he (the Pope) had no other wish than to see the knights settled in a place of security.

Respecting the galleys there is nothing more to say, considering that both those of the order of St. John and the Papal ones are already in the ports of Spain, and winter has set in (*el invierno es en las manos*).

The Emperor's letter on the subject of an annual pension of 10,000 ducats on the see of Toledo will be presented in the first Consistory. The cardinals have assured him that there will be no difficulty about it.

With regard to the priorate of Santa Christina (in Aragon), the petition was presented with the special clause *quatenus est de jure patronatus*. It is now in the hands of the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti), and he (Sessa) will do his utmost to obtain it.—Rome, 25 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King, 1525. From the Duke of Sessa, 25 Aug."

Spanish. Original by duplicate. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

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26 Aug. **187.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 228–9.

Wrote on the 18th,* mentioning his suspicion that the Milanese ambassador (Taverna) was in treaty with this Signory, and sent copy of letter from the said ambassador to Hieronimo Morone, which he (Alonso Sanchez) had managed to intercept. The same ambassador has since received another letter from Morone, and, when questioned by him (Sanchez) as to its contents, he answered that it only brought common news from Spain which everyone knew. Perceiving, however, that couriers were becoming more frequent, as likewise the visits of this ambassador [who no longer gives him information as he used to do before] to the Signory, he (Sanchez) suspected there was something wrong, and accordingly managed to get into his hands the ambassador's answer to Morone, which, being short, he had time to transcribe, and of which he now encloses a copy.† Has written about this to the Marquis of Pescara, and sent him a transcript of the intercepted letter to see if anyone [at Milan] can make out the cipher.‡

On the 20th the ambassadors of France held a long interview with this Signory; it lasted one hour and a half. Their object was merely to acquaint the Signory with the news they had received from Lyons, in date of the 12th: namely, that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been concluded between France and England. That the King of France bound himself not to alienate any portion whatever of his dominions; and that in case of a ransom in money being demanded, he of England was to help France with a loan of 400,000 ducats. He (Sanchez) cannot vouch for the truth of this information, though it comes from a person who ought to know it well.§ All he can say is that letters from the Venetian ambassador in England, in date of the 29th last, give it as certain that an alliance had been concluded between France and England in conformity with full powers given by the Regent (Louise of Savoy) and the governors of that country.

This morning, as he (Sanchez) was going to the Signory, he met again the French ambassadors coming therefrom. Couriers to Rome are becoming more frequent every day, so that there can be no doubt that the plot is maturing.

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* No. 176, p. 293.

† This is in complete contradiction of what Sanchez wrote on the 18th. He there said that the letter being a very long one, and almost entirely written in cipher, he had no leisure to decipher it, and only transcribed those passages that were in common writing. Perhaps the one here alluded to was a different one, though the circumstances under which it was intercepted and copied appear to be the same. However this may be, the letter is not in the volume; and it may be presumed that it was appended, like many other papers and letters of the King, to the voluminous process afterwards instituted against Morone and the Duke of Milan.

‡ "Yo he dado aviso de todo al Marques de Pescara y enviado tambien traslado de las cartas que [he] intercebido, y que si sabe alguno que sepa sacar las cifra que la haga sacar."

§ "Esto no lo advero pero sélo de lugar que puede saberlo."

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Sends copy of a letter received from the Bishop of Trent, whereby it will be seen that he (Sanchez) was quite right in not applying for a pass for the troops.—Venice, 26 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 26 Aug."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3½.

26 Aug. **188.** Fr. Francisco de los Angeles to the Emperor.

S. E. L. No. 847, f. 172,

Was so well received by the Pope the other day that he took courage to place in his hands a memorandum on the actual position of affairs in Italy. Has sent a copy of it to the Archbishop of Seville (D. Fernando Valdes). His Imperial Majesty may read it if he pleases.

The Pope sees only through the eyes of the Datary. Thinks that the latter erred in what he did against the Emperor; but he pleads, as an excuse, that his intentions were good, and that were he to be heard, people would not condemn him. He (the Datary) is in good odour with His Holiness, and wishes to be useful to the Emperor. Does not know whether his services can be acceptable or not, but if so, he ought to be treated as a penitent sinner (*ser recibido á penitencia*).—Rome, at the Monastery of Araceli, 26 Aug. 1525.

Signed: "Fr. Fr. gł. m̃." (Frater Franciscus Generalis Minister*.)

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 Aug. **189.** The Commissioners to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 22. No. 101.

Have been told by the Marshal of Calais that the King, his master, is about to send him to Hungary upon certain business. He (the Captain) is to call on his way on Madame, and on Monsieur the Archduke, and has therefore requested them (the Commissioners) to apply for letters and passports that his journey may be accomplished in safety. Their answer has been that no letters are required, since ambassadors, and indeed all subjects of the King of England, can travel with perfect security through the dominions of the Emperor, Madame's and the Archduke's; but as the Captain

* Otherwise Fr. Francisco Fernandez de Quiñones, of whom a further notice will be given hereafter. He was at this time general of the Franciscan friars, and had his residence in Rome.

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insists upon having a passport and letters, the Commissioners beg that he be recommended and properly attended to, as he is a good and honourable gentleman, and has often done them good service near the person of the King whose favour he enjoys.*—London, 27th August 1525.

Signed: "G. de Theimseke," "Jonglet."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays d'en Bas."

French. Original. p. 1.

29 Aug. **190.** Prothonotary Caracciolo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35. f. 234.

Received, only three days ago, the Imperial letter with the instructions of what he is to do at Venice. The delay has been caused through Lope Hurtado being detained by illness at Ciambri (Chamberi). Leaves to-morrow for Venice, and once there, in company with Alonso Sanchez, will do everything in his power to execute the Emperor's commands.

Has nothing new to advise, except that the Duke of Milan's illness has much increased of late. For upwards of 50 consecutive days he has had intermittent fever accompanied by a softening of the arms and hands. However, for the last four days a slight improvement has been visible, and the physicians hope that in a couple of days more the patient will be entirely free from fever.

Every endeavour is being made here to procure the 100,000 ducats; and though it is impossible to get them at once, there is every probability of their being paid very shortly. If, however, the troops are also to be quartered on this estate, the general opinion is that both burdens will become intolerable, and that one of the two must needs be abandoned. The Marquis of Pescara, he hears, is about to write home on this particular, and Morone has left this very day for Pavia, to consult him, and devise the best means for the fulfilment of the Imperial commands.—Milan, 29th of August 1525.

Signed: "Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice (*sic*). Prothonotary Caracciolo. 29th of August."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1¼.

4 Sept. **191.** Cardinal Wolsey to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1553, f. 158.

Is persuaded that the Emperor will grant his request respecting the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, as it is also the request of the King, his master. The knights of that Order have at all times rendered great services when at war with the

* A copy in Bergenroth's Collection, vol. iii. f. 342, now in Brit. Mus. *Add.* 28,574.

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Infidel. They have no home now. Begs he will give them some other island or place where they can live.—Londini, ex meis Edibus, 4 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Thom. Card. Eboracensis."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred and Victorious Majesty of the Emperor."

Latin. Holograph. p. 1.

4 Sept. **192.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 236.

Has written by the Lieutenant of the Sumaria of Naples, who is to cross over to Spain in a few days, and will also be the bearer of the present letter. What he has to add to his former intelligence is: That the Imperial galleys, those of Genoa, and the two of the Pope, anchored at Savona on the last day of August, where, owing to the pestilence still reigning in this city, they will remain until the Duke of Bourbon is ready to embark. Busbaci, the Pope's courier, came in one of them, and brought him (Soria) the Imperial letter dated the 15th, together with those for the Duke of Sessa, Prothonotary Caracciolo, and Alonso Sanchez, all of which he forwarded to their respective addresses. That which came for the Doge and Community, and wherein the Emperor expressed his sorrow and sympathy for their present tribulations owing to the plague, he (Soria) personally delivered into the hands of the Doge, by whom it was received with all possible reverence and gratitude.

Lope Hurtado was taken ill at Chamberin (Chamberi), but has since recovered and gone to Pavia, there to meet Marquis of Pescara, Antonio de Leyva, Hieronimo Morone and the Abbot of Najera, and devise the best means for the payment of the 100,000 ducats and selecting quarters for the Imperial army. The Duke of Milan was willing to pay the money, though the citizens made some difficulty. The Abbot was going to Monferrara,* for the purpose of securing quarters for 2,500 lances, and obtaining, if possible, a supply of money from the Marchioness. Prothonotary Caracciolo had gone to Venice, there to negotiate in union with Alonso Sanchez.

Has got in store all the biscuit which the galleys may want for four months; but they have arrived in so deplorable a condition that they cannot possibly be got ready for sea before a fortnight, although the Duke wishes to embark as soon as possible, and has sent him (Soria) the Emperor's letter bidding him to put 10,000 ducats at his disposal. This he will do in a day or two out of the 24,800 of the last exchange, in addition to the 3,000 advanced on a former occasion. But he (Soria) begs leave to observe that although Stefano Grimaldi has already paid the two first instalments, he will find much difficulty in making up the remainder, his credit in this city

* Thus written; evidently an error for Monferrato.

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having completely failed, in consequence of what has happened [in Spain] to his brother Nicolao. If, therefore, the said Grimaldi fails to pay that sum, he (Soria) will not have money in hand to pay the galleys. Will strain every nerve in this affair so that the Duke's departure may not be postponed from want of means, but it would be advisable for Giovanni Battista Grimaldi to write a pressing letter to his brother Stefano on the subject.

Hears that Commander Ycart summoned the Pope's galleys from Coliure (Collioures), almost against their will, and when at Savona would not allow them to return home, without previously consulting with the Duke of Bourbon. The latter has written to say that they are to be retained in the Emperor's service, and escort him on his voyage to Spain, and that he has written to Rome for permission. Paulo Victoris (Vettori), who commands them, is gone thither for the same purpose.

The Duke of Sessa writes that the Italian intrigues have, in a great measure, ceased for the present; but the Abbot of Najera and Alonso Sanchez maintain a contrary opinion. It is to be hoped that with the arrival in these parts of Lope Hurtado, everything will soon be satisfactorily settled.

Pestilence has again broken out at Rome; and His Holiness takes up his quarters in the Belvedere, in consequence of some of his household having died from the disease. It still continues in Genoa, and the city is to be cut off from intercourse within four days so as to prevent its spreading. On the arrival of the Duke [of Bourbon] at Savona, the Doge and he (Soria) intend to visit him. It is reported that the Marquis del Guasto is to go over to Spain in his company.

When the galleys of Portundo went to Spain, he (Soria) was obliged to engage 150 seamen of this coast to serve the oars on board of them, on condition, however, that when their services were no longer wanted they should be dismissed and allowed to return home. And since the said Portundo is now in Castille, and has taken service with the Emperor, he ought to be persuaded to dismiss and pay up the said crews, as they may be easily replaced by others.—Sestri di Ponente, 4 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa, the 4th of September. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

8 Sept. **193.** The Marquis del Guasto to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 46.

As the Marquis of Pescara is writing to His Imperial Majesty at length, to inform him of the present state of affairs [in Italy], and what turn they are likely soon to take, there

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is no need for them* to repeat what the Marquis has said already. He (Guasto) has, in a former letter, reported about Saluzzo. Cannot say whether the issue was successful (*aportò bien*), but whatever could be done was done. The Count of Jinebra (Geneva) is to send this very day one of his men to take possession of that marquisate; and there is every reason to believe that he will be satisfied [with this token of the Imperial munificence], and consent that a portion at least of the Imperial forces about to be withdrawn from Piedmont should be quartered on his new estate, so that the defence of the land [against the enemy] be as easy as was the taking possession of it.†

Should have wished to accompany M. de Bourbon [to Spain], as there is nothing he wishes for so much as to appear before the Imperial presence; but the present state of affairs, and the complications that are likely to result—if his apprehensions be true—have prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, as he (Guasto) has always preferred the Emperor's service to his own personal convenience and pleasure.—Verzel (Vercelli), 8 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and very Catholic Majesty, etc."

Indorsed: "To the King. From the Marquis del Gasto, 8 Sept. 1525."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

8 Sept. **194.** POPE CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat. Re. Cap. c. Pont. L. VI. ff. 517–24.

Clemens P.P. VII. Cum sciamus Maiestatem Tuam propter celsissimum gradum in quo a Deo es collocatus, propterque illustrissimæ familiæ tuæ amplitudinem, quando uxorem ducere voluerit (cuius rei jam tempus adesse videtur) non multas tanto coniugio dignas inventuram, cumque ex eo ipso numero fieri posset, ut illa quam Tu delegeris Tecum consanguinitate vel affinitate coniuncta sit: quod illustrissimum genus Tuum latissimè pateat, et omnes fere Principes aliqua cognatione complexum sit, ne forte hæc res tam pium, tam salutare Christianis omnibus consilium impediat, motu proprio ex certa nostra scientia ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, Tecum ut quocumque consanguinitatis vel affinitatis gradu, excepto tamen primo, matrimonium libere et licite contrahere possis, dispensamus, &c.—Romæ, viii. Sept. MDXXV. Be. El. Ravenensis.

Addressed: "Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Romanorum et Hispaniarum Regi Catholico in Imperatorem electo."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

* Namely, the Marquis himself and Antonio de Leyva, who, conjointly with Pescara, had the command of the Imperial arms in Italy.

† "Y creo que se contentaria apartandose parte del exercito de V. Mag. de allá, que ansi ligeramente pueda defender la tierra como lo ha hecho en tomalla;'

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8 Sept. **195.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 238.

Considering that the inhabitants of Spain do not bear with patience the Emperor's absence from that kingdom, especially when unmarried, and without sons and heirs to his crown; considering that the only way of ensuring their affection is for the Emperor to take a wife, who may give him succession, and calm the fears of the said Spaniards "ne res illa impediat ut hujusmodi matrimonium liberum sit, quomadmodum Sacri canones jubent, te a quacumque obligatione, conditione, pactione aut juramento cujuscumque etiam predecessoribus tuis Imperatoribus, aut parentibus, aut omnino, etc."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

9 Sept. **196.** LOPE HURTADO [DE MENDOZA] to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 240–3.

By his letter to the Grand Chancellor, from Chambery, His Imperial Majesty has no doubt been informed of his arrival in Savoy, and how glad the Duke was to see him, and hear what he had to say in the Emperor's name. As soon as he recovered from his illness, he (Hurtado) took his departure for Turin, where the Infanta [Beatrix] now is, by whom he was better and more graciously received even than he had been by the Duke [her husband]. Thence he proceeded [to Milan], where M. de Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescara are residing, and delivered the letters and instructions he had for each of them. The former is preparing for his journey [to Spain]; he left on the 6th for Pavia, and went thence to Genoa, where he is to embark and sail for Spain, about the middle of this month, if the weather be favourable.

(*Cipher:*) About other matters contained in his instructions he (Hurtado) is much afraid that the Emperor's wishes and orders cannot be executed to the letter, for things are not now in Italy as they were when His Imperial Majesty decided to send him on, as may be gathered from the intelligence which both Pescara and Leyva have from time to time sent home. In Piedmont, for instance, as there was no other means of removing the men-at-arms quartered there, the following expedient has been adopted: An agreement has been entered into with the Duke's agents residing in this city (Vercelli) and with the Count of Geneva, that 700 of them shall be fed at the Duke's expense during one month, at the expiration of which time the Marquis [of Pescara] has given his word of honour, either to send them to other quarters or to provide money for their support. Meanwhile, to prevent any excesses on the part of the Imperial troops, the Marquis of Pescara has made an agreement, of which he (Hurtado) encloses a copy, stipulating the number and quality of the rations which each man-at-arms is to receive daily, &c. It is, therefore, urgent that, at the expiration of the said period of one

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month, during which the troops, as above stated, are to be maintained at the Duke's cost, His Imperial Majesty provide means for their support, as there is no money left at the Imperial camp, the last remittances in bills not having had effect.

Respecting the dismissal of a portion of the Imperial army, he (Hurtado) is of opinion that in the present state of Italy this cannot be attempted, especially at a time when intrigues are so active, and the Duke of Milan's health is so precarious. Rather than diminish the army, it ought to be increased, if means can be found for doing so. The remedy which he (Hurtado) brought from Spain is so slow, and so uncertain, that both the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva see more danger in it than hope for the future. They have, however, such a desire of being useful to His Imperial Majesty; they are so united, and Leyva, in particular, so obedient and full of deference to the Marquis, that there is no fear of any movement taking place among the Italian powers which cannot immediately, and at once, be suppressed. The better to accomplish this, and to be prepared for the event, it is urgent that His Imperial Majesty provide them with money, which the galleys, now about to convey M. de Bourbon to Spain, might bring back. This, the Marquis observes, would be equal to life.

He (Hurtado) went to Milan and spoke to Hieronymo Moron; but could not see the Duke, who was described to him as being very ill, having had intermittent fever for more than 50 days, besides occasional fits, and having lost the use of both his hands. He (Morone) told him that, whatever people might say to the contrary, the Duke, his master, was, and will always be, a faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty. But notwithstanding the above protestations of fidelity, people wonder how it is that Morone does not allow his master to be seen, from which they naturally infer that he bears no affection to the Emperor, and cares little for his displeasure. Some time before his (Hurtado's) arrival at Milan, the said Morone asked the Abbot of Najera for the deed about the Salt, as he said that the Duke, his master, was ready to sign it. The Abbot complied with his request, and handed it over to him; but although Morone has often promised since to return it with the Duke's signature, he has not yet done so, and Hurtado, after five days' stay, had been obliged to quit Milan without obtaining that for which he had so often applied.

Up to the day of his departure 20,000 ducats have been paid [by the Duke]. He has promised to pay, shortly, 14,000 more, and to discharge the remainder gradually.

(*Cipher:*) However, those who know him (Morone) believe that the payment will not take place, as he has promised, this month; whilst others maintain that he will not give the whole sum. The Duke is very ill. Morone told

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him (Hurtado) that he feared much for his life; and that were God to take him, His Imperial Majesty might rely upon his (Morone's) fidelity. He would forthwith surrender the the castles and fortresses he (the Duke) holds in his hands, as he has often assured him that, in case of death, his estates were to be placed at the Emperor's disposal.

(*Common writing:*) Prothonotary Caracciolo left this for Venice on the last day of August. No hope is entertained of his success in the pending negotiation.

He (Hurtado) has handed over to the Marquis of Pescara the letters-patent appointing him Commander-in-Chief (*Capitan General*) of the Imperial armies in Italy, and delivered also the Emperor's verbal message. The Marquis, after returning thanks for the favour, begs that, since he is to have the same salary as Prospero Colonna, the conditions inserted in his nomination, and which were not stipulated in that of the said General-in-Chief and others of his predecessors, should be removed, for otherwise he cannot (he says), without detriment to his honour, accept the appointment, such as it has been made. He offers, however, to serve His Imperial Majesty as effectually as he has done hitherto.

Concerning the duchy of Sora, whereof His Imperial Majesty has made him a grant, he finds that the term at which he is to receive the investiture is rather long, and he should like to have it shortened.

In the affair of Carpi, he seems to be satisfied with the explanation given in the Emperor's letter of the 12th ult., hoping that in the meantime he will render such services to the Imperial cause, that he may be more amply remunerated; but he still insists upon resigning the post of General-in-Chief, unless His Imperial Majesty consents to have the conditions of his nomination altered, for people put all manner of constructions upon them more or less disadvantageous to his person. The Marquis deserves much for what he has done, and is now doing, for the Emperor's service. (*Cipher:*) Antonio de Leyva has told him (Hurtado) that he knows for certain that both the Pope and the Venetians have lately tried to gain him over to their cause, an act of dishonesty and knavery which ought not to remain without due punishment.

The Abbot of Najera and he (Hurtado) remain at Vercelli at the request of the Count of Geneva, to arrange matters concerning the army's quarters. That being done, he (Hurtado) will go to Turin to visit the Infanta [Beatrix], and give her all possible satisfaction respecting that affair, for there is nothing she wishes for so much as to see the Imperial troops out of the Duke's territory. He thinks, however, that no words will be sufficient to appease her, and especially the Duke, who is anxious to come back to Turin, owing to the plague having broken out in Savoy, though he dares not do it as long as the Imperial troops are quartered on his estates.

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Simon de Tagis (Taxis?) the postmaster at Milan, has under his orders a youth named Bartholomé [de Taxis], a relative of his. He (Hurtado) has heard the latter say that, two days before the ambassador's arrival at Milan, Hieronymo Moron ordered him to post to a fortress on the Lake of Como, and tell the Governor, in his name, that if by chance he had detained, or had there with him, a certain Gismundo (Sigismondo), secretary to Alberto di Carpi, who was going to France on important business of the Pope and of the Duke, his master, he was to let him go free. If not there, he was requested to have a search made for him among the Grisons; if captive, he was to pay the ransom demanded; if dead, he was to secure his letters, which were of the utmost importance, at any price asked for them. The said Bartholomé told him (Hurtado) that although he had faithfully executed Morone's commission, and every search was made for Gismundo, he could not be found, dead or alive.

He (Hurtado) has also been told by the Duke of Savoy that the Pope, the Venetians and the Duke of Milan had made a league. At first he took no notice of the report, but now he begins to think there may be some foundation for it, and that His Imperial Majesty ought to write to the Duke, begging him to tell Hurtado all he knows about it. People here make all manner of conjectures, owing to the circumstance of the Emperor's allies not being mentioned in the articles of the truce, at which they are generally discontented.

The Marquis del Guasto is in the Astesano (country of Asti) with the infantry and light cavalry of the Imperial army. He is a perfect gentleman, very much loved by the soldiers, and highly respected here as well as in France. His Imperial Majesty ought to show him favour.

The generals of this army have lately been discussing what measures might be taken in case of the negotiations between these Italian powers against the Imperial interests coming to an issue. Among other expedients proposed, one is the restoration to Genoa of the Fregosi, who promise to pay 80,000 ducats down, the present Doge (Antoniotto Adorno) having lately come under suspicion. The Marquis (of Pescara), however, asserts that he knows nothing to his (the Doge's) discredit; whilst he is sure that the opposite faction (the Fregosi) are ill-inclined, and fears that, once inside Genoa, they will do mischief. It is for His Imperial Majesty to decide how the Marquis is to act in this case.—Bersel (Vercelli), 9 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope Hurtado, 9th Sept."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

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9 Sept. **197.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 245.

(*Cipher:*) In addition to his observations about Piedmont, and the men-at-arms quartered in that country, he (Hurtado) cannot help insisting on the necessity of providing sufficient means for their maintenance, if they are to remain in their present quarters after the expiration of the period fixed by the Duke [of Savoy] and Count of Geneva. If, notwithstanding the said agreement, His Imperial Majesty decide for the immediate evacuation of that country, the Marquis of Pescara must be written to, that he may take his measures accordingly, as it will not be easy to persuade the men-at-arms to leave their present quarters to occupy others without money or food.*

Has sent the memorandum which the Duke gave him some time ago, respecting the sums for which Savoy and Piedmont agreed to compound for the maintenance of the Imperial forces. The 15,000 ducats paid into his hands it will be difficult for him to return, such is the poverty of the country, and the emptiness of his coffers. As to the 12,000 which are due, he does not intend to claim them. The Marquis of Pescara thinks that if the Duke wishes for a new inquiry to be made respecting the ravages and losses inflicted by the Imperial troops, he (Hurtado) is bound to accede to his demand and help him in it. Certainly these are very great, but there is, nevertheless, every reason to think that were the Duke to be freed from the present nuisance, and the men-at-arms to evacuate his country, he would not lay much stress on past offences, for although the land is completely wasted, and the inhabitants impoverished and ruined, they see no way to recover what the soldiers took away from them; besides which it appears that a considerable number of the Imperialists have been privately slain in their quarters, which is no wonder, considering the state of despair to which the country people have been driven.

His Imperial Majesty must nevertheless feel grateful to the Duke and to the Infanta [his wife] for the patience and forbearance with which they have endured the past and present sufferings of their subjects. The Count of Geneva, in particular, has been very useful on this occasion, by tempering and calming down the anger of the people. They ought to be thanked for their exertions, for certainly each and every one of them has done what he could to arrange matters and prevent further mischief.

Begs for instructions how to act. Whether in case of the Duke not taking notice of the past, he (Hurtado) is to remind him of it; also what is to be done with the men-at-arms after they have evacuated Piedmont, where they are

* The whole of this paragraph and the following ones are in cipher. They form part of a duplicate of the preceding letter.

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to be quartered; how to be paid their arrears, and fed, etc.—Bersil (Vercelli), 9th of September 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Duplicate from Bersil (Vercelli), 9th Sept."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

9 Sept. **198.** ANTONIO DE LEYVA to LOPE HURTADO.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

In answer to his letter he (Leyva) can only say that he has applied to Hieronymo Moron for the deed [of ratification?], and has promised to send it in to-day. Whether he (Morone) will fulfil his promise or not is more than he can say.

The very day that he (Lope Hurtado) left [Milan], a man of the name of El Abatys* arrived, in company with one of Robertet's servants. They went up to the castle twice on two different days, after which the latter proceeded to Rome, and the former returned to France.

One of his informers tells him that the plot thickens every day. These people have seized hold of a servant of the Marquis [of Pescara], and learned from him many things [they did not know]. They have resolved in case the Duke [of Milan] should die of his present illness, to send for Masymiano (Massimiliano Sforza), and tell him to bring with him the forces that are being prepared in France, all of which is to be done immediately, so as not to give the Emperor time to take precautionary measures and so forth.

Yesterday Hieronymo Moron went to a country villa of his (*maçeria*), four miles from this city, to spend the day. Has heard from a reliable source that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) went thither in secret, and that they passed some hours together. The news is in everybody's mouth.

Eight companies (*banderas*) of [Spanish] infantry have arrived at Cremona, and twelve more at Bergamo. The intelligence comes from people of those localities; he (Leyva) does not know it for certain. Has sent thither to inquire if the report be true or not. Will hear to-morrow, and advise him [Hurtado]. Thinks that before the departure of the next messenger, Hurtado and he (Leyva) ought to meet and discuss together on the affairs of the day, and on the best way of doing the Emperor's service. It is much needed under present circumstances.

These people surrender their money with a very ill grace; Moron has felt so much the military precautions lately taken by us that there can be no doubt as to their secret intrigues.

* "Llegó aqui uno que se llama El Abatys con un criado de Roberteto."

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The latter can hardly hide his discontent. Hearing that the Germans under Coradino have advanced as far as the Adda* he last night spoke to Licentiate Bracamonte in such injurious terms [about the Emperor], and uttered so many bravadoes, that he [Leyva] does not like to transcribe them, and leaves that task to the Licentiate himself.

No more news from Milan. Intends to leave to-morrow for Pavia. This letter to be shown to the Abbot [of Najera], as if it were for him.—Milan, 9 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "A mi Señor, el Señor Lope Hurtado de Mendoça."

Indorsed: "To me [Hurtado] from Antonio de Leyva. Milan, 9 Sept."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1½.

9 Sept. **199.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 47.

Wrote on the 24th of August last, and encloses the duplicate. Since then the Duke of Milan, as stated by Hieronymo Moron and others of his servants who see him daily, has been troubled with intermittent fever, having been so weakened by the disease that he is not expected to live many days, though there are not wanting malicious people who assert there is nothing the matter with him. The truth is that he has been, and is still, dangerously ill; indeed, when he (the Abbot) went to Milan on the 25th for the purpose of obtaining the ratification of the contract (*el mandato contrato*) made with Chevalier Bilia, his ambassador [in Spain], about the investiture of the Duchy, the Duke could not sign, though he accepted, the deed, and gave immediate orders for the 100,000 ducats to be paid out of the Ducal treasury, as first instalment on the sum of 700,000 ducats, which is the price of the said investiture. Out of those 100,000 ducats only 20,000 gold crowns have been paid; to-morrow we expect to receive 10,000 or 12,000 more, and little by little the whole sum will be paid, as it is impossible to have it otherwise. Begs His Imperial Majesty to remit an equal sum from Spain, for, considering the time the Duke will take to effect this payment, and the dilatory proceedings of the Venetians in all like matters, the wants of this army will go on increasing, and it will be impossible either to dismiss a portion of the forces, as the Emperor wishes us to do, or provide for the support of the remainder. The dismissal of part of the Italian infantry and light

* This passage is so exceedingly obscure and ambiguous in the original that I deem it necessary to transcribe it here in Leyva's own orthography, which, as may be presumed, is none of the best: "El Moron ha sentido tanto que los Alemanes de Coraryn (*sic*) ayan ydo acya Adu (*sic*) que anoche dixo al lyçenciado Bracamonte muchas palabras muy feas y muy bravas, tanto que no es bien escrivirlas por que él os las dirâ."

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cavalry, however, is a thing that cannot be done at present, now that the intrigues of the Italian Princes are hotter than ever (*mas caldas que nunca*), as the Marquis of Pescara cannot fail to have advised. The latter has received the Imperial letters of the 12th August, and will follow the instructions and orders therein contained; but the great difficulty is to find money to keep together this Imperial army, or select fit quarters for them to be in without money. The Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele), the Infanta (Beatrix), his wife, and his brother, the Count of Gineba (Geneva), are pressing us very hard to remove [from Piedmont] the 800 lances who, according to Hurtado's late commission, and with those Princes' consent, remained in their quarters after the withdrawal of the infantry and light cavalry. But it is materially impossible now to accede to their wishes, there being no other district to lodge them in, except the lands of the Church or the Venetian territory, which would be highly imprudent to try under the present circumstances. As to this Estate [of Milan], it is so far wasted and consumed already, that were the said men-at-arms to be quartered on it, we should not get one penny of the 100,000 ducats, as Hieronymo Moron and the rest of the Duke's ministers have repeatedly threatened us with. Nor is it possible either to remove them to the marquisates of Cevà and Saluzzo, where the said men-at-arms were quartered at first, because the Marchioness having agreed to pay 4,000 crowns for the temporary support of the 250 lances, who only the other day evacuated the territory of the Church, it would be unjust to impose upon her a heavier fine. 100 of these the Marchioness agreed to feed on her own estates; for the 150 remaining, a convenient district will be chosen in this duchy [of Milan], where they may live at her expense, since, as before stated, she is to pay half a crown daily for each man. Now it is for the Emperor to consider how many of the 800 lances, now quartered on the estate of the Duke of Savoy, can conveniently be removed to Monferrado, because 300 of them, who, in pursuance to orders issued by the Duke's commissariat, marched to a district called Biella, found on their arrival the country entirely deserted, the inhabitants having fled to a neighbouring mountain with all their valuables. A week after, the people of the place, accompanied by others, to the number of 2,000, came down, broke the bridge, destroyed the mills, and cut off the supply of water from the mountains. They, moreover, slew a trumpeter whom the men-at-arms had sent to parley with them, and committed other injuries, until our men, whose retainers happened to have firearms (*escopetas*), attacked and drove them back to the mountains.

To prevent further hostilities, and the men setting fire to the place, the Marquis of Pescara sent down two companies of Spanish infantry, who are to remain there with the men-at-arms until other quarters are provided for them. He (the

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Marquis) is now trying to get out of the people of Viella the 4,000 crowns, or more, which they promised to pay before the men-at-arms were destined thither, with which money—if paid—the men will manage to live elsewhere.

The marquisates of Saluçio, Final, Çevà and Malespina are mountainous districts, and so sterile and poor that none but regularly paid infantry can subsist on them. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, must not think it strange if the men-at-arms are not sent thither; indeed, the light horse and infantry now quartered in those parts find scarcely anything to eat, and are at most times obliged to go to the Monferrato for food.

Captain Coradin, who went to Germany for infantry, has arrived at Leco, in the estate of Milan. He brings with him 1,200 men, and has passed through the land of the Grisons, marching night and day, before the latter had time to collect their forces and stop the passes. This notwithstanding, he has met with many obstacles in his march. He is to join the other German bands, once under the command of Jorge Frensperch (Fruntsperg), who are now quartered between Novara and the Tessino, at a place called Treca [Trezzo?]. The quarters are excellent, and of their own choosing, the Duke of Bourbon and Marquis of Pescara having consented to their going thither, that they may wait patiently for their monthly stipend, due on the 24th of August, and for other reasons of their own.

The said Coradin has brought with him from Switzerland a man whom the Marquis of Pescara had sent thither to inquire if there was any stir of arms. The man, who is a native of that country, says that France is paying some of her old debts to the Switzers, and that her ambassadors and treasurers are in continual communication with Il Verulano (Bishop of Veruli), and with the Venetian ambassador. That the Switzers are to be paid in full next January, at the expiration of the truce which His Imperial Majesty and the King of England have concluded with France.

The galleys arrived at Savona on the 29th. They will thence go to Genoa, where the Duke of Bourbon is to embark as soon as possible.

Prothonotary Caracciolo left for Venice on the last day of August, to pursue the negotiations with the Venetians.

Lope Hurtado de Mendoça has passed four days at Milan without being able to visit the Duke, or obtaining the signature of the deed (*estipulacion del instrumento*), owing to the bad state of his health. Has returned here to Vercelli to see about new quarters for the 800 lances during one month. They are to be disposed of in the following manner:—All are to be quartered either in Piedmont or Savoy. Viela is to feed 300 of them, at the rate of half a crown (*escudo*) per man daily, as a punishment and fine for their last offence when the lances went to that district. 100 more are to be paid out of the aforesaid 4,000 cr. (*escudos*) which the Marchioness [of Saluzzo] has promised to pay. The remaining 400, the Duke, for the

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Emperor's service, has consented to keep and feed for one calendar month, during which the generals of this Imperial army expect to receive instructions from Court.

There is a rumour afloat that in case of the present Duke of Milan dying the Venetians would try to set up in his place his brother Maximilian, now in France. The Milanese are the natural enemies of Venice, and therefore not likely to assent to their plans. On the contrary, should the dukedom become vacant by the death of their present ruler, everyone of them—great and small—will have no other lord than His Imperial Majesty, because they acknowledge themselves his subjects and vassals, and know very well that he will protect them against all enemies. Besides, the Duke's death would put an end to the designs and plans of these Italian potentates, and even to those of the French King and of any others who oppose the Emperor's aggrandisement.

The Duke of Bourbon and Marquis of Pescara left, two days ago, for Pavia. There, as well as at Milan, and on the frontiers of France, or wherever the Imperial forces are quartered, solemn proclamation will be made of the truce lately concluded between the Emperor, France and England; immediately after which the said Duke will start for Genoa there to embark for Spain. The Marquis [of Pescara] will remain at Pavia, and Antonio de Leyva at Milan, to look to the payment of the 100,000 ducats, and see how the Duke's illness will end.

The Marquis of Saluçio, or rather the Queen Regent of France, in his name and in that of his mother, has forwarded to the Marquis of Pescara a copy of the articles of the truce, requesting that, pending its duration, matters [in that marquisate] may remain as they are at present. Yet the Count of Geneva asks to be put in immediate possession of the estate, which he alleges can and ought to be accomplished without contravening its articles.—Vercelly, 9 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

P.S.—Some days ago, as Monsieur de Vere, the brother of Monsieur de Millao (Migliau), was coming out of Monsieur de Bourbon's lodgings at night, he was attacked, close to his quarters, and slain.* The Marquis has since—and is still—making every inquiry, in order to detect the perpetrators of this great crime, but hitherto no trace of them has been found.

Sigismundin, the secretary to Alberto di Carpi, who went to France on a secret mission [of the Pope], and left many days ago to return [to Rome], has not been heard of. It is generally believed that he has been slain in the land of the Grisons, unless Alberto di Carpi, whose condition and character

* "Le asaltaron junto á su casa en esta tierra, no sé quantos, y le mataron." Guicciardini (lib. XVIII.) mentions one *Veri di Migliau*, who went to Rome in 1527, on a mission of the Emperor to the Pope.

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are well known, has sent him to negotiate secretly with the Turk or with the Devil.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Abad de Najera, 9 Sept."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

10 Sept. **200.** Hieronymo Morono to Lope Hurtado de Mendoça.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. 1. Hist. d. Esp. No. 49.

Is already in possession of the ratification which the Duke of Milan (his master) has signed of the articles agreed between His Imperial Majesty and his ambassador at the Imperial court [Bilia]. It is as ample and precise as can be desired.

As it is important that the said ambassador should present it to His Imperial Majesty, according to the Duke's promise and duty, he (Moron) is quite ready to forward it whenever it may suit him (Lope Hurtado) to send the deed back to Spain. Begs to be excused for the delay, since, besides his multifarious occupations, his time has lately been taken up with the business of the lansquenets (*lanzenecchi*), and with procuring the money now demanded for their maintenance. The Duke's illness has, besides, prevented him from attending to business. It was only this morning that he could read the draft [of the ratification] and put his signature to it.

Begs that the departure of the courier be postponed until to morrow morning, that he may also take the Duke's letter, which is to be ready this very night, to the Emperor.

The money applied for by Antonio de Leyva has already been remitted to him at Novara. To-morrow and the next day every effort shall be made to procure the remainder.—Milan, 10 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Hiero. Morono."†

Addressed: "A lo Excelente et molto Reverendo Sr. mio el Sr. Lopis Hurtado."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

10 Sept. **201.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 255–8.

Wrote on the 20th of last month by a servant of the Bishop of Salamanca [D. Francisco de Bobadilla], who left for Spain in all haste. Has since received the Emperor's despatch of the 13th August,‡ which he immediately communicated to His Holiness.

* "Si Alberto de Carpi, segun su condicion no le ha enviado secretamente á praticar con el Turco ó con el Infierno."

† This is not the only instance of the name of this minister being written *Morono*, which must be the right spelling, since the letter is written entirely in his own hand, and signed by him. In most of the letters and papers of the time, however, I find his name written Moron, Morone, Il Morone, &c.

‡ *See* above, No. 94, p.157.

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With regard to Luther, he (the Pope) agrees that the remedy to such evils, and the extirpation of so wicked a sect (*malvada secta*), can only come through His Imperial Majesty's hands. He is of opinion that the Diet ought to be prorogued [by the Archduke], and a person of quality and discretion sent thither to prevent any innovations of a bad sort,* principally those against the Church and Christian rites. Has lately shown some discontent at the articles (*capitulos*) granted by the Infante (Archduke) to some of the chiefs, a copy whereof he has sent to his Nuncio in Spain for the Emperor's inspection. On this plea he (the Pope) has delayed the payment of the 10,000 ducats still owing to the Archduke out of the 20,000 which the Pope offered to give in the last emergency (*quando estuvo en aquel frangente pasado*), although both the Archduke's agent and he (Sanchez) have since done everything in their power to get the promised money.

The powers for this Legate to sign the agreement in his name, he (the Pope) has already sent to his Nuncio in Spain. He now sends the duplicate.

(*Cipher :*) The Duke has already informed His Imperial Majesty of the fact that the very moment it was known [in Italy] that an agreement had been entered into between His Imperial Majesty and the French King, the intrigues of these confederates subsided, and that the Venetians had tried all their arts with the Regent, mother of the King, thinking they could influence her. The Regent had been trifling with them, in order to feed their hopes, and had at the same time been maintaining her reputation and honour with the Emperor. Now that the Venetians see the inefficiency of their intrigues, and that their game is found out, they are in greater fear and suspense than ever. The answer brought from England by Chevalier Casal cannot be a very satisfactory one, for nothing has transpired about it since his return four days ago. All are discontented with each other, and the Pope declares that he has done greater service to His Imperial Majesty since the victory at Pavia, by entering into this league, than can easily be imagined, for (he says) by doing so he has prevented war from breaking out with force. About Rezo (Reggio) and Robiera, His Holiness' sentiments remain always the same.

Has received letters from Lope Hurtado, who was ill at Chambery. Has since heard that he got well, passed through Pavia and Milan and returned to Turin.

(*Cipher :*) The Marquis of Pescara has sent him (Sessa) a copy of the articles of the truce, which, being shown to the Pope, apparently gave him great satisfaction. He (Pescara)

* "Que no intentasen de innovar cosas de mala disistion (digestion?), y que sobretodo V. Mag. debria mandar que no se le mandase nada de las exorbitancias que piden contra la Iglesia."

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writes also about the Duke of Milan's protracted illness, which (he says) has become a matter of serious apprehension for the Milanese and others. On the receipt of this intelligence he (Sessa) waited on His Holiness, and, as if it came from him, inquired what would be his advice in case the Duke should die. His answer was that to give proper counsel in such matters required a previous knowledge of Her Majesty's wishes and intentions. Were he (the Pope) acquainted with them, he would not fail to advise accordingly. Should His Imperial Majesty decide, after the Duke's demise, to take the estate for himself, he (the Pope) would lose nothing by it, but it would surely give umbrage (*grandissima umbra*) to all the rest of Italy, and principally to the Venetians, which was a thing to be considered. In his opinion, the person appointed ought to be Duke [of Milan] only, holding solely under the Emperor.* He recommended the person of Don Jorge de Austria, with exclusion of the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand). He (the Duke) has thought it advisable to inform His Majesty of the Pope's opinion on this subject, though it is to be hoped that the Duke of Milan will recover from his illness, and enjoy that which His Imperial Majesty has so arduously won for him.

(*Common writing:*) Has spoken several times to the Pope on the subject of the Cruzade, though without obtaining a decisive answer. Lately he (the Pope) has been somewhat more explicit, saying he was aware of that being the greatest and most important service he could render His Majesty, and therefore that he wished to know how and when he was to make the concession.

The Marquis of Pescara having lately applied for permission to quarter one hundred and fifty of his men-at-arms upon the territory of the Church, the Pope has answered him, rather out of temper, saying he thought it very hard that when Lope Hurtado had been sent purposely to remove the nuisance of the Imperial troops being quartered in the duchy of Savoy, he (the Pope) should not be treated in the same manner.

From Sienna the news is that, far from improving, things are getting worse. Those who have the government of that city in their hands, have lately imprisoned two young men of the highest nobility, and put them to the rack, in order to ascertain whether the outlaws (*fuorusciti*) are really plotting against that Republic or not. They have confined one Aldelo Placito, a person of great parts, and another citizen named Jullio Panellini, and have also sentenced to death and executed a nephew of the former.

Respecting England he (the Duke) has nothing new to advise, except that people here wonder how the King of that

* "Y que en su opinion solo se debria atender á poner persona que no fuese mas que Duque de Milan, y que no tuviese dependencia de otro que de V. Mag."

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country could possibly have concluded a truce with France in those parts, before even His Imperial Majesty had made his, which, in Sessa's opinion, is a sign that there are secret negotiations on foot between those two countries (England and France).

Prothonotary Caracciolo had arrived in Venice. The bills on Naples have been paid, with the exception of 3,000 ducats borrowed from the Bishop of Salamanca (Don Francisco de Bobadilla), and 2,000 more ducats which the Cardinals of Vich and Tortosa advanced on that occasion.

The brief for the Bishop of Siguença has at last been obtained and forwarded to him, similar in all its parts to the one of the Archbishop of Saragossa. He (the Duke) is not to blame for the delay. Another brief is being prepared in favour of Alcalde Leguiçamo. The Bishop of Salamanca has received—and is about to answer—the Imperial warrant summoning him to Spain.

The Bailiff of Sancto Stephano, one of the Pope's chamberlains, who obtained, some time ago, the priorate of Santa Christina, is continually molesting him (the Duke), saying that if the appointment to the said priorate is, as asserted, *jus patronati* of His Imperial Majesty, the proofs must be adduced in court; should they, when examined, be found correct, he will no longer insist on his claim.—Rome, 10 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Post data.—His Holiness the Pope is much offended at the treatment of his galleys in the port of Rosas [in Catalonia]. He says that, when about to leave that harbour, the Spanish admiral in command of the Imperial fleet threatened to sink them with his artillery if they attempted to weigh anchor, and compelled them to take each a number of Spanish infantry on board, which they did by sheer force. Arrived at Savona, and when they were getting ready to put to sea and return to the Roman Estates, the gates of the port had been closed against them, and they had had to remain there against their will. The Marquis of Pescara has since written to ask for the said galleys; and His Holiness has consented to give them up, although it is understood that their captains will protest, and appear as if they had been pressed into the Imperial service by force.

The *fuorusciti* of Lucca have made a stir against that Republic, and taken one of its castles. They have the assistance of Joanin de Medicis, who, wishing to attack the Marquis of Malespina, is glad of any opportunity for collecting forces and invading the estates of his enemy. Medicis has the protection of the Papal Legate in that locality, as well as that of the Archbishop of Capua here. But as the Marquis of Malespina, who, after the battle of Pavia, was reinstated [by the Emperor] in his paternal dominions, is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, he (Sessa) thinks that he ought to be

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protected against any attack. Has written to the Marquis of Pescara on the subject; for, in his opinion, no armaments or gatherings of troops, under any pretence whatever, ought to be tolerated now-a-days against His Imperial Majesty's avowed servants.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 10 Sept."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

10 Sept. **202.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 249.

Has heard from Naples that the governor of Taranto, Felipe de Herrera is dead. Begs the Emperor to grant him that lieutenantship, which he will serve faithfully, as his servant, Iñigo Descudòs, whom he now sends to Court, will fully explain.—Rome, 10 September 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 Sept. **203.** The DUKE OF SAVOY (CARLO EMANUELE) to LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOÇA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 265.

Has read attentively all he has written about the quartering of the Imperial troops; and although he has no doubt everything has been done in conformity with the instructions received from the Emperor, yet he cannot help thinking that the resolution taken in that affair is a strange one, and contrary to the wishes and intentions of His Imperial Majesty. As far as he is concerned, he sees with wonder and sorrow that his poor subjects—well nigh exterminated already—are to get no redress whatever, but that their grievances and complaints of the soldiery increase and multiply every day, without that remedy and redress which they expected at his [Lope Hurtado's] hands. Has sent Signor de Confignone to talk the matter over with him, and devise the best means for putting an end to the scandal. Begs that full credence be given to the words of his ambassador, who will be the interpreter of his sentiments in so delicate an affair as the present, his subjects having been driven to the very verge of despair.—Ex Sancto Johanne Maurianæ, 11 of September 1525.

Signed: "Dux Sabaudiæ, Carolus."

Addressed: "Il Mag^{co}. S.^{gr} don Louppes Hurtado de Mendoça, Ambassiatore de la Cesarea Maesta, amico nostro carissimo."

Indorsed: "From the Duke of Savoy, 11th of September."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

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13 Sept. **204.** ANTONIOTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to his AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 266.

Monsieur de Bourbon is expected this evening at Savona, and has announced his intention to embark in four or five days; but though all possible speed has been made, he (the Doge) is very much afraid that the Duke will not be able to sail before the 23d, as the galleys still want many things requisite for their voyage. This delay is no fault of his, but owing entirely to various causes, and principally to the want of means. The country is poor, and completely exhausted, having been plundered several times by the French and others. Has done everything in his power to engage 50 men for the service of the oars in the said galleys,—no easy task, indeed, considering the treatment to which former ones have been subjected. He (the ambassador) is to ask and earnestly request that, immediately upon the arrival of these galleys at the port, the men on them be paid and dismissed, as well as the crews on those of Portundo, such being the engagement taken with all of them. There is no other way of avoiding the clamour and complaints of the families of sailors, retained much beyond the period of their engagement.

The ambassador is also to make due representations concerning the Uneglia affair. On the plea that a prompt and exemplary chastisement was to be inflicted on Antonio di Udena and his band, five or six companies of Spanish and German infantry, under Vargas, the general, were sent to those parts; but, instead of doing any good, they have consumed what little substance remained in the country, having hitherto achieved nothing save keeping the said Antonio di Udena and some of his men closely besieged in the castle of Uneglia, making in its immediate neighbourhood greater ravages and depredations even than those of that captain himself. The remainder of the infantry under Vargas has spread over the country of Araxio and its port, treating the inhabitants of that district as if they were so many enemies, robbing and beating them, and committing all manner of crimes and excesses, as if he (the Doge) and his subjects were rebels to His Imperial Majesty. Such a state of things cannot be tolerated; the citizens and country people are exceedingly discontented, seeing that, instead of being rewarded for their fidelity and services, they are so shamefully treated, without obtaining the least demonstration or sign of sympathy in their favour. As far as he (the Doge) is concerned, he can only say that he would prefer death to being witness to such an affront, and to hearing the incessant clamouring of his people. He (the ambassador) is particularly instructed to call on the Emperor, and warmly complain of the insolence of his soldiers, humbly beseeching him, in consideration for his past services

* Probably Cavalier Bilia, mentioned elsewhere; for Giulino, who was also the Duke's secretary in Spain, had by this time returned to Milan.

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and constant fidelity, to put a remedy to this evil, and make such provision and redress as may satisfy the country people, and preserve them in future against similar attacks.

The ambassador must be aware that Giovanni de Medici took certain castles belonging to these Marquises Malespini, and that the Emperor, through his Viceroy at Naples, granted them permission to recover the same as they best could. In consequence whereof, the said Malespini deputed a commissary of theirs, who, in virtue of the Imperial orders, succeeded in obtaining possession of some of the estates. But it now happens that the said Giovanni di Medici, unwilling to give up the remainder, has been for some time, and is still, collecting a large body of men, wherewith to invade the estates of the Marquises, straining every nerve, not only at Florence, but also at Pisa and the neighbouring countries, for that purpose. He (the Doge) considers it his duty to inform the Emperor of this event, that a prompt remedy may be applied to such evils; for certainly it is not creditable that the Emperor's commands should be thus disregarded, his true vassals assailed with impunity, and that those who pretend to have claims should take justice into their own hands when he ought to be the supreme Lord and dispenser of it. Besides which, such is at present the state of affairs in Italy, that on no account ought the said Medici to be allowed again to make a movement in these quarters, much less to establish his footing in those parts of the Lumigiana, as this would prove highly dangerous, not only on account of the late business of San Giorgio and the jealousy he may cause, but also on account of the avowed projects and designs of the said Giovanni de Medici, as exhibited in his last letter to Archbishop Fregoso, just intercepted, and of which a copy is enclosed.*

Glad to hear that His Imperial Majesty is willing to remedy the damages caused at sea by Andrea Doria. Believes that a strong demonstration is required in that quarter, as an example for the future.

Letters from Milan, dated the 11th inst., report that the Duke (Francesco Sforza) was improving in health. Not only had the fever abated considerably, but the physicians thought that he would very shortly be quite free from it.—Genoa? 13 of Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Antoniotto Adorno."

Indorsed: "Extratto di lettere del Duca di Genoa al suo Ambasciatore. Date a xiii. di Setembre."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3⅓.

* This letter of Giovannino de'Medici to Archbishop Fregoso is not in the volume.

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14 Sept. **205.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 235.

He (Caracciolo) arrived at Venice on the 5th instant, and on the 8th waited on the Signory, in union with his colleague Alonso Sanchez. Could not call before, owing to a slight indisposition. The audience being public, the ambassadors spoke in general terms, expatiating at large on the goodwill and righteous intentions of the Emperor towards the Signory of Venice, and his ardent wish for a universal peace.

On the 11th the Imperial ambassadors called again on the Signory, when, in conformity with their instructions, they proceeded to explain, one after the other, all the heads of the agreement in contemplation. Although the Doge and Signory asked for time to deliberate and make a suitable answer—as is their custom on such occasions—their general manner was such as to confirm the ambassadors' suspicions, that the Venetians intend to take, as a general basis for the present negotiations, the agreement previously entered into between them, the Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy], and M. de Bourbon. So it proved, for in the course of conversation the Doge declared that the Signory had resolved to stand by the terms agreed to on that occasion. The ambassadors' reply was that the agreement alluded to was not a definitive one, they (the Venetians) having refused to sign it unless previously ratified by His Imperial Majesty, and that the ratification by the Emperor not having come [from Spain] it was quite evident that the treaty could not be enforced. Had they subscribed to it then and there, the Emperor would not have failed to honour duly the signature of Lannoy and Bourbon; but such not being the case, and the matter being again referred to the Emperor, he had, after mature deliberation, decided to propose new terms.

This morning the Doge sent for the Imperial ambassadors, and gave them the following answer to read, the substance of which, after many fine words and protestations of fidelity and affection, as well of their sincere wish for the Emperor's prosperity and aggrandisement—on which last point they laid more than usual stress—was as follows: With respect to the outlaws (*fuorusciti*), that their claims had been sufficiently discussed at the time of the last treaty of peace, it being then and there agreed to give them 5,000 ducats, which was more than the said outlaws could expect or wish for. The money had been paid, and the Viceroy had consequently withdrawn his application.

As to giving money instead of infantry, as demanded, that could not be.* They were ready (they said), for the Emperor's

* "Que el Virrey se habia dexado de la demanda de los foraxidos y que de dar el dinero en lugar de la infanteria que nos rogaban quisiesemos nosotros hacer otro tanto, y devenir al restablecimiento de la capitulacion que por nuestras manos se hizo."

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gratification, to pay down the sums offered by them, and accepted both by the Viceroy and Monsieur de Bourbon, and therefore begged the ambassadors not to insist any longer upon that point.

To the above answer the ambassadors replied, saying: That with regard to the agreement entered into by them with the Viceroy of Naples and Duke of Bourbon, they had nothing to add to their former declaration. It was no agreement at all, since it had not been ratified at the time. If, however, the Signory explained their views on the subject, the ambassadors would hear them with pleasure, because, though well aware of the Emperor's disinclination to grant their request, yet they had full powers to treat and come to any just and friendly composition.

Their reply was: "This is the last resolution of the Senate; it cannot be changed." Upon which, observing their obstinacy, and that nothing more could be got out of them, they (the ambassadors) left the room, not deeming it consistent with their authority or with the Imperial reputation to discuss that point any longer.

(*Cipher:*) The ambassadors cannot help thinking that this brief and resolute answer of the Venetians, so contrary to their usual practice on similar occasions, must have some connexion with the intended journey of Madame d'Alençon to Spain, and the negotiations said to be on foot between His Imperial Majesty and the French King. On the 12th instant the ambassadors of that monarch were closeted for one hour with some of the senators here, and although the object and particulars of this interview are still a secret, there is every reason to suspect that something against the Emperor is being discussed.

(*Common writing:*) The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, residing in Venice, informed them, two days ago, that his master has decided to go over to Spain, for the purpose of holding a personal interview with His Imperial Majesty. The Duke was only waiting for an answer from His Holiness the Pope, to whom he had written to ask for a suspension of hostilities during his absence from Italy.—Venice, 14th Sept. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

P.S.—This is a duplicate of another sent to the Marquis de Pescara to be forwarded by a land route. It goes by way of Genoa, addressed to Lope de Soria, Imperial ambassador at Venice.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. From the Ambassadors, 14th of September. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

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14 Sept. **206.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 282.

Has received the Imperial letter, in date of the 25th July last. Prothonotary Caracciolo has since arrived with the instructions, and both have commenced negotiating with the Signory, as will be seen by their joint letter of this day.*

(*Cipher:*) The answer made by the Signory, quick and decisive as it has been, without resorting to their usual practices of gaining time, &c., has been to him and his colleague a matter of great amazement, especially under the present circumstances, when His Imperial Majesty has all the world at his feet, and when they must know, as they do, that a truce has been concluded with the French King. In his (Sanchez') opinion, His Imperial Majesty ought no longer to keep the negotiations with the Signory in suspense, but throw them aside at once. If determined to be satisfied with their answer and offers, the Venetian ambassador at the Imperial court (Navagero) must on no account be made aware of the fact; on the contrary, something ought to be told him showing that the Signory's present conduct is not approved of. He (Sanchez) might, in the meantime, try to have the conditions improved, though he very much doubts of his success.—Venice, 14th Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 14th of Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1½.

14 Sept. **207.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, . 269–71.

Wrote on the 4th by a servant of the Bishop of Salamanca (D. Francisco de Bobadilla), and on the xi. by way of Lyons. Writes now by a vessel that takes despatches to Barcelona. Has received from the Marquis of Pescara a copy of the treaty of truce, to have it publicly proclaimed at Genoa; but finding that pestilence is still prevailing here, and that the city is almost deserted, has, at the Doge's request, had the proclamation postponed, until the senators and chief inhabitants return to the place. (*Cipher:*) In his opinion it is not only the health of his capital which has prevented the Doge from having the truce publicly proclaimed. He (Soria) takes it to be that the Doge and the Genoese not being expressly named in the treaty, and there being a doubt as to whether they are at all comprised in it or not—notwith-

* *See* above, No. 204, p. 328.

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standing the words, "All the kingdoms, dominions, and subjects of His Imperial Majesty,"—they naturally shrink from the duty imposed upon them, alleging that the word "confederates" is for them a more suitable one than that of "subjects." He (Soria) has given them to understand, in the best possible manner, that, Genoa being a fief of the Empire, they are His Imperial Majesty's subjects and nothing else, and therefore that they are included in the present truce. There are, however, among them several badly-intentioned people [intent upon mischief].

Respecting the Duke of Milan the news is, at times that he is dead, at other times that he is recovering. Micer Andrea del Burgo is still suffering, and has lately received orders from the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) to return to Germany. It is said that Don Pedro de Cordoba is going [to Spain] instead of him.

His Holiness sent him (Soria) a brief for the release of his two galleys, which Commander Ycart had incorporated with his fleet, without allowing them to depart when they arrived at Savona. He has since consented to their being added to the Imperial fleet that is to escort M. de Bourbon on his voyage; but in order to show that this is against his will, and that his galleys are, as it were, pressed for the said service, has directed the captains of them to protest. (*Common writing:*) Juanin de Medicis has raised levies of men, and given assistance to the outlaws (*foraxidos*) of Lucca. Uniting his forces to theirs, he has taken a castle belonging to the people of that city, who, on their side, have made preparations to retaliate and do their enemies all the harm they can. The said Juanin [de Medicis] is increasing his forces, pretending that he intends to attack the Marquises of Malespina in the Lunigiana. (*Cipher:*) Movements of this kind at a time like this are anything but favourable, especially when the said Joanin is known to be a favourite and creature of the Pope. He [Soria] fears that these alterations may only be the beginning of more serious disturbances, principally in Genoa, if the Italian potentates persevere in their project of declaring themselves against the Imperial service.

Has already informed His Imperial Majesty how a captain named Antonio di Udena, whom M. di Bourbon sent with 500 men to the assistance of the Lord of Monego, having arrived at Onegia,* a town of this district, belonging to the Doria family, where a good number of Genoese citizens, with their wives and families, were staying at the time on account of the plague, took it into his head to plunder the place, which he did without the least provocation, after taking possession of its castle. On the receipt of this intelligence M. de Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescara sent thither some companies of

* "Y siendo en *Onegia*, tierra de esta ribera de casa Doria," &c. Elsewhere written *Uneglia* (Moneglia?)

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Italian* infantry, under a sergeant-major (*forriero*) named Vargas, who, if possible, have committed still greater ravages than the above captain and his men whom they had orders to chastise. So that it is now impossible to inhabit places where these troops pass, since friends and enemies alike fall upon them and plunder their valuables. The lands of this Community ought to be respected, because, besides their having been to a certain extent already wasted and destroyed on former occasions, the inhabitants themselves are good subjects and servants of His Imperial Majesty.

The Lieutenant of the Sumaria sailed from Savona on the 10th, on board a ship belonging to Captain Portundo. Baron de Simonte accompanies him.

Has already advised that, in consequence of the accident to Nicolao Grimaldo, his brother Stephano had lost so much of his credit that he would find it difficult to pay the remainder of the 24,800 ducats. He neither has money in his coffers to meet that engagement, nor can he find merchants to advance it; besides which he alleges that, in opposition to the Emperor's express orders, his property is still under embargo. All these things put together have hitherto prevented his fulfilling the contract, but knowing that if he were to leave Genoa now, without paying the said sum, M. de Bourbon's voyage to Spain might be delayed, he (Soria) has pressed him so much that, being, as he is, a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, he has already paid the second instalment, and promised to pay the third and last at a very short date. With this money he (Soria) has been able to give M. de Bourbon the remainder of the 10,000 ducats which he was to have for his voyage, and the pay of the galleys that are to escort him to Spain.

The Duke [of Bourbon] is now at Savona, preparing to embark. He has requested Soria to freight two caracks and now he wants a third for his suite and horses, which shall also be procured.

Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] writes from Milan on the 7th, already recovered from his illness.—Sestri, near Genoa, 14 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 14 Sept."

Spanish. Original (by duplicate). Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

14 Sept. **208.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 277.

Wrote from Milan, announcing his departure for Venice, and though in bad health arrived in this city, where, in

* In the letter which the Doge, Antoniotto Adorno, wrote to the ambassador on the 14th September complaining of these excesses, the troops sent by Bourbon are said to have been five or six companies of Spaniards. *See* above, p. 326.

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company with Alonso Sanchez, his colleague, he has attended to business ever since, and gone to the College Hall (*Collegio*) three different times.

On the first occasion the reception was public, and the discussion turned on general matters, he and Sanchez expatiating on the extreme benevolence of His Imperial Majesty and his constant wish that the arms of the Infidel should be kept away from Christendom. How—provoked and attacked on more than one occasion — the Emperor had been compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and, when successful, had used his victory with the utmost moderation, as was plainly seen and recognised by all parties. He had always offered them peace and good friendship; and now that, by the grace of God, his enemies had been vanquished and were partly at his mercy, he thought of nothing save establishing a firm and durable peace among Christians, that might enable them to turn their arms against the Infidel, their common enemy. To this end he had sent them his ambassadors, to see if there was any means of bringing about such a convention.

At the second audience the ambassadors explained some of the heads of the proposed treaty; and at the third, which took place this very morning, an answer was returned in the very same terms contained in their joint despatch.* Although the ambassadors observed they had full powers to treat and conclude on these matters, without waiting for further instructions from home, the senators would not go beyond their former declaration, and obstinately refused to enter into further details.

Knowing the nature and condition of these people, and how fond they are of gaining time in all their negotiations, the ambassadors cannot but wonder at such a decisive and conclusive answer as the one given by the Council on this occasion. This must spring from one of two causes, either from their being still in treaty with the French—as there can be no doubt they are, for the ambassadors of that nation had, a few days since, a long and secret audience at the College, the purport of which is not yet known—or else it must proceed from a firm confidence and belief of their own, that His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to be satisfied with the conditions formally agreed to between the Signory, the Viceroy [of Naples], and Monsieur de Bourbon; namely, the payment of 80,250 ducats at once, and 30,000 more at one year's date, putting aside all claims of the *fuorusciti*, and reserving only the sums owed to them in virtue of the last treaty, which it is their intention to renew and confirm without adding or changing anything to it. What most displeases him (Caracciolo) in this, their final resolution, is that they try to persuade the people that by so doing they do not infringe in the least on the terms of the treaty.

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He (Caracciolo) is greatly annoyed, and his indisposition is not a little aggravated by the obstinancy of these people, who, knowing full well His Imperial Majesty's righteous intentions and his ardent wishes for universal peace, are so deliberately throwing obstacles in the way of its promotion. He, however, consoles himself by thinking that, whatever may happen, the world at large will be convinced that no efforts have been wanting on the Emperor's part to bring about so desirable an object. Besides that, by persevering in such a righteous path, God Almighty is sure to help and prosper him, whilst the Signory will be worsted and baffled in their designs, unless they change their conduct. In case, however, of the Signory persisting in their resolution, as he fears they will, the Prothonotary asks for instructions how to act in conformity with the best interests and the dignity of the Imperial crown. Very often he (Caracciolo) has faithfully and most humbly recommended from Milan some suitable composition with all the Princes of Christendom, and especially with this Signory. Persuaded, as he is, that nothing can be better for God's service, and for the accomplishment of the Emperor's pious intentions, than the consolidation of such universal peace, he still perseveres in his opinion, and, notwithstanding the little effect hitherto produced on the Signory by his words and arguments, and the intractability shown by them, his advice is that means be sought for bringing them to reason.

(*Cipher :*) He (Caracciolo) has been informed that the draft of the treaty to be concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France has had the effect of increasing the fears of the Signory. They are afraid that the object and purpose of the agreement is to establish such a union and binding obligation between the two parties that the most Christian King may never again take their part and become their ally in war, so that they may be utterly ruined and all the Christian Princes placed at the Emperor's mercy.

Has received the Imperial letter dated from Toledo the 15th of August last.—Venice, 14 Sept. 1525.

Signed : "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed : "Sacræ Cesareæ Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 14 Sept. Answered."

Italian. Original. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

15 Sept. **209.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, f. 292.

Donato de Targis (Tassis) left on the 11th inst. with despatches of the Marquis of Pescara, and took also his (Hurtado's) advices up to that date.

Since his departure, Hieronymo Moron has sent a packet containing letters for the Duke's ambassador (Cavalier

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Bilia); also the draft of his agreement with the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand). This he sends, according to promise, for him (Lope Hurtado) to examine and return to him to Milan after ratification in the Emperor's name.

It must, however, be observed that during his stay at Milan for that purpose the Duke constantly refused to see him [Hurtado] on that or any other business. Has taken out of the packet the above-mentioned draft that he now forwards for His Majesty's inspection and further instructions, begging that the Duke's ambassador at the Imperial court be apprized of what has been done, as he himself has already informed Hieronymo Moron.

Antonio de Leyva wrote to him a letter, the copy of which is enclosed, that His Imperial Majesty may see the turn affairs are taking at Milan.

Has come [to Turin] for the express purpose of excusing himself with the Duchess of Savoy (Beatrix) for the Emperor's orders not having been punctually fulfilled. Imagines that both she and the Duke would be satisfied if the convention proposed by the Marquis of Pescara was carried into effect; but its execution is at present out of the question, for the men-at-arms will not evacuate the territory and go elsewhere unless they are paid their arrears; and, on the other hand, if they remain where they now are without money or food the country is sure to be completely ravaged (*abrasada*) and desolated, and serious evils are to be apprehended.

Sends by post a copy of the terms proposed.

Such is the wish of the Duke and Duchess to see this affair satisfactorily settled that they no longer talk of the past, and would, in his opinion, consent to everything, provided, however, the Duchess were reimbursed of the 15,000 ducats which they say she borrowed on her own jewels. She is now suffering from fever, and is besides in the family-way. The Duke is every day expected from Savoy to attend her in her illness. —Turin, 15 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Turin. Lope Hurtado, 15 Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

19 Sept. **210.** The Duke of Sessa to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A 35, f. 307.

The present letter was written on the 11th or 12th inst., and kept until to-day's date, owing to the want of conveyance to Genoa. It now goes by the general post through Lyons. The duplicate was sent by a gentleman of the Duke of Ferrara who was going to Spain.

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Nothing new to report since. The Pope is only waiting for an answer from the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) to issue the brief he has applied for, as he wants some security on his part that the lands of the Church shall not be invaded during his absence [from Italy], and no innovation made in the present state of affairs. It is true that His Holiness was lately very much annoyed and hurt by the murder of a gentleman of Modena by some of the Duke's followers; and that he made in consequence some stir on the frontier of the Modena, sending thither his light cavalry; but he (Sessa) does not attach much importance to this, and imagines that no further complications are to be apprehended for the present.

The Imperial ambassadors in Venice have no doubt communicated already the answer made by that Signory to the late proposals, which is, in substance, that they are willing to stand by their previous engagement with M. de Bourbon and Marquis de Pescara, and pay down the 80,000 ducats in money, but on no account to go beyond that sum or grant other demands. No sooner was he (Sessa) informed of their resolution, than he called on the Pope, and, with all possible caution, tried to ascertain what his views on the subject were. His Holiness said to him that nobody wished as much as himself for a satisfactory arrangement of the present difficulties between His Imperial Majesty and the Republic of Venice. That he did not think that the impediment consisted so much in the money as in the new conditions imposed, such as the substitution of a sum of money for the contingent of men which they were obliged to furnish, and the compensation to the "fuorusciti," to which he well knew they would never consent. His Holiness kindly offered to interfere and speak to the Venetian ambassador, besides instructing his own Nuncio in Spain to use every good office with the Emperor.

(*Cipher :*) He (Sessa) takes a different view of this affair. He believes that the secret negotiations in which French, Venetians, and Romans are at present engaged, are the only cause and pretext of the dilatory course adopted, each party trying to gain time in order to improve his affairs and obtain better terms. He is therefore undecided as to the best line of policy to be pursued in the present circumstances; whether it be preferable for the Emperor, after arranging the Italian affairs, and increasing thereby his power and influence, to bring the French King to proper terms and conditions, or by keeping him in close confinement, raise himself to that stage of glory and reputation which would follow on the humiliation of his enemy. For, after all, the present intrigues of the Italian Princes have no other object than to temporize with each other until the Emperor's determination respecting his Royal prisoner be known.

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(*Common writing:*) Private letters from Milan of the 10th and 12th inst. announce that the Duke (Francesco Sforza) is better, though not yet out of danger. Hieronymo Morone is still residing at the castle, which is a proof that he fears for his master's life. No news from England or from other parts. The plague still reigns at Rome and is getting worse every day.—Rome, 9 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

P.S.—Notwithstanding his last message to the Siennese, remonstrating strongly against their having lately expelled from the city certain of their noblemen, and cast others in prison, they still persevere in their ill-doings. Seeing which, he (Sessa) sent a lawyer thither, bidding them to forbear from such measures until the case should be referred to His Imperial Majesty. In the event, however, of their refusing to comply with that order, the lawyer was to protest in the Emperor's name and return to Rome. He (Sessa) considers it his duty to inform His Imperial Majesty of the event, that a prompt remedy may at once be applied to such excesses.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Majesty of the Emperor, King of Spain and the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 19th September."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2½.

21 Sept. **211.** Antonioto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, *f.* 317.

His Imperial Majesty has no doubt received his last letters in favour of Micer Niccolo de Grimaldo and brothers, and knows already his motives for thus commending them to the Emperor's notice. Being in duty bound, as he is, to defend their interests and reputation whenever they are attacked, he considers himself under similar obligation to extol their high qualities and virtues, when they happen to confer, as they have just done, a new service on the Imperial cause. For, at the present moment, the said brothers, and more particularly Stefano di Grimaldo, who is residing at Genoa, has rendered a most signal one by paying into the hands of M. de Bourbon the 23,000 gold crowns of the last exchange, thus enabling that general to supply the wants both of the Imperial army under his command and of the fleet that is to take him to Spain.

Of all the services rendered by the said Stefano—who not only has frequently exposed his life in the field, but also risked his fortune for the Imperial cause,—this last one must be reckoned the most important, as the Duke [of Bourbon] himself cannot fail to acknowledge. For he (the

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Doge) is witness of the immense difficulties that banker has had to encounter in the raising of that sum, having, as is well known, lost his credit in consequence of the accident to his brother Niccolo in those parts.

Begs His Imperial Majesty, as humbly and effectually as he can, so to take the said brothers Grimaldo and their affairs under his protection, that they may profit by his intercession, and be restored to that honour and reputation which they so justly deserve.—Genoa, 21 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Antonioto Adorno."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. The Doge. 21 Sept. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 3.

21 Sept. **212.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 314.

Wrote on the 14th inst. by Hurtado, King-at-arms in Naples, who sailed for Spain in a brigantine. The present courier goes by land, despatched by Stefano Grimaldo with all speed.

Having by his former letter answered at length the Imperial despatch of the 15th August last, has little to add, except that the said Stefano has actually paid into his hands the remainder of the 24,800 ducats, out of which he (Soria) has already remitted 10,000 to the Duke of Bourbon, and applied the rest to the payment of the galleys, as well as to the freight of three caracks to convey his horses and heavy luggage. The Duke is to sail in five days' time, as he is only waiting for the galleys to come down here, close to Genoa, and take on board the biscuit and other provisions prepared for them. Bad weather and contrary winds have hitherto prevented their coming, but they are expected this very day. He (Soria) intends to go on board one of them to Savona, there to remain until they have fairly taken to sea. There are 14 galleys in all, counting two of the Pope's, (*cipher*) who has had a sort of protest drawn, declaring they go against his will. He (Soria) imagines that this protest has been made only to please France, and that he will have to provide them with biscuit out of the Imperial stores, for which, however, he is quite prepared.

(*Common writing:*) It would be highly advantageous for the defence and security of this city if the galleys should return home as soon as possible; because the French fleet being so near at hand, and Andrea Doria, its commander, having so powerful a party of his own in Genoa, nothing would be easier for him than to bring about a revolution and create disturbances.

(*Cipher:*) The said Andrea Doria gives out that he is going to the Canal of Pomblin (Piombino) in search of

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Turkish privateers; but it is to be feared that, being in close intelligence with the Pope and with Juanin de Medicis, and the Fregosi, his intentions are very different; for the said Juanin has lately approached the frontiers of this Community in force, proclaiming that he comes against the Marquises of Malespina, and is shortly to be joined by troops of the Pope and Florentines. As no such armament is required for an enterprise of this sort, it is natural to infer that these people have some other object in view, which is to fall upon and destroy, if they can, the Imperial army. It is reported that the Duke of Milan also participates in the plot. He (Soria) cannot say whether the report be true or not; one thing, however, is certain, namely, that Hieronymo Morone has lately removed all his family and property to the castle of Milan; that he holds frequent interviews with the Venetian ambassador; and that Domenico Sauli has lately come from Rome [to Milan] to represent the Pope and Datary, all which are signs that something is being plotted against the Imperial service, as the Marquis of Pescara and others cannot fail to have apprized the Emperor.

Respecting this Doge and Community, Soria sees no real cause for suspicion, although the Abbot of Najera wrote, some time ago, to say that Julian,* the Doge's secretary, who arrived here last night from Milan, where he has been spending a few days, had been present at some of the above conferences and taken part in the discussions.

The Abbot could not say whether the secretary had accepted or rejected the offers made by the conspirators, but could affirm that he had been present at their deliberations. He (Soria) believes Juliano to have only joined them in order to penetrate into their secrets, and afterwards report to the Emperor's ministers.

(*Common writing:*) In consequence of the progress made by Juanin de Medicis, the Marquis of Pescara is thinking of sending 2,000 infantry to be quartered at this city (Genoa) or its immediate neighbourhood. Spoke about it to the Doge, who thinks they had better not come, as they are sure to lay the country waste, and commit all manner of depredations wherever they go. He proposes that they should be sent to the Spezzia, a district belonging to this Community, where they might be quartered, and make head against the said Juanin, if required; and in case of their not being able to resist him, owing to his superior forces, fall back on this city, and defend it from the attacks of the enemy. He (Soria) has written to the Marquis about it, that he may provide what is best for the Imperial service, but his own private opinion is that the 2,000 men ought to be quartered in this city or its suburbs.

* Elsewhere written Gilino and Giulino.

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Stefano Grimaldo has done more than could be expected of him concerning the payment of the last bills, as his credit is very seriously affected in consequence of his brother's late misfortunes. Stefano has always served with fidelity, and is well deserving of the Imperial favour, and that his brothers' affairs should receive kind consideration. Received, yesterday, the bills of exchange for 80,000 ducats sent by the Marquis of Pescara and Abbot of Najera; they were presented and accepted. Ansaldo de Grimaldo, upon whom 55,000 had been drawn, accepted the bills, saying he would pay them when due, not before, as he had received instructions from his correspondents [in Spain] not to advance any money upon them. Nevertheless, he (Soria) hopes to get some money from him, the Marquis having lately written that the wants of the Imperial army are still very great.

The remaining 25,000 ducats upon Joan (Giovanni) Batista and Thomasso de Fornariis, of this city, have been duly accepted, and will be paid, when due, that is, in ten days' time.

(*Cipher:*) Has been informed that in the last conference held [at Milan] by the representatives of the Italian Princes, it was agreed that the Pope should furnish 6,000 Italian infantry and 3,000 men-at-arms; the Venetians an equal number, besides some light cavalry; the Duke of Milan, 4,000. France and England are to contribute 9,000 gold crowns wherewith to raise 7,000 Grisons, who are to get possession of Chiavenna. The Marquis of Pescara has received similar intelligence from other quarters. How far the news is correct, he (Soria) cannot say, but one thing is certain, namely, that His Imperial Majesty has at present no other friend in Italy save the Doge of Genoa.

The Duke of Milan is not yet out of danger, though it is generally asserted that he has much improved in health of late. No one, however, can say what his real state is, for they do not allow anyone to see him.

The Duke of Ferrara wishes to go to Spain. He has already obtained from the Pope a brief, granting him permission to undertake this journey, and promising not to molest him respecting the tenure of Rezzo and Rubera during a period of six months.

Prothonotary Caracciolo arrived at Venice on the 5th inst. According to the last accounts he had already commenced negotiations, though with little or no hope of success.

Micer Andrea del Burgo left Genoa two days ago for the court of the Archduke (Ferdinand). He has not yet recovered from his late illness, but fancies that change of air will do him good.

The Doge will take charge of the castle of Oneglia, as His Imperial Majesty has ordered him to do.

Whilst he (Soria) is writing, the galleys are coming into port to lade with biscuit.

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The Marquis of Pescara, Antonio de Leyva, the Abbot of Najera and the rest of the Imperial generals and ministers are at Novara.—Sestri, near Genoa, 21 Sept. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 21 Sept."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4¼.

23 Sept. **213.** JEAN JONGLET,* Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 41, ff. 104–5.

Received on the 8th inst., by Richart, bearer of the present, the Imperial letter of the 12th of August last, with memorandum appended, and, next day (the 9th), the duplicate of the same by Richart Cocque. On the reception of which, and in obedience to the orders contained in these said letters, he (Jonglet) waited upon the Legate at his country residence of More, and explained, to the best of his abilities, the charge intrusted to his care, which was to show the said memorandum to the Cardinal, and beg he would induce the King to send to his ambassadors [in Spain] full powers to approve the Emperor's proposed marriage, as well as the consolidation and increase of their mutual friendship. Also to inform him of the truce and suspension of hostilities just concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France, wherein the English ambassadors had intervened as chief contracting parties; to declare null and void all truces previously made and agreed to by Madame; and to say that the Emperor's intention is not to conclude any treaty with the French, except with the consent and approbation of the King, his master.

After carefully inspecting the aforesaid memorandum, which he (Jonglet) placed in his hands, the Cardinal addressed him, as far as he can recollect, in the following words: Both the King and he had received the Emperor's holograph letters brought by Richart Cocque, and also those of the English ambassadors [residing in Spain], explaining fully their contents and the peculiar circumstances under which the Emperor was placed. He (the Cardinal) expressed his satisfaction at the sentiments contained in the aforesaid memorandum, adding he had on the previous day despatched Secretary Briantucke (Brian Tuke) to the King, who was at a place 60 miles distant from London, to take the Emperor's letter to him, and ascertain the King's intention and wishes. He expected that

* Jean Jonglet, Sieur des Maretz, was the ambassador sent from Flanders to represent Charles at the court of England after the dismissal of Praet and recall of Secretary Le Sauch.

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Secretary back in a couple of days, when he (the Cardinal) would make a suitable answer on all points; though, he added, the whole affair had been decided upon beforehand, and the decision forwarded to the English ambassadors at the Imperial court, in conformity with the Emperor's wishes and demands, together with full powers to consent to, and approve of, the Emperor's proposed marriage [with the Portuguese Princess]. The said powers had been sent both by sea and land, though he (the Cardinal) had reason to believe that at the time the Emperor's letter was written neither had reached its destination. That the one sent by sea was fuller and more explicit than the one that went by land. The King, his master, fully appreciated the reasons alleged by the Emperor in his letters. He believed that the Princess [his daughter] was not of an age to satisfy the wishes and prayers of the Emperor's subjects. Had he been informed in time of the nature of the instructions sent to him (Jonglet), and of the commission brought by Commander Peñalosa respecting the marriage, he would at once have given his consent, and the affair would have been settled much sooner to the Emperor's full satisfaction. "For," (he added) "the King, my master, has never had other wish save that of being agreeable to the Emperor in all matters and living on the most friendly terms with him. Whatever may happen, he intends the close union and old alliance between them to remain unimpaired, not only in what regards the intercourse of trade, but in other matters generally."

With regard to the conditions stipulated by the English ambassadors on the margins of the said memorandum, the Cardinal declared to him (Jonglet) that they were no longer required, and ought to cease. "For," (said he) "respecting the first,—namely, that the Emperor is to make peace with France first before he concludes the Portuguese marriage, &c.,—it has already been fulfilled through the King of England having made peace with the French, which peace, though the Emperor is also comprised in it, leaves him in entire liberty to treat separately with France whenever, and on whatever terms, he may please. Though, he added, the King, my master, is so much inclined to foster the union and peace of all the Christian Princes—that they may the better resist the Turk and the Lutherans—that he advises His Imperial Majesty not to deal hardly with the French King, but to treat and negotiate with him as graciously as possible, since he must be by this time convinced that the General Estates of the kingdom will never consent to a dismemberment of the French crown."

To the above statement the ambassador replied that the Emperor claimed nothing but his own, and that it was no new thing for Princes and Kings, after an unsuccessful war, to yield part of their territory. It had been done often, and certainly could be done again.

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With regard to the second condition, viz., the payment of debts, the Cardinal observed that in consideration of the present state of the Emperor's affairs, the King, his master, had already sent instructions and powers to his ambassadors to treat and conclude matters to his entire satisfaction.

Respecting the third condition, namely, that the treaties of Windsor and London be at once abrogated and superseded, the Cardinal stated his opinion that nothing could be more reasonable or just than the said abrogation, since the treaty of Windsor refers to the Princess' marriage, and that of London to the French war; and as the Emperor is about to marry elsewhere, and a treaty of peace has been already concluded with France, there was no occasion to maintain the said treaties any longer.

Nor was there need (observed the Cardinal) for the King to send fresh powers to his ambassadors [in Spain] to renew and increase the amicable relations between the two monarchs, since he had on all occasions declared his intention to keep and maintain their old alliance as regards trade and matters in general. He (the ambassador) might say so to his Court and put it down in writing. Although the King, his master, had often instructed his ambassadors [in Spain] to make similar declarations, he would now, for greater security, send by the present bearer (Richart) a memorandum of the same, whilst he [the Cardinal] would continue, as heretofore, to promote in every possible way their mutual friendship and alliance.

The conference over, the ambassador took his leave and departed, after duly thanking the Cardinal for his goodwill and intentions, begging him to continue in the same mind, and excusing himself as best he could for the alteration in Peñalosa's instructions, which he declared had been made in Flanders, without his (Jonglet's) knowledge, not by himself from malice prepense, as might have been supposed. Hearing which, the Cardinal again remarked: "I wish to God you had mentioned it at the time, for, as I told you before, matters might then have been settled to the Emperor's full satisfaction."

The French ambassadors are still here, for what purpose it is impossible to say. They conduct their affairs with such secresy that he (Jonglet) has been unable to obtain the least information about their doings.

Messire Gregory [Casalis], the Italian, is going to Rome, by post. A certain bishop,* Auditor to the Apostolic Chamber, is to follow him shortly. What the purpose of their journey thither may be, he cannot say. The King's Almoner (Dr. Edward Lee), who was to go to the Emperor [in Spain] is not yet gone. Cannot guess what may be the cause of the delay.

* Girolamo Ghinucci.

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The Legate says that they are waiting for letters from the English ambassadors in Spain before they despatch this one.

The ambassadors from the Pope and the Duke of Milan, both residing in this capital, pretend to know nothing about the peace just made between England and France, and that the terms and conditions of the treaty are kept with great secresy.

Beseeches the Emperor to bear in mind his long services, and to appoint a fit person to replace him. When he accepted the charge of ambassador he was told by Madame that he would not remain long in England. He is old and infirm, and does not consider himself sufficiently qualified to fill so important an office. Begs for some small pension, in addition to his small estate, that the world may see that the Emperor is fully disposed to remunerate the services of his subjects.—London, the 23d of September 1525.

It has been decided to send Richart by a land route, rather than expose him and his despatches to the uncertainty of a sea voyage.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 6.

25 Sept. **214.** The Bishop of Lodi to a Friar, confidant of Alonso Sanchez.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 5.

Reverend Father.—I have often told you to call on the Imperial ambassador, and warn him against Morone; you have not done so, or if you have, Alonso Sanchez gives no credit to my words. You will now see the effect of the letters written by the said Morone to France, for Madame the Regent—considering the Duke's death as inevitable—is about to send to Italy the Duke's brother (Massimiliano Sforza), with a fleet of galleys and a body of Switzers, followed by others you do not dream of. Had not the Duke of Milan been in so precarious a state of health, I have no doubt that the said Morone would have prepared some sort of Sicilian Vespers [at Milan] to get rid of the Imperialists. Your Reverence would not believe me then; you will soon witness the effect. If the Emperor's agents [in Italy] would only give me some assistance, matters might still be arranged, not otherwise.—Coyra, 25th of September 1525.

P.S.—You will soon see Monsignor de Saint Pol in Italy.

Italian. Copy in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

27 Sept. **215.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 331–3.

Wrote on the 15th inst. by Donato de Targis (Taxis?), whom the Marquis of Pescara despatched by way of Genoa, sending at the same time the deed of the Duke of Milan

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duly ratified and signed, as his ambassador had given it. Wrote again on the 23d, through the Duke of Savoy, who has kindly undertaken the transmission of his correspondence.

(*Cipher:*) Has since come to Novara, where the Marquis is at present residing. From what he hears and by letters of Antonio de Leyva and of the Abbot of Najera, the Italian Princes are intriguing more actively than ever. Indeed, the opinion and vote of these ministers is that some sort of demonstration ought to be made, and the Marquis would already have attempted it, had it not been that he is waiting for an answer to his late despatches, as well as for instructions how to act, and also trying to ascertain whether the report be true or not that the Switzers and Grisons are coming down to these parts.

The Marquis has his men quartered wherever they can be of most service in case of need, for it is evident that this late movement of Joanin (Giovannino) de Medicis, and the descent in Italy of the Marquis de Saluzzo are connected with the contemplated rising. The Marquis, however, is prepared to meet both, and is only waiting for orders. Until these arrive he cannot take his troops out of Piedmont; if he did, he would not know whither to send them, because in the marquisates (Mantua and Montferrato) which His Imperial Majesty designated as quarters for the infantry, there is neither room nor accommodation for them; in the duchy of Milan, if they went thither, not one farthing could be obtained for their maintenance. The infantry and light cavalry are quartered at Asti. According to the Emperor's instructions, whether for peace or war, the men shall be moved wherever they are most wanted; but a decision on this point is urgently required, for the country is completely exhausted, and the Duke [of Savoy] driven to despair. The men eat at discretion (*comen à discrecion*), nor would the inhabitants tolerate them otherwise, recollecting their late sufferings. The convention made by the Marquis [de Pescara] is to commence on the 7th of next month. How it will operate, and what measures will be taken to enforce it, is more than he (Lope Hurtado) can tell. Certain it is that the Duke of Savoy wishes so much for the fulfilment of the Marquis' promises on this point that he can hardly believe in them. The Marquis has asked his opinion about it, and he (Lope Hurtado) has answered that he approves of the convention, and that nothing could be better, under present circumstances, than the evacuation of Savoy by the Imperial troops.

The bills of exchange came in good season, although this is very much like throwing stones into the sea, so heavy are the daily expenses, and the ever increasing wants of this Imperial army. The Emperor ought to decide soon on the course to be pursued, for it is very hard, after defeating the enemy, to be obliged to maintain so large an army exposed to danger

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through the bad behaviour (*bellaqueria*) of some of his own servants; for this question of the quartering of the Imperial forces has been, and is still, owing to want of discipline and bad management, fraught with danger.—Novara, 27 of Sept. 1525.

P.S. (*Cipher*).—After writing the above, he (Lope Hurtado) has read letters which the Marquis [de Pescara] has received from Rome, Venice, Milan and other places. All agree as to the negotiations between the Italiand owers being far advanced, and some warlike demonstration being necessary. Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera especially urge the Marquis to action. His Imperial Majesty should send his orders by next post. The Marquis is of opinion that he (Hurtado) ought to go to Milan, there to ascertain from Berulano (the Bishop of Veruli), who is a friend, how far matters are advanced among the confederates. Intelligence is sure to come from Rome; and since the Duke of Sessa must have written at length about the recent defeat and dispersion of the bands under the Marquis of Saluzzo, he (Hurtado) needs allude to it no further.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 27th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

28 Sept. **216.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassadors in Genoa, to the Emperor Charles V.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 35, ff. 335–8.

A secretary of the Signory called upon him (the Prothonotary), he being at the time ill in bed. Alonso Sanchez (his colleague) was present. They told the secretary how very much astonished they were at the abrupt and uncompromising answer given the Signory, which rendered all future negotiations impossible, especially as the Signory knew that they (the ambassadors) had ample powers to conclude a satisfactory treaty. Four days have since elapsed, and the Signory have made no overture whatever to them.

Have been informed, but do not know it for certain, that the Venetian ambassador in England (Orio) writes to say that peace between England and France is concluded and even proclaimed in France. Letters from Lyons confirm this intelligence, and add that the Kings of France and England are to be "friends of friends and enemies of enemies." Venice is included in the treaty. Between Rome and Venice public and private couriers are constantly on the road. The Pro-

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thonotary being ill cannot sign this despatch.—Venice, 28 September 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

Indorsed: "Answered."

Spanish. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

1 Oct. **217.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 1-2.

(*Cipher:*) On the 28th of September last Prothonotary Caracciolo and he (Sanchez) wrote in common, reporting the conversation they had held with a secretary of the Republic. The Prothonotary being now ill in bed, he (Sanchez) writes alone to say that the negotiation does not advance in the least, as they (the Venetians) are waiting for their ambassadors at that court to obtain, if possible, some reduction in the sum demanded; perhaps, too, to gain time and prepare for events.

This Signory have received letters, dated the 12th September, from their ambassador in England (Orio), informing them that one of the conditions of the treaty just made there with France stipulates that in case of His Imperial Majesty refusing to take money for the French King's ransom, England is to assist France and make war on Spain. The same ambassador writes that the King of England is about to send another embassy to Spain, with instructions to demand the fulfilment of certain conditions and stipulations, without which he (the King) will not consider himself bound to the league and confederation. The ambassadors are, moreover, to beg and entreat His Imperial Majesty, in mild words at first, to set the French King at liberty.* In consideration for this service and others the French are to pay the King of England 800,000 ducats, partly as agreed in the last treaty, and partly for other motives.

The Marquis of Pescara and others of His Majesty's servants now at Court must already have reported about these Italian intrigues, which seem to be just now more active than ever. He (Sanchez) knows no more of these matters than what he has from time to time reported, except that couriers between this city and Rome are very frequent, and that the Signory hold often secret councils. The Duke of Sessa, in particular, writes, in date of the 24th, that the ambassador of this Republic had been with the Pope upwards of two hours, which, coupled with the delay in the present negotiation, and the very recent treaty between England and France, makes him

* "A le rogar y persuadir con buenas palabras primero que libre al Rey de Francia."

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(Sanchez) suspect that there is something going on against His Imperial Majesty's interests.

The French ambassadors have this very morning held a conference with the Signory, which has lasted upwards of one hour, and has been more secret than usual. Nothing has transpired yet.

(*Common writing:*) The Prothonotary is still suffering from fever; tomorrow will be the fourteenth day of the attack; the doctors, however, give hopes of recovery.—Venice, 1st Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 1 Oct."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

3 Oct. **218.** The Friar to the Bishop of Lodi.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 15.

Has communicated to the Imperial ambassador (Alonso Sanchez) the contents of the Bishop's letter of the 25th September last. He (Sanchez) returns thanks for the intelligence conveyed in the said letter, but would very much like to know what he means by saying that Switzers are coming down upon Italy, followed by others "we do not dream of." The ambassador sends to inquire who those people are. Begs him to return an answer as soon as possible on that point, and to explain the meaning of those words, that he may inform the Imperial ambassador, who says that if he (the Bishop) will only reveal what he knows on the subject, he has no doubt whatever that all and every one of the Emperor's ministers and agents in Italy will assist and reward him in the most satisfactory manner.—Venice, 3 Oct. 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of the answer made to the Bishop of Lodi by the Ambassador Alonzo Sanchez."

Italian. Copy in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

4 Oct. **219.** Hieronimo Morono to Lope Hurtado.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 8.

The Duke [of Milan] is fast recovering his health, but will not be able to attend to business for a long time. He (Morono) is also getting better, and hopes to be free from his complaint in four or six days at the most. Is making all possible haste in collecting the remainder of the 100,000 ducats. A good portion of that sum has already been paid, notwithstanding that the Imperial troops are still quartered in the Duchy, against the Emperor's express orders brought by Don Lope,

* In answer to the Bishop's letter under No. 214, p. 346.

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and the promises so often made to the Duke [of Milan], his master. He can assure Don Lope that, in accomplishing this, both he and the Duke have performed miracles; but as miracles do not often occur,* it is doubtful whether they will be able in future to raise the money required towards the payment of the stipulated sum. He (Morono) is quite certain they will not, unless the Imperial troops at once evacuate the Duchy and take up their quarters elsewhere before the country people are completely ruined and exhausted.

Considers it his duty to make such protests, because, having done hitherto all he could for the support of the Imperial army, he would not have it said, in the event of the Duke failing in his promise, that it was his fault.—Milan, 4 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Hieronimo Morono."

Addressed: "To the most Magnificent, my most Honoured Sir, Lope Hurtado, etc."

Indorsed: "From Signor Hieronimo Morono, 3 Oct."

Italian. Original, with seal in green wax. pp. 2.

4 Oct. **220.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 10–15.

Has received the Imperial despatch dated the 23d of August last, and is thankful for the approval it contains of his conduct and services.

(*Cipher:*) As early as the 21st of July last he (Sanchez) informed the Emperor of the conversation he held with the Bishop of Lodi, and the reasons he had then to accept his services. Wonders that no answer has been made to this portion of his letter. The Bishop, it is true, has not, up to the present time, made any important revelation, except speaking in very bad terms of Hieronimo Morono, and his dealings.† However, as we all know the character and nature of the said Bishop, and that he is not considered a very wise prophet, he (Sanchez) attached no great importance to his words, believing him to be principally moved by his hatred of that secretary. Yesterday a friar, through whom the Bishop communicates, and who is a person whom he (Sanchez) thoroughly trusts, showed him a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy. He (Sanchez) dictated the answer, which also accompanies this,‡ that His Imperial Majesty may judge of this man's professions and the reliance to be placed in his words. The Bishop has a daughter [in Venice] who said the other day to the friar that her father's journey to Switzerland had no other object than to be out of the

* "Ma di certo habbiamo fatto miracoli, et sappia V.S. che li miracoli non si fanno troppo spesso."

† "Mas de dezirme mil males de Hieronimo Moron y ponerme sospechas del y de sus platicas."

‡ Both the Bishop's letter and the Friar's answer may be seen respectively under Nos. 214 and 218.

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way should the Duke of Milan die of his present illness.* If so, it is evident that the Bishop's stay in that country is nowise connected with the intrigues now going on in Italy. However, as the Abbot of Najera has frequently written to say that the dealings of the confederates are no longer a secret, and his information on the subject agrees with that communicated by the Bishop, he (Sanchez) has not hesitated to forward a copy of his letter to be submitted to the Emperor's wise consideration. Has also sent a copy of it to the Marquis of Pescara, inquiring, at the same time, whether the information they possess comes from a reliable source, or has been communicated to them [at Milan] through some agent of the Bishop of Lodi, who, being a very shrewd man, is quite capable of deceiving all of us at once. Has likewise consulted the Marquis how he is to deal with the Bishop, and what promises he is to make him in the Emperor's name should the revelations which he seems inclined to make turn out true.

He (Sanchez) has informed his colleague, Prothonotary Caracciolo, of what is going on, but, at the Marquis' request, he has concealed from him all particulars respecting the Duke of Milan and the suspicions entertained about him. This he has done more to obey the Marquis' commands than because he thinks his colleague capable of divulging the secret, he being such an honest man, and so faithful a servant to His Imperial Majesty, that were the accusations brought against the Duke to turn out true, he [Caracciolo] would not hesitate, though a native of that duchy, to look upon him as his greatest enemy.

Seeing, however, that the Abbot of Najera kept continually writing to him about the said intrigues; that the French ambassadors were holding frequent conferences with this Signory; and that if the Emperor's ministers did not openly and at once declare their suspicions they might give opportunity for the French party at Venice to increase in number, it was decided that—Caracciolo being unable to attend owing to bad health—he (Sanchez) should go alone to the Signory and address them in the following terms:—

(*Common writing:*) He reminded them of the Emperor's moderation after so signal a victory, and of the mild and courteous terms in which he and his ministers had addressed the Italian States, and particularly Venice, at a time, too, when reproaches might have been made and claims established. Far from it, the Imperial ambassadors' language had been everywhere both polite and conciliatory, especially at Venice, the Emperor having sent thither him (Sanchez) and so

* "El dicho obispo tiene aqui una hija la qual dixo al dicho fraile que el obispo fue en suyços, y al tiempo de su partida se dixo que queria ir por hallarse alli si 'el duque de Milan moria de la dolencia que tenia; que esto muestra, quando fuese verdad, que el obispo fue alli de su fantasia, y no enviado por las platicas que andan."

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highly qualified a person as Prothonotary Caracciolo to represent him. (*Cipher:*) Both had heard of the plots and intrigues that were on foot against the Emperor's interests in Italy, and although,—considering their proverbial wisdom in all State affairs, and the many promises they had made him and his colleague, the Imperial ambassadors, no great importance could be attached to the rumour,—yet they felt it their duty to say that the Signory was supposed to be concerned in the said plots, and to have given occasion to the massacre of certain Spanish infantry near Saluzzo, on the 15th of September last. Besides which the movement of troops and military preparations in the territory of the Signory, at a time when there was no necessity whatever for them, and when the Emperor was thinking of reducing his army and withdrawing it altogether from Italy, made them suspect there was some truth in the report. They might, however, have understood from the negotiations now pending, and from their answer to the secretary who called on Prothonotary Caracciolo on the 27th of September last, what the Emperor's real intentions were, and how favourably disposed he was towards them.

Their answer, after many complimentary and gracious words to himself and Prothonotary Caracciolo, was: That we ought to attach no faith to reports, but believe only what we saw with our own eyes. They had always been, and would continue to be, His Imperial Majesty's dutiful servants, knowing, as they did know, his good and benevolent intentions towards them. Far from making any military preparations, they had considerably diminished their army, and would have disbanded it altogether had they not heard of certain movements of troops in Germany, and seen the Imperial generals in Italy do their utmost to keep their forces together.

He (Sanchez) replied that the Emperor being absent from Italy could not judge of events except from the report of his ministers, who most certainly had informed him of various plots and intrigues now going on between the Italian Princes; and which, coupled with the massacre of his infantry at Saluzzo, had obliged him, from fear of further excesses, to keep up his army on a war footing.

To this they replied that neither the Emperor nor his ministers had anything to fear in Italy; the most important affairs were being discussed elsewhere, and they trusted that, with the Emperor's assistance, all matters would be satisfactorily arranged for the service of God and the welfare of Christendom at large. (*Common writing:*) The Turk's increasing power and threatening attitude made it more necessary than ever that war should cease in Europe. They swore that this last allusion of theirs had not been made on account of certain malicious reports lately current about them, or from a wish to prove their innocence, but because they had been of late in great perplexity owing to some of

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their own privateers having recently captured some Turkish vessels, in consequence of which the Turk had ordered 40 galleys to be fitted out, and was preparing a large fleet to come down upon their coast next year.

(*Cipher:*) The above is, in substance, what passed at the conference. With regard to the negotiation now pending they said nothing in particular, except that they were well disposed to accept any reasonable terms, as they had often assured them [the ambassadors], and had lately sent word by their agent at Court.

That the Turk is now on bad terms with this Republic there can be no doubt. He (Sanchez) has heard so from various reliable sources. The capture of the vessels happened near the island of Cyprus. The Turk is very angry on that score; and it is rumoured that this Signory is about to send an ambassador [to Constantinople] to calm him down.

(*Common writing:*) Richard Pace, the English ambassador, left this three days ago. He is returning home in bad health, with permission of his King.

Prothonotary Caracciolo is much better, though not entirely free from fever. The physicians are confident of his speedy recovery.—Venice, 4th of October 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 4th Oct. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 9.

5 Oct. **221.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 24–8.

His last was of the 19th October. Letters have since come from England, dated the 3d September, concerning the peace and alliance made between that country and France. The one which the Pope has shown him (Sessa) states that both parties, at His Imperial Majesty's request, had come to a mutual agreement, without prejudice to the Imperial interests, or the withdrawing of England from the league and confederation sworn to the Emperor. Such is, according to the Pope, the substance of the treaty, of which, he says, the particulars are unknown to him; (*cipher*) but he (the Duke) cannot help thinking there is a good deal more in it than the Pope wishes to publish, for he has heard from a good source that the King of England has written to him (the Pope) to procure, by all means in his power, the liberation of the French King without any dismemberment of territory, adding that the same demand is to be made in Spain by his

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own ambassadors, who had been instructed to make the greatest efforts to accomplish it. Indeed, the proclamation lately made in France is only a confirmation of this news, for it is said therein that France and England are to be friends of friends and enemies of enemies; besides which, the satisfaction of the Pope and of some of his ministers on this occasion clearly shows that they consider themselves more secure now than before. They openly say that His Imperial Majesty never has liked and does not now like them;* notwithstanding which, His Holiness goes on with his fine words, giving out that whenever His Imperial Majesty wants his services, he will not be found wanting.

He (the Duke) is very much afraid that the intrigues of the confederates are more active than ever, and that the Archbishop of Capua knows little or nothing of their doings, the whole matter being in the hands of the Pope himself, of the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti) and of Alberto di Carpi. With the arrival [at Rome] of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber [Ghinucci], and of Gregorio Casal—who are shortly expected as ambassadors from England—the Italian potentates have an open field for their intrigues. Their return to this city shows that the confederates rely upon the assistance of that country, since their departure from hence some time ago is known to have been for that purpose. The disappearance of Gismundino† has increased their suspicions, and the Pope frequently complains of certain people at the Imperial court, who (he says) are the cause of his being driven to despair, and have done him much harm.‡

Has not lately seen the ambassador of the Duke of Milan (Marco Foscari) as often as he used before. The Venetians are continually sending here couriers, who return with an answer in great secresy. What reply they have made to the demands of the Imperial ambassadors he (Sessa) need not allude to in the present despatch; suffice it to say that they seem to place all their confidence in the negotiations now pending; for they say that if the Emperor refuse to liberate his prisoners on such conditions as are now offered by France, it is quite evident that peace will be indefinitely postponed, and Madame d'Alençon's journey to Spain of no avail, whereas if the French King be liberated, things will remain very much in the same state as before. In short, they (the Venetians) are sure to do their utmost to keep matters in confusion.

To the Italians who came lately from France the Marquis of Pescara gave the reception they deserved; it is to be hoped

* "Y á la clara hablan que V. M. no les ha querido ni quiere."

† "Y habiendose desaparecido Gisimundino (*sic*) les ha doblado la sospecha, y aun no sé si el mal año. Algunas vezes se resiente su Sant[d] que le han dado gran causa para venir en desesperacion, y se quexa de quien ya allá se han quexado."

‡ "A los Italianos que venian de Francia les ha dado el Marques el buen recaudo que suele, y assi confio en Dios que quantos intentaren de innovar iran con el mismo castigo."

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that in future all such would-be reformers will meet with a like retribution.

Cardinal Colonna has left Rome, and retired to an abbey of his 12 miles off, either from some idea that the Pope has not sufficiently rewarded his services on the last [Papal] creation, or from other motives. The fact is that he [the Cardinal] has been spending the greater part of the summer in retirement, giving out that he cannot return, because, as a good and faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty, he does not consider himself secure at Rome. The Duke has called on him, and tried all he could to allay his fears; but though he [the Cardinal] has promised to return, it is doubtful whether he will or not, for his relatives and friends, instead of calming him, are continually increasing his suspicions of the Pope.*

(*Common writing:*) The Siennese have taken no notice whatever of his warnings. He [the Duke] had sent to them a clerk (*letrado*) of his, with a copy of His Imperial Majesty's decision. They alleged that the letter was a forgery (*subrretiçia*), and that Cardinal Colonna had written to say that they were not to obey his (Sessa's) orders, as they were contrary to the Emperor's wishes. Upon their refusing to obey orders, and put a stop to the judicial proceedings instituted against the outlaws (*foraxidos*) and absentees (*confinados*), the clerk drew up the enclosed protest† in the Duke's name, and the Siennese in their turn appealed. The Marquis of Pescara has since been informed of this conduct of theirs that he may act accordingly.

Asks for leave to go to Court. Church provision. No hope at present of His Holiness giving the Infante (Archduke) the promised 10,000 ducats.

Concerning the revenues of the Crusade, he (the Duke) has not advanced one step in the negotiation. What the Papal Nuncio [in Spain] has lately written on the subject has done much harm. The principal reason given for the Pope's refusal is, firstly, that the concession applied for is one of great importance for His Imperial Majesty; and, secondly, that the collectors of such revenues in Spain are guilty of all manner of extortions and excesses. The Nuncio writes that His Imperial Majesty admits the existence of the evil and promises that it shall be looked into and redressed, but the Pope persists in his refusal, though he undertakes to devise some means for the conciliation of all interests. However this may be, his (Sessa's) impression is that the Pope (*cipher*) is only trying to gain time till he sees what turn things will take; he and the confederates will wait for the Legate's return to remove the mask altogether, unless they find that the issue of the negotiations is likely to turn to their advantage.

* "Y algunos de sus deudos que no le tienen amor caritativo le encienden por dar con el del todo en el foso."

† Not in the Academy's volume.

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Has received the bills of exchange for 20,000 ducats, which will be presented, and, when paid, applied to the use for which they are destined.*

Jubilee and concession of indulgences. Hospital of Nuestra Señora de Gracia in Saragossa. D. Francisco de Mendoza. Incorporation of the priorate of Exea.

With regard to the jubilee for a period of three months, a hint was thrown out some time ago that one half of its produce should be applied to the works of St. Peter. Has not consented to it, as it would be a bad precedent hereafter.

The Duke of Ferrara left on the 25th ult., well accompanied (*bien acompañado*). He obtained the brief he wanted; (*cipher*) but he (Sessa) thinks that if during his absence they can do him any harm [at Ferrara] they are sure not to let the opportunity pass.

During these last days there has been great talk of new cardinals being created. The legitimation of the Datary has been achieved, and it is the general topic of conversation. Many are the candidates; (*cipher*) and it is very much feared that if the present intrigues go on, cardinal's hats will be sold for more than their weight in gold. He (the Duke) knows of many who would willingly pay double for them, for this merchandise, like the others, has much increased in value.—Rome, 5 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Duke of Sessa, 5 Oct."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 8.

8 Oct. **222.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 31–4.

After his (Sanchez') letter of the 4th inst. the ambassador of the Duke of Milan residing at Venice showed them (Caracciolo and Sanchez) a letter from Hieronymo Morono, dated the 1st, purporting that Scipione Atellano, after spending several days among the Grisons, whither he had been sent for the purpose of negotiating an agreement between them and the Duke (his master), had been obliged to come back without accomplishing his object. The Grisons had been on the point of expelling him (Atellano) from their territory, and rising in arms, as they would not hear of peace unless Chavenna (Chiavenna) was restored to them. In this emergency it had been thought expedient by the Bishop of Veroli (Ennio Filonardo) and by the said Atellano to have

* "Tengo la cendula de los xx mil ducados, laqual se presentará y usará della siendo menester."

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the truce prolonged till the 1st of November, thus giving time for the fury of the Grisons to abate. Accordingly the Bishop, accompanied by six ambassadors of that nation, had gone to Milan to see what could be done towards the extension of the truce. They found the Duke, however, unwilling to give up Chavenna (Chiavenna), though ready enough to prolong the truce, alleging that he was not in a condition to negotiate owing to the bad state of his health; upon which the ambassadors of the Grisons withdrew, saying they had no powers to prolong the truce, but would consult their masters.

The said Morono adds in his letter that the Grisons having since violated the truce, the Duke of Milan had issued orders for the victualling of that fortress [Chiavenna]; and as this could not be effected without some act of violence, he (Morono) thought it advisable that the Signory should be informed in time, the more so as the Grisons intended to send one of their own people to Venice. He therefore begged the Duke's ambassador to call on the Signory, and ascertain from them what sort of assistance they would give in case war broke out between the Duke of Milan and the said Grisons.

The Imperial ambassadors have since learned that the Duke's ambassador (Faverna) had called on the Signory, and had been told that they (the Venetians) were willing enough to interpose their authority and influence with the Grisons; but as to helping the Duke in case of war with them, that was a thing they could not promise to do. They very much wondered at the Duke of Milan and Morono introducing such questions at such a time. They disapproved of the Bishop's journey to Milan, and knew that the Pope also had taken great offence at it.*

Such was the Signory's answer, as communicated to them (the Imperial ambassadors) by the Duke's agent; and though very likely Morono has already written to the Marquis of Pescara on the subject, they have thought it advisable to inform His Imperial Majesty also.

According to a letter of Scipione Atellano which this ambassador of the Duke has received, the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) was actually at Coira, treating with the Grisons and Swiss, that, in case of the Duke's demise, they might appoint him in his room, pretending that he is by right entitled to the duchy [of Milan].

Have also been told by the ambassador of the Duke that when the messengers from France came to notify to the Signory the peace just concluded between that country and England, they expressly said that the peace had not only been signed by the Queen Regent (Louise de Savoy) but had

* "E asi mismo dice que mostraron parecerles muy mal la ida á Milan del obispo Verulano porque engendraba sospecha con algun semblante donde se tenia sin el y sin causa, y que el Papa estaba muy sentido del dicho obispo Verulano que tan livianamente se hubiesse movido."

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obtained the sanction of Parliament and of the whole kingdom of France.

(*Cipher :*) They hear, moreover, from Rome, and through a good channel, that the Cardinal of England (Wolsey) had stated to the Venetian ambassador residing in London that by making the said peace they (the English) did in nowise intend harm to His Imperial Majesty.

The Pope's Nuncio has lately been exhorting them (the Imperial ambassadors) not to throw any obstacles in the way of a definitive settlement with this Republic. He has also applied to the Signory for a similar purpose, showing, in the Pope's name, every desire that all matters at issue should be satisfactorily arranged. The ambassadors have thanked him for his good intentions, assuring him that nothing will be left undone on their part to bring the negotiations to a favourable issue.

His Imperial Majesty has already been informed by a letter of his (Sanchez), written and signed during the illness of his colleague (Caracciolo), that the King of England was about to despatch a new ambassador (Dr. Lee) to Spain, to beg and entreat that the King of France should be released on payment of a due ransom in money. In case of refusal the ambassador was to enforce the point strongly. And the King [of England] had written to the Pope and to the Venetians, begging them to instruct their respective ambassadors at the Imperial court to assist his own with all their might. Both the Pope and the Venetians have done so.

Intelligence has likewise reached the Imperial ambassadors that a certain Glaudio (Claude), secretary to the Regent of France, had been sent by her to notify to this Republic that she had summoned to Lyons the Duke Maximiano (Massimiliano Sforza) and Monsieur de St. Pol, intending to give them the command of 600 lances and 6,000 infantry, besides 6,000 Switzers, destined for the invasion of Italy in the event of the Duke of Milan's death. Glaudio, they say, has since left this city (Venice) and gone to Rome. If the news be correct, the Marquis of Pescara, who is near at hand, must know best and will act accordingly. One thing however is certain, that, even supposing the 80,000 ducats offered by the Venetians, in consideration of the larger sum demanded of them, were to be accepted, they are sure not to pay that sum immediately, but try and find some expedient to gain time.

The above intelligence, however, though emanating from a trustworthy source, is not entirely to be relied upon, some people of this city pretending that Secretary Glaudio has not come to Venice, and that it was the French ambassadors who received the above news.

Since the above was written the ambassador of the Duke (Taverna) has again called on the Signory about the matter of the Grisons. They have plainly told him that they will use every means in their power to bring the affair to a satisfactory issue; but that they do not intend, in case of refusal, to

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threaten or coerce the Grisons, much less to take up arms against them.

Prothonotary Caracciolo has lately much improved in health, and is therefore able to sign this letter.—Venice, 8th Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Ambassadors of Venice."

Spanish. Holograph (in Sanchez' hand) mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7.

9 Oct. **223.** JONGLET to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 105.

Has not replied sooner to her letters of the 19th of Sept. last, because, two days before the arrival of the same, Richart Boullengier left with despatches for Mechlin (Malines), in which he (Jonglet) had answered their contents as well as he could.

Knows nothing about the conditions of the peace between France and England. The Legate says that the English ambassadors in Spain as well as in the Low Countries have been instructed to communicate on the subject with the Emperor and with Madame.

With regard to the Portuguese marriage and the alteration made in Peñalosa's instructions, he (Jonglet) has not failed to make such representations and excuses as the Emperor and Madame directed him to make by their instructions, &c.

Has no news to give, but as Wattelet, the bearer, is returning to the Emperor in Spain, he would not let him go without a few lines.

The Papal ambassador says he has letters from Rome informing him that His Holiness knew nothing about this present peace; that there was the best understanding between the Emperor and him; and that neither of them, the Pope was sure, would treat without the knowledge of the other. The Papal ambassador maintains that His Holiness is very well disposed to peace, and that, in order to secure it, he is about to send to Spain, as his *Legate à Latere*, Cardinal de Salviatis.

The French ambassador is still here. The peace has not yet been sworn to. Fancies that the ratification and oaths are purposely delayed until it be known how the Emperor's affairs turn out.

Begs for his speedy recall.*—London, 9 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 2.

* A copy of this letter is in Bergenroth's collection in Brit. Mus. *Add.* 28,574, f. 391.

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11 Oct. **224.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 37–8.

This morning the Signory received letters from Rome by a courier who left on the 8th inst., at night. The news is that the Pope has heard from Lyons that the French King is dangerously ill, and his life despaired of; that His Imperial Majesty had been to visit him, but that the King was so ill that he had not recognised him, nor Madame D'Alançon, his sister, who had come thither from France. This intelligence has been communicated to them (the ambassadors) by the Signory.

The Duke's ambassador has also had letters from Hieronymo Morono, in date of the 8th inst., reporting that a captain of his, who was governor of Musso, had repulsed an attack of the Grisons on Chavenna (Chiavenna), and slain a good number of them. The Duke [of Milan] wants to know, through his ambassador here, whether, in case of the Grisons making a fresh movement, the Signory will side with him. The answer has been as evasive as on former occasions. (*Cipher:*) The ambassador even thinks, though they did not tell him so in plain terms, that the Signory would be glad to see Chavenna (Chiavenna) restored to the Grisons.

The Imperial ambassadors have lately received intelligence that the negotiations between the Italian potentates are now more active than ever. The King of England is the principal promoter of them, proposing that a defensive league be made, of which he is to be the head, between France, the Italian Princes, and himself, for the purpose of preventing the Emperor's aggrandisement. It is added that both he (the King) and the Cardinal of England (Wolsey) have made overtures on the subject to the Venetian ambassador residing in London, and are now sending ambassadors to the Pope, to induce him and the rest of the Italian Princes, not excluding the Duke of Milan, to enter this new league, which is to be different and distinct from that already existing between France and England.

The above intelligence has been sent by the Venetian ambassador [in England], in date of the 11th of September; and their informer adds that, until the arrival at Rome of the English ambassadors, he does not think that this Republic will be called upon to give an answer [on the subject of the proposed league].* Still, if the King of France were to die, it is questionable whether all these negotiations and intrigues would not fall to the ground. One thing, however, seems to them (the Imperial ambassadors) pretty certain, namely, that

* "Que por cartas de onze lo ha scrito el embaxador de los desta Republica. El que esto nos refiere dise que fasta que los embaxadores de Inglaterra lleguen á Roma, no cree que los desta Republica respondan, ni se haga nada en le platica."

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the Venetians will not pay now the 80,000 ducats promised so long ago.—Venice, 11 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Ambassadors at Venice, 11 Oct. 1525."

Spanish. Ciphered. Holograph in Sanchez' hand. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2½.

13 Oct. **225.** Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in France, to the Emperor.

Arch. d. Roy^me de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 105.

Gives an account of his journey from Barcelona to Lyons, Has had an audience with the Regent, to which the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, Messieurs de Vendome, De Lautrek and a great many Frenchmen and Italians were present. She (the Regent) received him most graciously, took him aside and said how very thankful she was to the Emperor for visiting her son, the King, during his late severe illness, and for the reception given to Madame d'Alençon. She was persuaded, knowing the Emperor's magnanimity, that no conditions would be imposed on the King, her son, but such as he could accept, and therefore hoped that perpetual peace and friendship would soon be established between them.

With regard to the English ambassadors, there are two now residing at Lyons. This he (Praet) has learned, not from the Regent herself, who has not said a word about it, but from other people. One of the ambassadors is a Papal Auditor*, the other Gregory Casal. The peace between England and France has been publicly proclaimed on all the frontiers of this kingdom, and, if his information be correct, not three weeks ago a sum of 100,000 ducats was remitted to England as part and parcel of their debt. He (De Praet) thinks that the remainder will be paid in paper and fine words.† However this may be, the said treaty appears at a most unpropitious time. The Cardinal having just sent here two Italians as his ambassadors, it would look as if his intentions were again to throw Italy into confusion. It will please His Imperial Majesty to send him (De Praet) instructions how he is to deal with the said ambassadors and others who might afterwards come from the King of England; for, as he (De Praet) has already informed His Majesty, his opinion is that the Cardinal is aiming at one of two ends; either to procure large sums of money for the King, his master, under the pretence of the war, whilst he throws the heaviest expenses upon His Imperial Majesty, or else to

* Girolamo Ghinucci.

† "Crois que le reste se payera en papier et belles parolles."

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keep the King of France and His Majesty in a continual state of hostility and mistrust, in order by this means to ensure good treatment on either side. His (De Praet's) advice would be, before the French King is finally liberated, to obtain such securities from him, either by sheer force or by close union and alliance, that in future he may do no harm.

After writing the above, the Venetian ambassadors,* lately come from Spain, called upon him (De Praet). They arrived in Lyons two days before, visited the Regent yesterday, and are to start for Venice tomorrow. They tell him that Madame the Regent has requested the Signory to be the mediator of a peace and close alliance between the King, her son and His Imperial Majesty, in order to promote his liberation, etc. They knew already the conclusion of a peace between England and France, and asked him whether it had been made with the knowledge and consent of His Imperial Majesty. He (De Praet) knew not what to answer, but told them he could not for a moment suppose that the English had done anything to the detriment of the Imperial interests, and that most likely His Imperial Majesty had received previous notice of their intentions. They also told him that the Duke of Ferrara was already on this side of the Alps, on his way to His Imperial Majesty, but that it was very doubtful whether they (the French) would grant him the required safeconduct.†—Lyons, 15 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Louis Praet."

French. Copy.

15 Oct. **226.** LOPE HURTADO, Imperial Commissioner, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 41-3.

By the courier who left on the 3d inst. His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of the determination lately taken by the Marquis of Pescara, after consulting Mons. de Bourbon, Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera. On the day of the departure of the said courier, he (Lope Hurtado), Antonio de Leyva and Hieronymo Morono arrived in this town. (*Cipher:*) The latter (Morono), in pursuance of the purpose for which he had expressly come [to Novara], called upon the Marquis, and told him that the Pope and the Venetians had actually made an agreement with France and England for each party to contribute 50,000 ducats monthly to the expenses of the ensuing war; that the French, at the expiration of the truce, were to send M. de Sampo (Saint Pol) with 500 lances and 2,000 infantry, whilst they (the Pope and Venice) were to commence

* Gaparo Contarini and Lorenzo Priuli, who left Toledo for Venice on the 11th of August, leaving their colleague, Andrea Navagero, in charge of the Embassy.

† Published in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaysers Karl*, pp. 175–80.

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hostilities, and had already contracted for 10,000 Switzers for this end. The Pope was only waiting for the Duke of Milan's resolution in this matter, and had sent Domenico Sable (Sauli) to inquire of the Marquis [of Pescara] whether he would also join their league, and, if he would, to settle the conditions.*

Matters being in this state it was decided that Antonio de Leyva should seize the person of Hieronymo Morono, and convey him as prisoner to the castle of Pavia, which he has since done, escorted by the 2,000 Germans of Colonel Jacobo. After leaving Morono at Pavia, Leyva was to take up his position at Reguardo,† sixteen miles from Milan, where the Marquis is to follow him soon, in order to carry their concerted plan into execution. He (the Marquis) has written to the Duke (Francesco Sforza), to the Senate and to several nobles [at Milan], explaining his reasons for the arrest of Hieronymo Morono. He has also written to the Venetians exhorting them to keep quiet, as nothing was intended against them.

The measures just taken by the Marquis are here considered quite necessary for the preservation of this Imperial army, for, quartered as it now is, and the fortresses and places they occupy being well provided, there is no fear of the Emperor's enemies undertaking anything; and, if they do, their plans will be defeated. Morono's treacherous design was to drive the Marquis and his army out of this duchy [of Milan], and then seize on the strong places; but God has permitted that his treason should be discovered and punished.

His Imperial Majesty ought to be very grateful to the Marquis for the service rendered on this occasion. He (Lope Hurtado) has reason to believe, though he has not heard it from his own mouth,‡ that the Marquis is rather discontented at not having lately received more marks of the Imperial favour. He has been suffering for upwards of a fortnight, and, although better now, is still very weak and thin, for the disease was very severe and it came after tertian fever. As man's life is in the hands of God, it would be advisable to appoint a proper general to replace him in case of need. Thinks that the fittest person to succeed him in the command would be Antonio de Leyva, who is loved by the army, and has the reputation of being a good and faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty.

The day of their departure from Milan Antonio de Leyva saw a brief from the Pope, ordering the Verulano (Bishop of

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* "Y que mandaba á Dominico Sable que viniese á tomar resolucion del Marques si queria ser con ellos, y siendo, para assentar las condiciones."

† Bel Riguardo, on the bank of the Ticino.

‡ "Suplico á V. Mag. se acuerde de mandalle hazer tales obras que él vea que V. Mag. se acuerda de sus servicios passados y presentes, que palabras ya no bastarian para él, que á lo que yo entiendo, aunque no me lo ha dicho, esta quexoso, é si V. Mag. dilatasse alguna demostracion estarlo—ia mas."

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Veruli) to go to Bresa (Brescia), where he would find the Duke of Urbino and the Venetian proveditor with one of his (the Pope's) agents, there to confer together on the affairs of the Switzers; and, the conference over, to pass on to Switzerland, in order there to execute what may be agreed upon between them.

(*Common writing:*) Very little is to be apprehended from these people if His Imperial Majesty will only keep the Marquis and Antonio de Leyva well provided with money. (*Cipher:*) Yet the French King's illness, which is here reported as dangerous, gives those generals some cause for anxiety. They are afraid that, if the King dies, the French will not come to terms with His Imperial Majesty; whereas if the King lives, and a favourable peace is concluded, it will an easy matter for the Emperor to conquer the whole of Italy, and give these people the punishment they so richly deserve for their treacherous acts. By taking possession of this estate (Milan) His Imperial Majesty will gain more credit and profit than by any ransom or territory which the French King might give elsewhere. And since the Emperor has been spending his treasures, and risking everything in Italy for the protection and support of those whom he considered to be his good and faithful servants, now that they have turned out rebels and traitors, he ought to take possession of their estates, and principally of this duchy of Milan, where matters cannot be secure until it becomes part and parcel of the Imperial dominions. Such is the general opinion at Milan. On three different occasions the enemy has been expelled from its territory; as many times those who profess to be good servants of His Imperial Majesty have tried hard to drive away the army sent for their protection.

(*Common writing:*) The Doge of Genoa has behaved so well on this occasion that he fully deserves all His Majesty's consideration.

The Duke of Ferrara passed through this city (Novara) on the 4th inst., on his way to Spain, to offer his services.* The Pope and the Venetians are not at all contented with this determination of his; and Antonio de Leyva has heard from France that Madame (the Regent) is not at all disposed to grant him a safe-conduct. The Marquis [of Pescara] has sent orders to his troops to evacuate Piedmont, at which measure all here are very glad. The country, however, is entirely exhausted; and it is to be feared that the troops, on their departure, will commit excesses. It will, perhaps, be necessary to leave some detachment at Vercelli. The Duke is now in Savoy, owing to Genebra (Geneva) and another town of that country having

* "Dixome que iba á ofrecer á V. Mag. la vida y estado aunque pesase a quien pesase."

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attempted to join the Swiss confederation. The reason why the Imperial troops have not evacuated Piedmont sooner is that Hieronymo Morono offered the greatest opposition to their coming to this duchy; and as there were no other quarters for them, the Marquis naturally delayed the order of evacuation until that obstacle was removed. He (the Marquis) has written to the Duke [of Savoy] and to Madame (the Infanta) giving them satisfaction on this point.

(*Cipher:*) The Marquis has been of opinion that he (Lope Hurtado) should go to Rome to request the Pope to be quiet (*que esté quedo*), and persuade the Venetians to do the same. Has accepted the mission, and starts this very day on his journey. On his return [to Novara] he will not fail to inform His Imperial Majesty of the result, that his services may be employed elsewhere, the Savoy business for which he came to Italy being now at an end.—Novara, 15 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope Hurtado, 15 Oct."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

16 Oct. **227.** JONGLET to MADAME.

K. u K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 399.

Encloses letters received from the masters of the vessels (*zabres*), that, after examining their contents, proper provision may be made. The expense of keeping such vessels is heavy, and the service they now perform inconsiderable.

Nothing new to report since his last. Everyone seems to wait impatiently for the Emperor's decision.

Has heard from the Papal ambassador (Gambara) that the whole of Italy (*touttes les Italies*) is now well disposed towards the Emperor; the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) was to go to Spain; the Venetians were on the eve of accepting the terms proposed to them. Madame d'Alençon had arrived in Spain; she had asked the Emperor's permission to visit the King, her brother, before she entered into negotiations, and it had been granted. The ambassador also told him (Jonglet) that he had heard from the Legate (Wolsey) on the same day, and that he hoped before Christmas a general peace would be concluded.

The Milanese ambassador (Scarpinello?) has had letters from the Duke, his master, informing him that the investiture has come. He was in good health, and hoped everything would turn out to the Emperor's advantage and his own.

The ambassadors of France are still in London. It is said that Jean Jockin will shortly go to Calais, there to receive the money which is coming to this country from France.

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It is reported that the King's almoner (Dr. Edward Lee) is about to go to Spain as ambassador, and that he starts next Thursday.—London, 16 Oct. 1525.*

Addressed: "To Madame."

French. Original. p. 1½.

17 Oct. **228.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 44.

In consequence of the secret negotiations and intrigues going on between the Italian Princes against His Imperial Majesty's interests, the Marquis of Pescara and others of the Emperor's servants and vassals have been reflecting upon the best means of counteracting them. The Marquis, in particular, was of opinion that the best course to be pursued was to secure beforehand the person of Hieronimo Morono, as principal minister and originator of the said intrigues (*ministro é inventor de las dichas praticas*), and to occupy at the same time part of the Duke's territory. After consulting over this scheme with the generals of the Imperial army, and taking their advice thereupon, the Marquis has already secured the person of Morono, as he himself has no doubt fully informed His Imperial Majesty. Both the Doge of Genoa and he [Lope Hurtado] think that he has acted most wisely on this occasion, as that Secretary's arrest will no doubt lead to the discovery of the secret plans of these Italian confederates.

The Marquis, moreover, writes to say that he (Soria) is to encourage the Doge to persevere faithfully in the Imperial cause, as he has done hitherto, promising him, in case of need, the assistance of the forces under his command. There is no need, however, of such exhortation, for though the Doge has often been invited to join the Italian league, he has constantly refused, and he (Hurtado) knows him to be well disposed to sacrifice his life for the Imperial cause. Has written to the Marquis, assuring him of the Doge's fidelity, and that he promises to hold this city against all enemies. There can be no doubt that his offers are sincere, as he himself is now writing to His Imperial Majesty about it.

Five galleys of Andrea Doria, commanded by Count Philipino Doria, one of his relatives, anchored yesterday in this port. Although he came with no hostile intentions, yet, as his family belong to the part [of the Fregosi], all were afraid of some stir being made in the city. He (Soria) sent a notary of his on board to inquire from the said Count what were his intentions, summoning him to keep the truce just concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. His answer was that he had not come to do any harm, and that his armament was to be employed exclusively against the Infidels, and moreover that he was intent upon observing the

* A copy also in Bergenroth's Collection, f. 399.

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truce. And so he did; for on the very same night he sailed for the coast of Provence, though he landed at a place on the coast called Sanct Pietro di Arena, not far from Genoa, where he was visited by the ladies of the neighbourhood, and by some of his own relatives and friends.

The three galleys of the Order [of St. John] of Rhodes passed also before this city, four days ago, bound for Civita Vecchia, with permission, as they said, of the Duke of Bourbon, when he was at Aigues Mortes.

Encloses despatch from the Duke of Sessa, with intelligence from Rome.—Genoa, 17 October 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

P.S.—The Abbot of Najera left, two days ago, for Milan, taking with him the remainder of the 80,000 ducats lately remitted from Spain, and of which he (Soria) had already forwarded one half to the Imperial camp.

Has already informed His Imperial Majesty that the French give out that the Genoese are not comprised in the last truce, and have in consequence captured some of their vessels, owing to which the citizens and merchants of this place are in great fear, not knowing how they are to carry on their business in future. Earnestly begs for a declaration that the people of Genoa are virtually included in the truce.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, xxvii. (*sic*) of October."

Spanish. Original. pp. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

18 Oct. **229.** Don Fadrique de Portugal, Bishop of Siguença and Viceroy of Catalonia, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 46.

Received, the night before last, His Imperial Majesty's letter commanding him to lay an embargo on the two caracks that brought over Mons. de Bourbon's horses. The caracks are two, one larger than the other. Has been told by Mons. de Bourbon that the price stipulated for freight was 1,400 ducats, monthly, for the two. The day before the order came they had been paid, and were on the eve of returning home.

There is now in port a large vessel of upwards of 500 tons' burthen, belonging to a merchant of this city, named Pujadas, besides two more of reasonable size and equally fit for the conveyance of troops. Should His Imperial Majesty decide on the embargo of these vessels, he (the Bishop) begs for fresh instructions, because when the orders came for the embargo of the "Portunda," he pointed out the expediency of laying it also on that of Pujordes and the other two vessels. He has never received an answer to his letter; and as winter is coming on, it is not likely that the said vessels will remain long on this coast.

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Mons. de Bourbon arrived last Saturday (13th Oct.), and was very well received and attended, according to His Imperial Majesty's orders; in truth he well deserves every attention. Tomorrow, Thursday, he will sail for Valencia, if no orders come to the contrary.—Barcelona, Wednesday, the 18th of October, 1525.

Signed: "Don Ffadrique, Bishop of Çiguença."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Cesar, Catholic and most Powerful Lord, the Emperor and King our Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Barcelona. The Viceroy, 18th of October."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

19 Oct. **230.** Nicolao de Grimaldo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 48.

Has frequently heard from his brother, Juan Batista Grimaldo, residing at the Imperial court, how benevolently his application has been received, and the favours lately conferred upon him, which makes him [Nicolao] confident that very shortly he shall be advanced to greater honour, that being the thing he most desires. The whole of the Grimaldo family join in the expression of their gratitude for so signal a favour, assuring His Imperial Majesty that he (Nicolao), his two brothers, and their small substance, shall always be at his command.—Genoa, 19th of October 1525.

Signed: "Nicolao de Grimaldo."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. From Nicolao Grimaldo, 19th of November (*sic*)."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1⅓.

20 Oct. **231.** Poupet de la Chaulx, Ambassador in Portugal, to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1554.

Received on the 15th inst. the Emperor's letter, dated the 12th. He and Don Juan de Zuñiga [his colleague] have lost no time in arranging the articles, settlements, &c. of the marriage. Last Wednesday, on the festival of St. Luke, the King of Portugal (João III.) sent for the ambassadors, and, in the presence of the Cardinal, of the Infantes Don Luis and Don Fernando, his brothers, of the Bishop of Lamego, of the Counts of Portalegre, Villanova, and Vimiosa, the Notary of the Realm (*Escribano de la Puridad*), Pedro Correa, Luis de Silveyra, Don Antonio Datahy (d'Atayde ?), and other noble personages, to the number of 15, had the marriage articles read to him, and swore to them. After which he (the King), followed by his suite, took the ambassadors to another chamber,

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where Queen Eleonor, the Emperor's sister, and the Infanta (Isabella) were, each attended by their maids of honour and by two old officers of the Royal household, Ruy Telles, the Infanta's Chief Lord Steward, and Juan de Saldaña, the Superintendent (*veedor*). The Bishop (of Lamego) then madea suitable speech, explaining the nature of the assembly, and addressed to the Señora Infanta the usual words on such occasions, *por promesa de futuro*, which the Infanta swore to, as likewise he (Lachaulx) and his colleague Juan de Zuñiga, in the Emperor's name. The Queen, the Infanta, and all the Princes then kissed the King's hand; and the rest of the company did the same to the King and Princesses; after which the Imperial ambassadors presented to the Infanta 10,000 gold dobloons (*doblas*) as a gift (*arras*) from the Emperor to her, in addition to the stipulated dowry. The ceremony over, the King asked the ambassadors how soon they expected to receive the brief of dispensation from Rome; and upon their answering that they had it by them, desired them to send it to him, which they did immediately. He (Lachaulx) has since learnt that the King committed the same to the inspection of some of his Privy Council, who have for some time maintained that the said brief of dispensation was not sufficient for the present marriage, and have stated their reasons in the enclosed memorandum.

Notwithstanding that the whole affair has been managed, according to the Emperor's instructions, as secretly as possible, the ambassadors could not prevent its being made public, for the King's treasurer, Fernand Alvares, had to go to Medina del Campo to procure the money; and the whole thing became known to the bankers and merchants of that city. Both the King and his treasurer have asked him (Lachaulx) whether the Emperor would rather have the 100,000 dobloons, due next March, paid in Spain or in Italy, or only a portion now, as agreed, for he (the King) says that he wishes to do the Emperor's pleasure in this as well as in other matters.

The ambassadors have discussed the clauses of the brief at length with certain lawyers and theologians deputed for that purpose; and although they all confess that the dispensation *in foro conscientiæ* is good and valid, and that it could never have been the Pope's intention to deceive His Imperial Majesty or anyone else, yet they persist in the idea that a fuller and more explicit one must be procured; for, they say were the marriage to take place under this dispensation, there might still *in foro contentioso* be some scruple as to the posterity issuing from it.

The Chancellor (Gattinara) had written to him (Lachaulx), pointing out the objections which he thought would be raised against this brief; and although some of them have been started, none with so much force as those contained in the enclosed memorandum. Perceiving that he could not convince the Portuguese doctors and theologians, he (Lachaulx)

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suggested that since they considered the dispensation brief as sufficient for this purpose *in foro conscientiæ*, the marriage by proxy (*por palabras de presente*) might be accomplished, and in the meantime let them apply to and obtain from Rome a second brief more full and explicit. The King, to whom the matter has been referred, is not unwilling that the ceremony should take place before the arrival of the brief, on condition, however, that the Infanta is not to cross the frontier (*raya*) until all doubts and scruples about the validity of the dispensation shall be entirely removed. The King, moreover, has promised to send orders to Antonio de Azevedo, his ambassador at the Imperial court, to see that His Imperial Majesty swears to the marriage articles in his presence.

Thanks the Emperor for his news, though he wishes they had been better ones, and that the French King had listened to reason and returned what is not his own. Doubts not but that the English, by their last agreement with France, have been the cause of the King's coldness (*refroidissement*).

Twelve days ago a Lisbon merchant wrote to him (*Lachaulx*), stating that the common rumour there was that the peace between France and England had been duly proclaimed [in London], and that the Dauphin (of France) was to be married to the King of England's daughter (the Princess Mary). Since the affair is publicly talked of, and the King has not sent intelligence to the ambassador, it must be that either he dislikes mentioning it, or that he does not consider it as serious. The truth is that peace with France is peace with all the Christian world; and, on the contrary, as long as the Emperor is at variance with the French there will always be one iron in the fire of discord, unless France were completely subdued (*en subjection*), which would by no means be an easy task to accomplish.—Torres Novas, 20 Oct. 1525.

P.S.—Encloses the marriage articles, which were only brought to him late yesterday evening, and two memoranda of the degrees of consanguinity between the Emperor and the Infanta (Isabella), one drawn up by the Portuguese doctors, the other by his colleague Juan de Zuñiga. Also a paper on the doubts and scruples raised by these doctors and theologians concerning the brief of dispensation.

Should the Pope's Legate residing at the Imperial court (Salviati) have power to dispense *in secundo gradu*, he might do so in all inferior degrees; but in that case it would be requisite that the whole dispensation should emanate from the Legate himself, without any reference to the Pope's former brief.

The confirmations by oath of the King and Infanta are not included in the articles. Having inquired the cause of this omission he was told that such was the practice [among them], and that the same had been done on the occasion of the Emperor's sister's marriage [to the King of Portu-

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gal]; but that if a separate deed was required they would have it drawn up forthwith.

They wish that in the ratification which the Emperor is about to make it should be expressly stated that the Emperor not only does ratify and approve everything that has been done by his ambassadors and procurators, but likewise consents to and ratifies over again the said marriage articles. The Grand Chancellor will understand better than he (Lachaulx) does what the Portuguese mean by this.

Signed: "Lachaulx."

Addressed: "A sa Majeste l'Empereur, Roi d'Espagne, etc."

French. Original. pp. 6.

20 Oct. **232.** The Bishop of Lodi to the Friar in the Confidence of Alonso Sanchez.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 49–53.

Reverende Pater mi carissime.—Has heard of Morono's arrest. The ambassador must have him examined at once. He must be asked what other charge he intrusted to his servant, Joan Stefani di Robbio*, when he went over to Madame the Regent and Lautrech. Whether it is not true that whilst trying to bring on an agreement between his master, the Duke, and the said parties he (Stefani) promised, in their name, to exterminate all the Imperialists residing in the duchy of Milan. What other Italian Princes have consented to join him in the league against the Emperor; and whether it is not true that both the Duke and he (Morono), believing the bearer of their despatches,† a servant of Signor Alberto di Carpi, to have been murdered on the road to France, made all possible endeavours to ascertain where and by whom the said messenger had been captured, fearing the letters and despatches had fallen into the hands of the Emperor's men.

Thus the ambassador will have an opportunity of testing the truth of his (the Bishop's) reports, and how right he was when he warned him against Morono's intention to have a sort of Sicilian Vespers enacted at Milan. He must further be asked whether it is not true that he wrote a letter to the Duke's brother, residing in France, wherein he informed him of the incurable disease with which his master was smitten, and encouraged him to come over to Milan in force, when he would assist him to get possession of the estate. Maximiliano showed the letter to Madame and to Lautrech, who decided to accept Morono's offer at once. All are in hopes that should the Duke Francisco die, all the Milanese outlaws (*foraxiti*) will cluster round Maximiliano. He (the Bishop) trusts, though he is not quite sure, that he shall be able to procure

* In the original *Joan Estafani de robio*, which I presume to be an error for "Giovanni Stefano da Robbio."

† Sigismundo or Gismundo.

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an intercepted letter of the Duke's brother to the said Morono, in answer to the offers and promises made on that occasion. The letter is in the hands of a man who is now far away, but every effort shall be made to get possession of it, and if so a copy shall be forwarded to the ambassador.

Let Morono be closely interrogated about all these matters; also about the engagements he is known to have taken under the supposition that the Duke's disease was an incurable one; about the reported death of the most Christian King of France, in which he fully believed; about the destruction he meditated of all the Imperialists in the duchy of Milan, and principally about the letters he wrote to Maximiliano [Sforza] when the news arrived of the French King's recovery.

The ambassador is further to ask Morono whether he communicated to any of the Italian Princes his plans for execution after the Duke's demise, and what he (Morono) purposed to do against the Imperialists. In this manner the ambassador will soon find out what a liar the said Morono is, and how capable of plotting a thousand similar treasons. Certainly both the ambassador and all the Emperor's ministers and agents in those parts have had a narrow escape!

Is to tell the ambassador to keep this matter secret, and not divulge his name, for were their mutual correspondence to become known, he would no longer be able to serve the Emperor. Wonders much that the last letter from Genoa conveyed neither an approval of his conduct, nor any offer of reward for his services. Indeed, unless the ambassador certify him that his exertions meet with the Emperor's full approbation, he will consider himself entirely as a mere cast-away, good for nothing. He need not say that this late demonstration and his acceptance of the French King's offers are calculated the better to conceal from the people his affection for the Imperial cause.

His (the Friar's) last letter has duly come to hand; must not be under apprehension if he (the Bishop) has not yet answered it. He was away from home when it arrived; besides which, he is so surrounded by spies that he had no opportunity to write sooner.—Coira? 20th of October 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the Bishop of Lodi to Prothonotary Caracciolo, 20th of October."

Italian. Copy in cipher made by Alonso Sanchez. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

20 Oct. **233.** JONGLET, SIEUR DES MARETZ, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223. No.

Wrote last by Boullengier the messenger what had occurred up to the date of his letter, and what the people generally thought and said about the peace lately made between England and France.

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Has since, on Wednesday the 18th inst., received letters from Madame, wherein she informs him (Jonglet) that the English ambassadeur residing at her court (Sir Robert Wingfield) had announced to her the conclusion of the said peace, but only in general terms; and that when she asked him about the conditions he replied that he knew nothing about them, which answer had appeared to Madame rather strange, as it had been previously announced that both the Emperor and herself should be opportunely advised of the conditions, &c. Madame has since procured a copy which had been printed in France and sent it to him (Jonglet) calling his attention to its last article, which is so worded as to imply that in the event of the French King attempting to recover a portion or the whole of the territories now ceded to the Emperor in virtue of the said treaty of peace, he might do it without any opposition from the King of England.

In compliance with Madame's orders he (Jonglet) waited yesterday morning on the Legate, and showed him the printed copy of the treaty, which he read attentively as well as the article in question, declaring that it did not exactly agree with the original. He then sent for a copy or draft of the same, which he showed him, and read the article aloud concerning the help and assistance which each of the contracting parties is to give the other in case of need. The article, as far as he (Jonglet) can recollect, bears that the contracting parties will not be called upon to assist their allies and confederates in recovering that which might have been taken from them since the beginning of the last war, but only.

The Legate says that Tournay is in this case, and that the Emperor took it after that time, and therefore, according to the terms of the peace, were the French to attack it hereafter, the King of England could in nowise be compelled to draw his sword for His Imperial Majesty. In a like manner England could not be obliged to help France in an attempt to keep Hesdin, which they (the French) took during the last war. The Legate, however, observed that the clause was not so binding as entirely to prevent one of the contracting parties helping the other, if they were so inclined, for the words are "ne seront astrains" which does not deprive them of their right of helping one another according to their inclination. It is their interest (*il est en eux*) in the present case not to lean to one side or the other.

The King, added the Legate, had proposed that an article should be introduced to this effect, namely, that the contracting parties should be at liberty to help and assist each other in maintaining their possessions without limitation of any sort. But this the French would never grant owing to the English having some sort of claim on Tournay. For at the time that city was restored to them and a marriage between the

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Daulphin and Princess Mary proposed, it was expressly stipulated that in the event of the said marriage not taking place through the default of France, Tournay would be returned to the English as a sort of compensation, in proof of which (the Legate said) "the hostages given by France on that occasion are still in London." Now the French pretend that they cannot give us Tournay because you of the Low Countries retain it in your power. Were they to attempt its recovery, it would be strange indeed to see the English, for whom the said recovery was attempted, oppose the enterprise. To obviate this difficulty the article has been drawn out as it stands.

The Legate went on to say that it was stipulated by the Treaty of Windsor that all conquests and territorial acquisitions made by the Emperor or the King of England should remain to the profit and share of whoever was entitled to them. And as the said town of Tournay, owing to private stipulations with France, and to the rupture of the marriage of the Dauphin with Princess Mary, was to be given back to England, this conquest of the Imperial arms ought, by right, to be returned.

The ambassador's answer was that he was not aware that since the restoration of Tournay to the French, any claim had been laid to it by England. If such there had been, he had never heard of it, though the restitution took place many years ago. He (Jonglet) considered that both the Emperor and Madame of the Low Countries would find it strange that such means should be resorted to to dispute their unquestionable right to that and other conquests. He ended, however, by declaring that he had neither instructions to discuss that matter nor sufficient knowledge of the treaties alluded to by the Cardinal to be able to do so, but would willingly communicate the whole to the Emperor and ask for orders.

This is, as far as the ambassador can recollect, the substance of his conference with the Cardinal. When the treaties are examined it will be seen who is right in the matter.

However this may be, the Cardinal declared that the King, his master, intended to maintain the friendship, good alliance and confederation with His Imperial Majesty, persuaded as he was that it would turn out to the profit, welfare and comfort (*commodité*) of the Emperor's kingdoms, vassals, and subjects, as well as to his own. "The King (he added) is now sending to his ambassadors in Spain a copy of the articles and conditions of the peace just made with France. A similar copy shall be sent to Madame of the Low Countries that she may, if she chooses, give in her adhesion within the period therein fixed, which is four months."

Begs again for his recall, not that he is less inclined than hitherto to sacrifice his life and fortune for the Imperial service, but because he considers himself quite unfit for this

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task and unable to conduct so complicated and perplexing a negotiation as the one intrusted to his care.—London, 20th of October 1525.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor, &c."

French. Original. pp. 5.

20 Oct. **234.** POUPET DE LACHAULX, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the DOWAGER DUCHESS OF SAVOY, Governess of the Low Countries.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, No. .

Came to Portugal about the end of March to visit the King and Queen, the Emperor's sister,* and also to ask for Princess Mary, the daughter of the late King, proposing to have her educated [in Spain], and offering any securities that might be demanded that, whilst at the Spanish court, her hand should not be disposed of without the King's consent, and that in case the Queen Dowager [Eleonor], her mother wished to quit the kingdom of Aragon, Princess Mary should return with her to Portugal. He (Lachaulx) did not much like his commission and wished to have been excused from it. Begged that another and better man should be appointed, but the Emperor insisted, saying that no fitter person could be sent on such a mission; he (Lachaulx) having already upon one occasion visited Queen Eleonor when in Spain, and being well acquainted with her. Should another appointment be made the Queen might take offence, especially as she had expressly asked for him, saying that if any living man was capable of bringing her daughter to her side [in Spain], it was certainly Lachaulx. Accepted the commission with reluctance and started for Lisbon where he thought six weeks' stay would be more than sufficient to accomplish the object of his charge. But when, after the usual visits and introductions, he (Lachaulx) began to explain his commission, he found greater difficulties than he had imagined possible at first. He was told that when the King of Portugal (Don João) went [to Spain] to be married to his Queen (Doña Catalina), the matter was proposed to his ambassadors, who refused in his name. Upon Lachaulx informing them that the Emperor was ready to give any securities that might be asked, the deputies appointed by the King inquired what those securities were. Lachaulx then wrote home, and the Emperor made such an answer as to make him think that the whole business would be satisfactorily settled in a few days. The deputies then started new difficulties, and Lachaulx again applied to court for instructions, which the Emperor sent him forthwith,

* The King was João III., who succeeded his father Dom Manuel in 1521. The Queen Doña Catalina, daughter of Philip and Joanna, and consequently the Emperor's sister. She was born on the 14th of January 1507.

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granting all their demands merely to please Queen Eleonor, whom, as Madame knows, the Emperor loves fondly. But however ample his instructions, and however great the Emperor's desire to comply with the King's wishes, Lachaulx advanced but little in his negotiation, so much so that he began to get angry and threatened to go away, saying, that as the Emperor's request was both just and reasonable, and his promise to send back the Princess sufficiently binding, he (Lachaulx) considered their objections most futile, and would therefore quit Lisbon and go back to Castille under a most unfavourable impression. He pressed them so hard on this point, that not knowing what to answer, the deputies looked at each other in amazement. At last one of them broke silence and said: "If you wish to take away the Princess from us you must make up your mind to stay in Portugal at least one year, for the King, our master, would much prefer giving the Emperor his own sister Isabella* as a wife than the Princess [Doña Maria]," and he began to praise the beauty and personal attainments of the former, adding that her dower was such as the Emperor would be glad to have, *i.e.*, upwards of one million of ducats. His commission (Lachaulx told them) had no reference to the Infanta Isabella. They ought to know that the Emperor was bound by treaty to marry the daughter of the King of England, and he assured them that for nothing in this world would he break his promise to the King of England, who was of all the Princes in Christendom the one for whom he entertained the greatest friendship. Their answer was, that as there was a report that King Henry was about to grant the hand of his daughter [Mary] to the King of Scotland, he could not possibly complain if the Emperor married elsewhere. Told them that he was well aware of an embassy from Scotland having gone to England, and of the said marriage having been proposed and discussed, but that nothing had been stipulated or concluded. They, however, pressed him so much to acquaint the Emperor with their wishes, that in one of his despatches, dated the last day of May, Lachaulx mentioned the fact to the Emperor, who, eight days after, wrote approving of his answer, and saying that although his intention had always been and still was to fulfil his promise to the King of England, yet since the ambassador's departure for Portugal he had somewhat changed his mind. He had received information from England concerning certain secret negotiations there carried on to his disadvantage, and although he had full confidence in the King of England's good sense and friendship, yet his enemies might possibly gain him over and make him see things differently from what they were. Until the ambassador heard from him

* Don Manuel, the father of João, was married 1° to Doña Isabel, Infanta of Castille, daughter of the Catholic Kings. 2°. To her sister, Doña Maria. 3°. To Doña Leonor, the Emperor's sister, who afterwards became Queen of France. Doña Isabel, who became Empress, was born of his second marriage.

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he was to follow his instructions strictly, without moving in the matter of the Princess, his niece, or abandoning it. In this line of conduct Lachaulx persevered until the 5th of October, when a letter came, dated the 2d, informing him that on the previous day the English ambassadors had announced to the Emperor that the King, their master, had made an agreement (*fait appointment*) with the French King, and therefore commanding him to bring the matter immediately before the King of Portugal and ask him for the hand of his sister Isabella, full powers being sent to the ambassador in conjunction with Don Juan de Zuñiga, Knight Commander of Santiago, to ask for the hand of the Infanta, and sign the marriage contract, which was done on the 18th inst.—Torres Novas, in Portugal, 20th Octobre 1525.

Signed: "La Chaux."

Addressed: "A Madame la Duchesse de Savoie, Gouvernante des Pays Bas."

French. Original. pp. 3.

21 Oct. **235.** The Duke of Sessa and Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Marquis of Pescara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36.

He (the Duke) had, on the 18th instant, written the enclosed, to go by the estafette of Venice, but the post went off without it. Yesterday afternoon Lope Hurtado arrived, and they (the ambassadors) decided to inform his Lordship of what had happened since. Immediately after Hurtado's arrival [in Rome] a message was sent to the Pope, asking for an audience, which was fixed for this morning before noon. Both have attended it, though rather late, owing to its being signature day. After the usual salutations and complimentary phrases, Lope Hurtado explained his commission. His Holiness's answer dwelt chiefly on the many causes of complaint he had against His Imperial Majesty, since, he said, the restitution of Rezo (Reggio) and Rubiera had not been accomplished according to agreement, but was indefinitely postponed; besides which, the Imperial army was still quartered on the lands of the Church, to the great annoyance and detriment of the country people, which causes of complaint were his principal reasons for not entering into the negotiations to which he had been invited.

With regard to Morono's arrest and the taking possession of the duchy of Milan in His Majesty's name, he observed that the charges against that Secretary proving true, he found the measures adopted just, and fully approved of them, provided they had not for an object the final acquisition of that estate by His Imperial Majesty. He, the Pope, felt sure that orders emanating from the Emperor, to be executed by his ministers, could not but be well weighed and considered before they were issued.

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They (the ambassadors) replied to the above in a suitable manner, the result of the conference being that His Holiness approved of the precautionary measures taken by his Lordship for our security.—Rome, 21st of October 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter written by the Duke of Sessa and Lope Hurtado to the Marquis of Pescara."

Spanish. *p.* 1½.

21 Oct. **236.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the MARQUIS OF PESCARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 55–9.

Received, yesterday afternoon, his letter of the 16th instant; and, in obedience to his commands, called on the Signory. Prothonotary Caracciolo being still indisposed, though no longer suffering from fever, could not attend, and therefore he (Alonso Sanchez) had to go alone.

After delivering his letters, he explained to them how, in consequence of advices received from various quarters, the Marquis had become acquainted with the plots and intrigues whereof Hieronimo Morono was the head. How he (the Marquis) had dissembled at first, hoping that the said Morono, mindful of the many favours received from His Imperial Majesty, would change his ways. But finding that he persevered in his bad practices, and was actually in treaty both with Switzers and French to secure the Duke's inheritance to his brother Maximiano (*sic*) and destroy the Imperial army quartered in the Duchy, he had been obliged to order his arrest and take other precautionary measures against such designs. Believing, however, that they (the Venetians) had no hand in such intrigues, but, on the contrary, felt grateful for the Emperor's past favours, the Marquis had charged him (Alonso Sanchez) to inform them of that event, and likewise of his intention to make such provision as would ensure to the present Duke the possession of his estate, and at the same time preserve the Imperial army from any sudden and treacherous attack. As friends of the Emperor, he deemed it advisable to acquaint them with his plans. They were not to be astonished if, for the preservation and security of the Imperial army under his command, he (the Marquis) took the military precautions most conducive to that object, for it was his duty, as that of any other general in Christendom, to provide for the wants and safety of his army. They themselves would do the same if similarly situated, and therefore could not find fault with him, if, in the present instance, he took such precautions for the Duke's benefit and the preservation of the Imperial army. No one could doubt the Emperor's righteous intentions, nor his ardent wish for the welfare of the Christian community. They all knew how desirous he was of peace, and how, after Lope Hurtado's arrival in Italy, and the subsequent investiture of the duchy of Milan in the person of

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Francesco Sforza, he had sent full powers to Prothonotary Caracciolo and to himself (Sanchez) to settle matters in his name, dismiss the army, and send back to the kingdom [of Naples] a portion of the men-at-arms. Unfortunately for both parties, these benevolent intentions of the Emperor had been thwarted by the said intrigues; but he (Sanchez) could assure them that whatever military measures, occupation of territory, or concentration of forces the Marquis might consider necessary under the present circumstances, had no other object than the safety of the Imperial army under his orders.

That they might the more be convinced of the Emperor's good wishes towards them, he (Sanchez) told them how he was fully authorised to confirm the substance of the last conversation which he and his colleague (Caracciolo) had held with their Secretary (of Estate), viz., that we were ready to treat with them and bring the present negotiation to a close, provided their views were just and reasonable, as we had full powers to that effect, and could at once settle all matters without referring home.

Their answer was that they were very thankful for the information which the Marquis [of Pescara] had caused to be conveyed to them, though they could scarcely believe the Duke of Milan and his secretary, Hieronimo Morono, to be guilty of such an offence, after the many benefits received at the Emperor's hands. Yet as the Marquis was a wise and prudent statesman, he was perfectly justified in taking every precaution. If plots existed between the Italian Princes, they (the Venetians) had no knowledge of them. As regards Morono's negotiations with the Switzers, they were to be explained by that secretary's desire to annoy the Grisons, whom he had exasperated beyond measure. About the French they had nothing to say.

Respecting the movements of the Imperial army and other military precautions announced by the Marquis, they had no objection whatever to raise, as they trusted in their not being intended against them.

With regard to the present negotiation they said they had always been, and were still, desirous of being closely united to the Emperor's cause in every respect. They thought, however, that everything might have been settled by that time. No umbrage should be taken at this their answer, since they had declared, over and over again, what they could do in the matter. They would therefore wait for what we had to say, protesting again of their goodwill and right intentions towards His Imperial Majesty.

To the above arguments he (Sanchez) replied as follows: They might be sure, as far as the Marquis was concerned, that his military precautions had no other object in view than his own security and that of the Imperial army. Time would show if he was justified in taking such measures; but in the meanwhile it was his duty, as a prudent general, to

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guard against danger. Respecting our late negotiation with them, they knew what their answer was, and what our reply had been. These last Italian intrigues had certainly been the cause of the interruption of the negotiations, but we were quite ready to resume them whenever they pleased. To which they replied that evidently there was on each side perfect goodwill and conformity of opinion, and therefore nothing was wanting but the means (*la formula*). He (Sanchez) observed that they were so wise and prudent that they would find it if they chose. Upon which they promised to talk over the matter, and let him know the result of their deliberations.

(*Cipher*:) It occurs to us (Sanchez and Caracciolo) to ask your Lordship for new instructions in case the Signory should again resume the suspended negotiations. For it is quite evident that, rather than apply for a new treaty, they will ask for a ratification or confirmation of the last one, wherein the style and mode of confederation are explicitly defined, and the contingent named which they were to furnish in case of the duchy of Milan being invaded and the present Duke disturbed in his possession. Under the new aspect of things the ambassadors are very much in doubt as to how this last article of the convention is to be settled, for these people are sure to prefer the Duke to the Emperor for their neighbour.

Your Lordship must hold for certain that the Venetians, notwithstanding all their protestations and assurances to the contrary, are very much alarmed and concerned at the intended movements of the Imperial army; they are now collecting their resources and drawing money from every quarter.

Have already informed your Lordship that the very moment Morono's arrest was announced they (the Venetians) despatched a courier to Rome in all haste.

Matters being in the present condition it would be of the utmost importance for the Imperial service to have in this city (Venice) some trusty person to report on the doings of this Signory. Beg to know whether, in case of such person being found, they (the ambassadors) would be authorised to devote to that object a sum of 300 crowns. If the answer be in the affirmative, he (Sanchez) is ready to advance it out of his own pocket.

(*Common writing*:) Have been told by the ambassadors of the Duke of Ferrara that the Signory sent, the other day, for them, and said that their master's application for a safe-conduct through France had been denied. It would appear that Madame the Regent had sent him word that if he was to visit her he might come without a safe-conduct, and be welcome; but that if his intention was to go to Spain, she

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wanted first to know the object of his journey,* in order to grant or refuse his application accordingly. The ambassadors knew no more about it than what the Signory had told them; even this they did not give as positively certain. (*Cipher:*) It might, after all, be only an invention of some people who are desirous of preventing the Duke's journey to Spain, for there can be no doubt that some citizens of this place are doing all they can to gain that object.

(*Common writing:*) Yesterday the ambassador of the Duke of Milan (Taverna) came with letters from his master, begging him (Caracciolo) to attend his court, if possible, as he wanted very particularly to see him, and requesting him (Sanchez) to prevail upon his colleague to undertake the journey. Caracciolo answered that his health was so indifferent that he could not possibly go [to Milan], and that, besides, he dared not move from Venice without the Emperor's order or your Lordship's permission. Sanchez sent the same answer, but offered his services in other ways.

The same Milanese ambassador told them of certain proposals which Bracamonte is said to have made to the Duke, and what his Excellency replied thereto. After visiting them for that purpose the ambassador went to call on the Signory, as he said, to make a similar communication to them. Have not seen him since.

(*Cipher:*) Had written so far when a secretary of the Signory called, under some specious pretence, but in reality with a view to resume the suspended negotiation, and with more disposition to come to terms than they had shown hitherto; for it must be said that the late events, though not much to their liking, have had the effect of rendering them somewhat more tractable in these matters. It is therefore very important that your Lordship should send them an answer as soon as possible respecting the Duke of Milan, and the article relating to him; for if negotiations are resumed, they (the ambassadors) will soon come to a standstill, owing to the circumstance that, in the said treaty, which was drawn in obedience to the Emperor's orders, the Duke figures as one of the principal contracting parties.—Venice, 21 of Oct. 1525.

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter written by the Ambassadors at Venice to the Marquis of Pescara. 21 Oct. 1525."

Spanish. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 8.

22 Oct. **237.** The SAME to the SAME.

Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 67.

After writing this morning, and answering his Lordship's letter of the 16th inst., the ambassadors have been informed that the senators are somewhat divided in opinion, some of

* "Que si queria ir á ella podria ir sin salvo conducto, que le haria buena xera (*chère*), y que para ir en España era menester saber á que iba."

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them being for throwing off the mask and immediately relieving Carmona (Cremona), imagining that if his Lordship cannot take possession of that city it will be no easy matter to secure the rest of the estate. Others are for defending their own territory, and waiting until they are attacked, rather than running wilfully into danger.

Such is the state of things at present, and the Signory is by no means decided as to what course to follow. It is said that their infantry companies being very deficient in men, orders have been issued to fill up the vacancies, to the number of 8,000 men. This they (the ambassadors) have from a trusty person, to whom they are often indebted for very valuable information. The same party has assured them that there was really a league concluded between the Pope, France, Venice and Milan, and that nothing was wanting but France's signature to the treaty. Seeing, however, the decisive manner in which his Lordship has thwarted their plans, they are astonished and confused, and know not how to act. Their informant is of opinion that they will drop this matter altogether. The ambassadors imagine that if they do so it is merely owing to their expecting an answer from Rome, whither, as his Lordship was duly informed by their letter of the 21st, they despatched a messenger the moment they heard of Morono's arrest.—Venice, 22 of Oct. 1525.

Signed: "Prothonotary Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the Imperial Ambassadors in Venice to the Marquis de Pescara."

Spanish. p. 1.

25 Oct. **238.** Morono's Confession.

S. E. L.

Denies the Marquis' right to take him prisoner, and to proceed against him. Is not a subject of the Emperor, and therefore not under Imperial jurisdiction. In order, however, to avoid stronger measures (*ne deteriora mihi contingant*), he (Morono) will tell the whole affair about which he is examined, "*ne ad violentiam examinis mendacii culpam*," &c.

The Italian powers suspected that the Emperor intended to take the duchy of Milan for himself. Thomas del Mayno was sent [to Spain] to procure the investiture; and the answer he brought back confirmed their suspicions. This was one of the reasons why the King of France invaded Italy; if not positively invited by, at least with the approval of the Italians. When Lannoy brought the investiture, the grant was coupled with conditions so hard that the Duke declared he could not accept it. The general opinion at the time was that the Emperor had sent the investiture only in order to show an appearance of goodwill, especially as Lannoy showed letters in which he was commanded not to

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mention the investiture in the event of the French being driven out of Italy.

The Emperor gained his great victory (of Pavia), and consequently the Viceroy refused to treat about the investiture.

Beaurain now arrived with new proposals from the Emperor; but the conditions were such as to increase rather than allay the suspicions of the Italians.

The Viceroy suddenly grew very cold towards the Duke, who became afraid of the harm which he (the Viceroy) might do him at the Emperor's court.

Whilst things were in this state, an agent of Duke Massimiliano Sforza arrived [at Milan] with brilliant promises on the part of the King of France, such as the recognition of his (Francesco's) claims on Milan, the marriage of the Duke to a relative of the King, protection against the Emperor, &c.

The Duke consulted with him upon the matter; and it was decided to inform the Viceroy of the mission of the French agent. With Lannoy's consent and approval an agent was sent to France, not, indeed, to conclude any real treaty there, but only to learn what the French intended to do. Giovanni Stefano da Rubio (Robbio?)* was again despatched to France.

Domenico Sauli, a Genoese residing at Rome, and who was on intimate terms with the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti) came, about this time, to Milan. He told the Duke that the Pope's wish was to secure him in the possession of his duchy, but that the Emperor intended to deprive him of it. The Pope (he said) had always preferred the King of France to the Emperor as lord of Milan; although it was his private opinion that neither of them should have estates in Italy. The Pope promised to do what he could for the Duke as if he were his own son, &c.

The Duke sent for him (Morono) to Milan from Pizzighitone,† where he was staying with the Viceroy, and ordered him to confer with Sauli. Sauli told him (Morone) that the Pope was very desirous of freeing Italy; that the Venetians entertained the same desire; that the Queen Regent of France (Louise of Savoy) might easily be persuaded to renounce all claims on Milan, to give the Duke a wife of the Royal blood of France, &c. Sauli told him [Moron] that the Duke said he disliked treating with the French alone, but was ready to do so conjointly with the Pope and the Venetians.

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* *See* above, p. 371.

† The original has Pizleonis, which I take to be meant for Pizzighitone. Whilst describing the tower or castle where Francis I. was at first kept prisoner, F. Leandro Alberti Bolognese says: "Picighitone civile & ricco castello & molto pieno di popolo, da i letterati detto Piceleonis, oue fecce una rocca Filippo Maria Visconte Duca di Milano . . . . . A Picighitone fu condotto Francesco I. Re di Franzia da Carlo della Noia, &c., Descrittione di tutta l'Italia, 1577, 4°, f. 406.

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Went, the next day, to confer with the Duke, who received him in the garden of the castle. The conference lasted a long while.

Letters of Camillo Giulini, the Duke's secretary, arrived about this time from the Emperor's court, exhorting the Duke to accept the investiture on the Emperor's conditions, as he (the Duke) could not hope to obtain better ones. It was far preferable, he said, to be poor, though a Prince and Duke of Milan, than to lose all at once. The Duke and he (Morono) became more and more convinced that the Emperor's plan was to deprive the Duke of the investiture by impossible and captious conditions. At the same time the Viceroy demanded, with great insistance, the castle of Milan, in order to keep (as he said) the King of France prisoner there. He (the Viceroy) had been ordered by the Emperor to ask for the castle, in case the investiture was accepted and conferred; but the Emperor knew, all the time, that the investiture had not been given. The Duke was in the utmost despair during two or three days.

Cavalier Bilia was admitted into the secret. Bilia was sent to the Emperor in Spain, to ask for the investiture on more reasonable and equitable conditions. Robinus (Robbio) was sent to the Queen Regent of France to see whether the French still persisted in their offers. Sauli, on the other hand, went to Rome to confer with the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti) and the Pope. He (Morono) was to negotiate in great secresy with the Venetian Proveditor* and the ambassador, both of whom were then at Crema, in order to ascertain the real intentions of the Signory. These two negotiations, viz., that with the Emperor concerning the investiture, and that with the Italian Princes, the Duke decided to conduct at the same time and with equal activity. That the Emperor might not afterwards reproach him with having secretly negotiated with France, he (the Duke) informed the Regent (Louise de Savoy) that he was only following the steps of the Pope and the Venetians in this affair, and that she herself must carry on negotiations with them. In like manner he begged the Pope and the Venetians to treat with France, promising to do whatever they should think proper and convenient. He trusted, however, that they would undertake nothing but what was for the common interest of all parties.

Although declining to carry on negotiations in his own name, the Duke wished to be informed daily of the state of things. Sauli was therefore ordered to correspond directly with him (Morono), not with the Duke. The Venetian ambassador was desired to do the same. From France, a merchant named Lucas de Carpanis,† the same who had previously

* Piero da Cà da Pesaro was at this time Proveditor-General.
† Lucca Carpensis, or from Carpi ?

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come to Milan as envoy of Duke Maximilian, was to communicate with Duke Francesco.

Rubio (Robbio) has gone to France. The Duke instructed him to declare to the Queen Regent and her secretary, Robertet, that if they wished to conclude an alliance with him (Francesco), they were to treat at the same time with Venice and the Pope, as he himself would not negotiate alone. He (Morono) insisted, besides, on the whole affair being conducted in the name of the confederated powers. No separate league should be made; but the Duke, the Pope and Venice should conjointly enter into an alliance with France.

Rubio returned with an answer. He said that the Regent and Robertet had in nowise changed their minds with respect to the Italian league; but as they were then negotiating with the Emperor for the liberation of the French King, they thought that the greatest caution and reserve ought to be used with respect to Italian affairs. The Queen, however, promised to send her ambassadors, with sufficient powers, to Rome and Venice, and repeated her offers to the Duke Francesco.

Went to see the Viceroy, whom he met at Boghera, "in Oppido Viquerie," on his way to Genoa with the King of France. Communicated to him the whole of Rubio's report.

Before the latter's return from France, Bilia left [Milan] with a safe-conduct on his way to Spain through France. As he was in the secret, he was also instructed to speak to the Regent and Robertet. Bilia met Rubio at Lyons. He conferred with the Regent and Robertet, and found them both very desirous, "valde cupidi," to conclude the Italian league, and bring about the Duke's marriage. They asked him (Bilia), when at the Imperial court, not to be over solicitous or pressing in obtaining the investiture for the Duke Francesco, as the Italian league would most probably be concluded much sooner than the investiture would be given.

In compliance with the Duke's order, he (Morono) fixed the day and place for the Venetian Proveditor and ambassador, who were at Crema, to meet there "in villa Sancti Gerbasii ultra Addam ex regione Arcis Tricii."* The Venetians lauded much the Duke's patriotism and prudence. The Signory, they had no doubt, would accept the proposals. They would nevertheless write home for instructions; and as soon as an answer was obtained, would communicate with the Duke through the Venetian ambassador about to return to Milan.

Domenico [Sauli], who was to go to Rome, had meanwhile kept up a correspondence with the Datary (Giberti), and informed him of the Duke's friendly disposition. The Datary answered that the Pope was every day more bent on concluding the alliance.

* Trezzo?

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Whilst Domenico Sauli was still at Milan, the Viceroy conveyed the French King to Spain. The Italian Princes and the Imperial army were surprised and offended at this measure. He (Morono) had reasons to believe that he (Pescara) was also dissatisfied with the Emperor. When he spoke to Sauli about it, Sauli told him he knew for a certainty that the Pope and the Venetians intended to gain him (Pescara) over to their party on whatever conditions he liked to name. They were ready to give him Naples and Sicily. Thought the moment favourable to inform him (Pescara) of such intentions, hoping that disappointment on one side, and the offer of great advantages on the other, would induce him to side with the Italians.

Availing himself of his old acquaintance with the Marquis, Morono began to speak in general terms about Italian schemes, and asked him his opinion on their probable result. He (Pescara) said he considered an alliance between France and the Italian Princes a most important step, which might, perhaps, deprive the Emperor of the kingdom of Naples. "Et cum in mentionem ipsius regni devenissemus, et ego interrogarem Excellentiam Vestram cuinam dari deberat, Ex^{a} V^{a} respondit nescire, sed non defecturum qui illud acciperet. Et ego subridendo dixi quod forte Excellentiæ Vestræ darent, si ipsa in eorum partes transire vellit, et pro illa via ulterius progressus non sum."

Conversed afterwards with Sauli, who assured him most positively that the Pope intended to give the fief of Naples to Pescara, if he would only espouse the Italian cause.

Spoke then to the Duke, who said that was an excellent idea, but added: "The negotiations must needs be conducted with the greatest caution, for fear he (Pescara) should reveal the whole plan. The Duke himself would not negotiate with Pescara, but said he should be glad if the thing could be done through someone else.

Sauli accordingly wrote to the Datary. The Datary answered, directing and empowering him (Morono) to offer the Marquis of Pescara, in the Pope's name, the Captain-Generalship of the Italian armies, with the kingdom of Naples for himself.

The Duke having approved of this plan, but refused, as above stated, to take a personal part in it, he (Morono) was obliged to undertake the negotiation. He asked Pescara for an audience, and when it was obtained, made him promise "*fide boni militis et capitanei et viri nobilissimi*," that what he was about to communicate he (Pescara) would not reveal to any living person, not even to His Imperial Majesty, but would hear it to the end, and then give such an answer as his consummate wisdom might dictate. His Excellency gave his word of honour to keep the matter secret; and accordingly he (Morono), knowing that the proposal he had to make to him was most weighty and well worthy of his consideration; being,

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besides, aware that he (the Marquis) was very indignant,* did not hesitate to open his mind to him, and explain the views of the Pope and Datary. The Marquis' answer was that he held his honour and reputation above all things, and that all the dignities and kingdoms in the whole world would be no compensation to him for the loss of it; he would rather part with life than have his fame sullied.† He could not desert His Imperial Majesty, whose vassal and subject he was, as well as Commander-in-Chief of his forces in Italy, to go and serve other people. If, however, there was anything he (Pescara) could do to please His Holiness without actually impairing his honour, he was ready to accept the offers, in order to show that he was somebody, and could revenge the injuries done to him; also that he might enjoy the favour of the Pontiff and the rest of the Italian Princes, not only as regarded the said Captain-Generalship of their armies, but as to the possession of the crown of Naples, as he thought nothing could be greater or more glorious for him than to become a king in his own native country.‡

His Excellency added that he would consider, as he (Morono) ought also to do, how he could be justified if he were to accept the Pontiff's offers; and they agreed to renew the conference another day, the Marquis having again given his most solemn promise not to reveal what passed between them.

On the following days Morono saw and frequently conversed with the Marquis, whose advice was that he (Morono) should try and prevail upon the Pope not to insist on the Marquis declaring his intentions more definitely, but be sure that if the above-mentioned offers were again made he (the Marquis) would be found very well disposed to accept them.

Did as he was asked. All was reported to the Pope in the best possible form by Domenico Sauli. The Marquis, moreover, asked him (Morono) to put the whole in writing, adding that his commission from the Emperor ended on the 15th of August; he would then resign his command and all his

* "Et quod videbatur mihi res altas et desiderabilia proponere, et quod sciebam Exc^{m} V^{m} valde indignatum esse."

† "Respondit Ex^{a} V^{a} se ante omnia in consideratione habere honorem suum, quem non commutaret cum omnibus dignitatibus et regnis mundi, et cuius amissionem aut læsionem pluris faciebat quam propriæ vitæ."

‡ "Sed quod in casu quo posset honorem salvare facturum erat quiquid Pontifex requirebat, ut ostenderet se aliquem esse, et posse injurias vindicare, et etiam ut frueretur gratia Pontificis et aliorum Italorum, tum in dicto Capitanato-Generali quam in obtinendo et conservando regno Neapolitano, existimans quod nihil sibi maius, nihil gravius, nihil gloriosius contingere in vita sua posset quam in patria sua in Regem prosilire.

"Dixitque Ex^{a} V^{a} quod et ipsa cogitaret, et ego quoque cogitare deberem, qua ratione posset excusari si Pontificis oblationes acceptasset, et in aliam diem delata fuit, repetita semper fide per Ex^{m} V^{m} ut supra dixi data.

"Diebus postea sequentibus conveni sæpe cum Ex^{a} V^{a} et sibi visum fuit quod deberem dare operam apud Pontificem quod Sua Sanctitas requireret Ex^{m} V^{m} non aperiendo Suæ Sanctitati quod iam Ex^{a} V^{a} haberet huius negotii notitiam, sed persuadendo Suæ Sanctitati quod si Ex^{m} V^{m} tentaret reperiret in ea optimam dispositionem modo sibi offerret memoratas conditiones."

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dignities and offices, as this would be the only way of saving his honour.

The affair was thus far advanced when the Duke (Sforza) sent Sauli to the Pope. Sauli wrote his instructions with his own hand; and the Duke was so cautious in the matter that he ordered Sauli not to show them even to the Pope, nor to make any special proposals, but only to assure the Pope that himself and his duchy were at his entire disposal for any arrangement or stipulations he might be pleased to make.

The Duke gave Sauli credentials to the Pope and the Datary, ordering him to show them [at Rome], and afterwards bring them back to Milan. The Duke, moreover, ordered him [(Morono) to instruct Sauli more at large, and verbally, which he did.

Meanwhile the Venetian ambassador, whom he (Morono) had seen at St. Gervasio, communicated to the Duke and to Morono the answer which he had received from the Signory. The Venetians praised much the wisdom and patriotism of the Duke, and promised him to do nothing except what would be advantageous to him, to the Holy Father, and to the Italian Princes in general.

It was then that the Duke (Sforza) ordered that whatever communications had to be sent to Rome or Venice on this matter should be drawn out and written in his (Morono's) name, not in that of the Duke's, which was done as he desired.*

Domenico [Sauli] then wrote many letters from Rome, reporting the goodwill of the Pope, of the Datary, and of the Venetians, the mission of Sigismund, the secretary of Alberto di Carpi, to France, &c. He also sent a copy of the petition which the Italians were to address to the Regent of France, asking her protection and alliance.

Morono informed the Marquis of Pescara of all this. It was then agreed between them that the Pope should send somebody with full power to repeat and confirm all that he (Morono) had promised the Marquis. The Pope made some difficulties about this, not trusting entirely to the Marquis; but at last he sent a servant of the Datary, called Bonamenta or Mentabona, with Apostolic credentials. He (Morono) conducted the envoy to Pavia, where he (the Marquis was residing at the time. Introduced him one night into the Marquis' apartments. Was not present at the conference. The Papal envoy told him (Morono) that the Marquis had returned him the Papal credentials, and he (Bonamenta) went back to Rome much satisfied. Told him that the Marquis only wished to have a declaration in the Pope's hand showing that he (the Marquis) would not be acting against his honour and reputation if he accepted the offers. That done, he would

* "Et tunc Ill^mus Dux mihi ordinavit quod imposterum totum illud quod contigeret scribere in hujusmodi materia Romam et Venecias debere scribere et expedire nomine meo proprio et non suo, et ita feci."

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sign the treaty. He (the Marquis) ordered him (Morono) to make a draft of the articles, send one copy to Rome, and give the other to him. Did both, as desired.

The conclusion of the alliance with France was much delayed. Believes the league is not yet made. Sigismundo left for France, but never returned. No one knows what became of him. Although the Pope and the Venetians afterwards sent other envoys,* the Regent of France delayed her decision. Informed the Marquis of all these facts.

At this conjuncture an envoy from the Imperial court arrived, informing the Duke that the Emperor, in his clemency, had given him the investiture of the Duchy on more advantageous conditions, and that the instrument was already in Bilia's hands. Bilia wrote to confirm the statement, which was soon in everybody's mouth throughout Italy. The Duke (Sforza) was then already in bad health. He, nevertheless, held a conference with the Marquis in the castle of Milan respecting the affairs of Italy. In this conference, as the Duke afterwards informed him (Morono), the Marquis was of opinion that the negotiations ought to be abandoned. The Duke thought, on the contrary, that they ought to continue, as never again would such a good opportunity offer itself. The Marquis agreed with the Duke, who resolved to accept the investiture from the Emperor, but still continue his relations with the Italian Princes; chiefly because he did not wish to appear faithless, but also because of the pending negotiations with France, which seemed likely to be protracted; he would thus gain time to decide which course to follow afterwards. Ordered him (Morono) to write to Rome, saying that, notwithstanding the investiture and its acceptance, he (the Duke) had not changed his mind, but wished no resolution to be taken without his knowledge and consent, as he reserved to himself the right of deciding which side to take as most suitable to his own interests.

Soon after this the Duke's illness increased so much that he took no part whatever in the negotiations which Morono had commenced with the Marquis of Pescara, but left him the entire management of the affair. Whenever Morono had occasion to speak to him on the subject, he was told that he could not be more strictly bound than he was already. The Duke, however, sometimes asked him (Morono) whether the Marquis still persevered in his purpose. Morono answered, "Yes, he does," and the Duke replied, "So much the better."

During the height of the Duke's illness, Sauli was recalled from Rome, and Cavalier Landriano sent in his stead. Landriano wrote to say that the Regent of France (Louise of Savoy) had given in her answer. He asked him (Morono) to

* A Florentine named Leonardo Spina was, about this time, sent by the Pope to France. *See* a letter abstracted by Rowdon Brown, *Venet. Stat. Papers*, vol. III., p. 474.

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see the Marquis, and tell him, in the Pope's name, that the answer from France had come, but that, in reality, it contained less than had been promised at first. About this time the opinion of certain doctors, who, according to the Marquis' wishes, had been consulted on the matter, came from Rome, stating that the Marquis was in honour bound to obey the Pope, and he (Morono) was accordingly desired to inform the Pope of the Duke's intentions and purposes.

Unable to see him, Morono wrote to ask for an interview. Saw the Duke, and proposed that the Marquis' opinion should be heard first. The Duke approved of this measure, and ordered him (Morono) to see the Marquis. As soon as his illness permitted him to move, he (Morono) went to Novara, and called on the Marquis, who was also suffering from illness at the time. Stated his business in a few words, and asked for an answer in the name of the Pope, as well as in that of the Duke. Waited some time for it, and was ultimately arrested by the Marquis.

Whilst negotiations were pending in France the Pope and the Venetians insisted upon his (Morono's) persuading the Duke to conclude a purely defensive alliance with them. Conferred on the subject with the Duke, who decided that he (Morono) should write [to Rome], excusing the Duke and himself on the plea of the gravity of the Duke's illness, which did not permit him to transact any business. Answered, moreover, that such an alliance as the one proposed could not be of any advantage to the Duke.

It was further proposed that the Italian Princes alone, without France, should conclude an alliance to liberate their country [from servitude]. The Nuncio spoke to the Marquis about this, and the Marquis dissuaded him from it, declaring that it would be too dangerous an experiment. The Duke was of the same opinion as the Marquis, and wrote to Rome in that sense.

This is the true account of the whole transaction; the Marquis knows it as well as he (Morono) does. Besides, the Marquis has in his possession (Morono's) letters to him, and copies of those of Sauli and others, which fully confirm the statement. Confesses that the letters directed to the Marquis, and dated Milan, 10th, 11th, and 24th of August; also those of the 19th, 23d, and 27th of the same month; and the papers dated the 3d, 5th (there are two of this date), 14th, 22d, 25th, and 28th of September, and 2d, 7th, and 8th of October, are all written by himself (Morono) or by his own secretary. Recognizes the annexed letters and papers of Landriano, Sauli, &c. as true copies.

Wishing to conceal nothing, he (Morono) must add that the Pope and the Venetians, during the Duke's dangerous illness, and fearing lest he should die, asked him (Morono) to see that the duchy of Milan should not pass into the hands of the Emperor. They, moreover, promised him (Morono) all help and

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assistance in case he wished to have himself appointed to the Duchy; or, if he had no such wish, to promote Maximilian's accession. Answered that he did not harbour so ambitious a design. The Pope and the Venetians then asked the Queen Regent of France, in the event of the Duke's death, to send Maximilian over with an army. Maximilian often wrote to him (Morono) and to other Milanese gentlemen, such as Giovanni Paolo Sforza, his own brother, Sforzino and others, about this matter, asking him to espouse his cause, and help him in his projects. Refused to do so. Asked the Marquis and the Duke of Bourbon not to leave Milan, but remain to defend it against Maximilian and his party in the event of Duke Francesco's death. When Giovanni Paolo Sforza and Sforzino consulted him (Morone) on the subject, at the castle of Milan, and asked what was to be done in the event of the Duke's demise, he advised them to surrender that fortress to Pescara on honourable conditions, rather than give it up to anyone else. Left his residence "in curia magna," and went to the Duke's, in the castle, to defend him against Maximilian's party, in case of any revolution being attempted to deprive him of his ducal crown.

"Cogor pro honore meo et salute mea repetere quæ a principio dixi de invaliditate et injustitia capturæ detentionisque meæ, ac interrogationis et responsionum suprascriptarum; ac intendo confirmare repetita in omni actu, facto et faciendo. Rogoque Ex^{m} V^{m} ut fidei suæ memor libertati meæ me restituat, et sibi me commendo.—Datum in arce Papiæ, xxv. Octobris 1525, Ex^{mi} D^{ni} V^{i}, humilis servitor, Hieronymus Moronus."

I, the undersigned Antonio de Austria, public notary, &c., do certify my own presence and that of the undersigned witnesses at the above confession. The said Hieronymo Morono declared the above letter,—dated from the Castle of Pavia, the 25 of October 1525,—to have been written by him and addressed to Fernando Davalos de Aquino, Captain-General of the Imperial armies in Italy: which letter (he said) contains the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Signed: "Antonio de Austria—Castle of Pavia, 5 Dec. 1525."

Latin. Original. pp. 36.

27 Oct. **239.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. P. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Wrote on the 26th ult., advising the arrival in that town of the Bishop of Veroli (Ennio Filonardo) and the ambassadors of the Grisons on the Chavenna (Chiavenna) business, as well as the proclamation of the peace at Lyons on the 22d of September last. Has likewise announced the departure of the Duke of Ferrara for Spain, and other matters.

What he (the Abbot) has now to advise is that the Duke passed through Novara on the 3d inst., and conversed with the

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Marquis of Pescara, Antonio de Leyva, Lope Hurtado, and others of the Emperor's servants, saying that he was proceeding [to Spain] to offer his person and estate to the Emperor. The Duke left the day after, and has since reached Chambery in Savoy, where he is waiting for a safe-conduct to cross the French frontier. It is, however, believed that he will not get it, for, in the opinion of some people of this city, the Pope has written to the Regent [of France] not to grant the said safe-conduct, he (the Pope) and the rest of the Italian Princes not being very much pleased with his journey to Spain.

On the 18th the Abbot went to Genoa to cash the bills for 80,000 ducats. As they were not yet due he had to pay a heavy discount. Anssaldo de Grimaldo gave him bills on Rome for 23,264 ducats, and 8,000 more on Florence, the whole of which had to be negotiated here [at Milan] at a fresh discount, not to run the risk of bringing the money to the camp.

Returned to Novara on the 15th, where he found the Marquis of Pescara very unwell from pains in the stomach. On the same day, as preconcerted, Antonio de Leyva arrested Hieronymo Moron, who had come to the place on the Marquis' invitation, though it is reported that an astrologer and many others had warned him not to attend the appointment, or he would certainly be made a prisoner.* On the 16th Antonio de Leyva took him to Pavia, where he is now confined. Moron's secretary, one Stefano de Robio, who, last summer, went twice to France on a mission from the Duke of Milan to Madame the Regent, to ask for the hand of Madame d'Alençon, has likewise been arrested. He (Stefano de Robio) confesses that he only brought fair words from France, and a message from the Regent to the Duke purporting that she would soon procure him a wife of her own blood, and with a good dower.

On the 16th Lope Hurtado left for Rome, whither he went at the Marquis' express desire, to explain about the arrest of Hieronymo Moron. His Holiness seemed more pleased at the manner in which the arrest had been made than at the arrest itself.† Letters have also been written to the Infante (Archduke) and to the Venetians, to apprize them of the event. These latter are now employing upwards of 2,000 pioneers in the fortifications of Brescia, provisioning and strengthening their country as fast as they can, besides collecting 8,000 infantry, as His Majesty's ambassadors in Venice have reported.

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* "Y esto mesmo dia, segund que de hartos dias antes estaba concertado, Antonio de Leyva prendio a Hieronimo Moron, el qual por una letra quel Marques le escribio que viniesse habia venido el dia antes á Novara. Quiso Dios que viniesse no obstante que un astrologo y otras muchas personas le dixeron expressamente que si venia seria presso."

† "Su Santidad diz que holgó de entender la manera como Hieronimo Moron fue preso, mas que de la prision."

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On the 28th the Marquis of Pescara left Novara for Pavia, and the Abbot came to Milan by his order to make four demands of this Duke. The first: That he should allow Imperial garrisons in the strong places of the Duchy. This the Duke granted at once, reserving the castles of Milan and Pavia, which he said he wished to keep himself. He begged also for another castle called Treço (Trezzo), on the Adda, close upon the Venetian frontier, because, he said, he wanted it as a place of recreation, and had already ordered several buildings to be added to it.

The second was that he should pay at once the 100,000 ducats stipulated as the price of the investiture, over and above the 50,000 paid up to the present day in money, cloth, silk and other articles for the German infantry. To this demand the Duke replied that he had already destined the new taxes (*tallones*) to the payment of that sum, and that whatever the said new taxes might produce should be immediately placed in our hands. The Abbot, however, begs leave to observe that, since Moron's arrest, not one farthing has come in from that quarter, the citizens having obstinately refused to pay any taxes, under the impression that, owing to his demerits, their Duke will soon be deprived of his estate, in which belief they are confirmed by the fact of the castles and strong places of the Duchy being actually occupied by the Imperial army.

To the third demand, viz., that the castle of Milan should be put in a state of defence, the Duke's reply was that he did not see the necessity at present, and that the citizens would certainly object to it, and take offence.

The fourth was that the Imperial army should be quartered on his estate. To this the Duke answered that he had no objection, provided Milan and the surrounding villages were excluded. With the Duke's answer to the above four demands he (the Abbot) returned on the 20th to Pavia, whence the Marquis of Pescara sent at once 2,000 men to take possession of Leco, a considerable fortress built on the very spot where the Adda issues from Lake Como. The place belongs to Hieronymo Moro, with the title of Count. Two hundred more men were despatched to Como, whose inhabitants, as well as the garrison of the castle, had, before the arrival of those forces, risen against the governor appointed by the Duke.

At Cremona the governor, named Thomas de Almayno, had strengthened the garrison with 400 infantry; but seeing the Duke's letters and those of the Marquis, he dismissed them, and admitted within its walls Captain Corradino with 1,500 German infantry coming from Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda). These Germans are the same who, by order of the Marquis, the day of Moron's arrest, entered Lodi, almost by force of arms; for the citizens, imagining that he (Corradino) was going to take up his quarters there, and devastate still more the city and district, had resolutely shut their gates. Corradin,

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however, entered it, and finding that the Marquis' subsequent orders were for him to occupy Lodi in the Emperor's name, was glad to have thus anticipated the Imperial commands. Two hundred Spaniards have since been added to its garrison, and several companies of infantry quartered in other towns of this Duchy, the castles of Cremona and Milan always excepted.

The very moment Moron was arrested the Duke of Milan gave orders to collect his forces. Cremona, as already stated, had been strengthened with 400 infantry; and as the Milanese would not admit the garrison that was offered, he (the Duke) called together the principal citizens, and proposed to them to take up arms, and defend their city. Some of the citizens voted for armed resistance, as proposed; the rest left the room without voting.* His Imperial Majesty may hold it as true as the Gospel that this city and all the Duchy—the castles of Milan and Cremona not excepted—wish for nothing else than to see His Majesty take possession of this estate, which they say belongs to the Emperor only, publicly asserting that they will be faithful servants and vassals to the Duke only inasmuch as he continues to be such to the Emperor. The troops quartered in Piedmont have left, excepting only a body of 100 lances, who were formerly in the marquisate of Montferrato; 300 more are to be quartered in the territory of Novara; the rest with the Spanish infantry in the districts of Cremona and Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda).

These arrangements being made, the Marquis of Pescara thought the time had come for interrogating the prisoner (Hieronymo Moron) in the presence of Antonio de Leyva and his (the Abbot). He accordingly sent for him; and on the 25th inst. Moron made the following confession, which he (the Abbot) transcribes *verbatim*:—

(*Cipher:*) Confesses that everything he has done was by the express order and consent of the Duke, his master, though he (the Duke) was unwilling to declare himself before the Marquis had done so.† Confesses also the negotiations set on foot by him to bring Maximiliano (Sforza) to Milan, in case the Duke [Francesco] should die, adding, however, that the Duke had no knowledge of this design. Confesses the agreement entered into with the Switzers to come to the assistance of the Pope and other Italian potentates in any number when required. Confesses many other doings, as appears from the deed itself, which the culprit offers to sign with his own hand without the application of torture,‡

* "Y como no quiso recibir [en Milan ?] los que le ponian, mandó juntar los desta ciudad y proponelles que tomassen las armas y se hiciesse de manera que esta ciudad se defendiesse."

† "Aunque el dicho Duque no se habia querido declarar fasta que el Marques [de Pescara] se declarasse."

‡ "Y confessó otras muchas cosas de que sin tormento el mismo escribirá, y firmará de su propia mano el processo."

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and which, when concluded, will be forwarded to Spain, that the Emperor may either punish the guilty parties, or exercise his usual clemency.

The Duke is still a cripple in hands and feet, as well as in his whole body.* There is a report that, on hearing of the arrest of his prime minister (Morono), he said to one Licentiate Bracamonte, who told him the news, and gave him, besides, a letter of the Marquis [of Pescara], that Morono had done nothing against the Imperial service; if he had, he [the Duke] was equally guilty. He has also told him (the Abbot) on two different occasions: "If Hieronymo Morono has been guilty of double-dealing, His Imperial Majesty must have him punished; I myself knew nothing of his doings, and only wish to live and die in the Imperial service."

Notwithstanding these protestations, it appears that the Duke has decided, knowing his own guilt, to send to Spain one of his gentlemen, named Sylvestrin (Silvestrino), very well known to the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), to make his excuses, and ascertain whether he will be left in the possession of his estate or not. In the meantime he means to shut himself up in this castle [of Milan], and fortify the same to the utmost, having already, within the last three days, introduced into it 400 men, to whom he intends to add 300 more, if he can. He has sent in a year's provisions for more than 1,000 men; and in this manner thinks he will be able to maintain himself, both at Milan and Cremona, until God's mercy, or some agreement with His Imperial Majesty, or the help of the Venetians and others who wish him to remain Duke of Milan, shall deliver him from his present critical position. It is to be hoped, however, that he will be wrong in his calculations, as he has been on other occasions, and that time will show how entirely His Imperial Majesty would be justified in taking away his estate from him.

Knowing the Duke's guilt, and the delicate state of affairs in Italy, the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva (*cipher*) have decided to come over to Milan; and, should the Duke shut himself up in his castle, to besiege him in it, as a rebel, and take possession of the whole of his estate, providing for the government of the Duchy in the manner most suitable to the Imperial interests. They will bring with them 3,000 Germans, to be quartered in one of the suburbs, and if, required, round the castle itself, which they will attack as well as that of Cremona.

To the Germans who are to come one month's pay is owing; and as it is to be feared that, if unpaid, they may commit excesses, he (the Abbot) has come [to Milan] to borrow 15,000 or 20,000 ducats for the pay of the said Germans, as well as for certain companies of Spanish infantry to whom four months' pay is also owing. Up to this day, he (the Abbot) has

* "Tullido de pies y manos y de toda la persona."

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procured 15,000 ducats from various merchants of this city, with an interest of 4 °/₀, upon bills drawn by the Marquis of Pescara, and payable at Naples and Rome at 40 days' date.

Has spoken to the Duke [of Milan] and to his deputies, and inquired whether upon the ordinary revenue of this estate, or upon the taxes (*tallones*) lately imposed, there would be the means of raising the 50,000 ducats remaining out of the 100,000 of the investiture. They have answered that not only all the revenues of the estate, but also a tax (*tallon*) of a *toston*, or fourth part of a ducat,* on each hearth or family imposed some time ago, are pledged to the payment of certain sums borrowed by the Duke on former occasions, and chiefly of 37,000 ducats which he gave us on account of the investiture money. So that, in reality, there is no hope of getting a farthing out of these people, especially as the army cannot be quartered elsewhere, except on lands of the Church or of the Venetians. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, must provide the means from Spain, and not rely upon any assistance from these quarters; for if they (the Milanese) give any money at all, it will be in small quantity and is sure to come too late. The Imperial army must needs be provided with all necessaries, and, perchance, increased in numbers, since it is notorious that the intention of these Italian potentates is to prevent His Imperial Majesty from visiting them [next year]. Under such circumstances it would seem as if the best course to follow would be for the Emperor to make peace with the French King, so that with their united forces he may become the master of all Italy, and then rule over the whole world.

Gregory Casal, gentleman in waiting (*gentilhombre*) to the King of England, arrived [from London] two days ago; and they say has passed through this city disguised as a peasant. He (the Abbot) has not been able to ascertain whether he saw the Duke or not. All he can say is that the said Casal left for Rome or for Venice, and that the business he has come about refers to the negotiations pending between these Italian potentates.

The very day of Morono's arrest, a very rich and crafty Genoese, Domenico Sauli by name, who was a confidant of that minister, left Milan and took the route of Rome or Venice. He (the Abbot) cannot say whether Gaspar Argelensis ? is also in the plot; he has likewise left [Milan]; nobody knows in what direction. After him went the Bishop of Veroli (Ennio Filonardo), who resided here, and who, as the rumour goes, was trying to persuade the people of this city to rise in arms against the Imperial army. They add that this Duke had the Bishop and Gaspar Argelensis escorted to the Venetian frontier. The Bishop, according to some, has gone to Switzer-

* "Todas las rentas ordinarias y un tallon (taglione) que se habia puesto los dias passados de un toston, que es un quarto de ducado, por fuego," &c.

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land; others assert that he has taken the route of Rome; whilst the generality think he has gone to the land of the Grisons, 4,000 of whom have lately taken up arms, and, with some artillery taken from a castle called Muscho, are about to attack the castle of Chavenna (Chiavenna) and another one called Mus, whose warden still holds in captivity the very ambassadors who came here with the Bishop to treat for the restitution of Chiavenna; for, as they were returning home with the answer, they were made prisoners by the said warden [of Mus]. The Bishop is said to have gone thither to persuade them to lay down their arms and come to some peaceable arrangement of their claims. The truth is that the Bishop has not gone on any such errand, the most probable conjecture of the three being that he has left for Switzerland.

However this may be, the Marquis of Pescara has written to the Grisons, warning them not to appear in arms on the frontiers of this estate, knowing, as they ought to know, that the Imperial army is here to defend it against all enemies. That if they will only send to his camp trusty persons to discuss the nature and validity of their claims, he (the Marquis) will do everything in his power to give them satisfaction. The Marquis has since decided to send 500 men, who, joined to the 600 which the warden of Mus has collected on the banks of Como, will see to the defence of the castles threatened by the Grisons, and ascertain whether the reported armaments have another destination.

Before the Imperial troops evacuated the marquisate of Saluzio, the Marquis of Pescara sent a message to the Count of Gineba (Geneva), telling him to get ready a sufficient number of troops to garrison, as preconcerted, the strong places in Saluzio and the Carmeñola (Carmagnola). The Count did as he was instructed; but made so scanty a provision that, upon the Marquis [of Saluccio] returning from France, at the head of about 1,000 foot and some light cavalry, he easily regained possession of the whole of his estate. The Marquis of Pescara therefore has issued orders for the greater part of the light cavalry and Italian infantry of this Imperial army now quartered in the Astesano (county of Asti) and marquisate of Cevā, to march thither, devastate the land, and recover it from the Marquis of Saluzio. If after this the Count of Gineba loses it again, let him accuse himself and no one else.

The Marquis [of Pescara] is still suffering from his complaint, which has so much reduced him of late that he is a pitiful object to behold. The disease increasing death might ensue; and in that case—which may God avert—the Imperial army would be without a general to command it. No one more suitable to take this charge than Antonio de Leyva, who, until His Imperial Majesty's arrival in Italy, or the return of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), might assume the command of the whole force.

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It is reported here that the Duke of Savoy has sent a memorandum to court, showing how he had dutifully paid 12,000 ducats for the maintenance of the men-at-arms of this Imperial army, at the rate of half a crown (*escudo*) for each man during one month. The agreement was made with him in order to prevent the recurrence of excesses, and that the soldiers should have money to buy provisions; but the fact is that the contract was never fulfilled, as there was no occasion for it, a fact which neither the Infanta nor the Count of Gineba can deny.—Milan, 27 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera, 27 Oct."

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

27 Oct. **240.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 81.

Wrote on the 22d of last month, enclosing also copy of their letter to the Marquis of Pescara. By the contents of both His Imperial Majesty must already have been informed of what passed with this Signory after their hearing of Moron's arrest, and of the measures taken by the Marquis for the security of the estate [of Milan]. Yesterday the Signory sent one of their secretaries to say they wanted to speak to them [the ambassadors] respecting the pending negotiation, adding that if the Prothonotary was still indisposed, he (Alonso Sanchez) might go alone. This very morning, therefore, the latter called at the Ducal palace, when, after the usual compliments, they proceeded to say: That having received the ambassadors' verbal message, and knowing their wish to resume the suspended negotiations, they were willing to appoint a day when matters should be amply discussed, that they might thus show their readiness to comply with the Emperor's wishes, and grant the request of his ambassadors, to whom they professed great friendship and respect.

To this highly complimentary speech, his (Sanchez') answer was: That nothing had been omitted by His Imperial Majesty to show his regard and friendly disposition towards the Signory on every occasion. They knew very well his conditions and wishes respecting the convention; and since they now shewed a disposition to renew the negotiations, it was evident that they no longer persisted in their refusal to accept new terms. He (Sanchez) was very glad to hear of this their determination, and recommended the appointment of two or more deputies to treat of the matter at his own lodgings, since his colleague Prothonotary Caracciolo could not, owing to the delicate state of his health, attend the conferences elsewhere.

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It was plain from the answer they made to this proposition that the Signory are anxious to come to a settlement of this business, though they continue their former refusal to grant new conditions. Very likely they will depute persons to treat; nevertheless, they promised nothing at the time, but said they would consult the Council thereupon, and let the ambassadors know the result as soon as possible.

They, moreover, said, in the course of conversation, that the Signory had received intelligence that the bridges lately thrown over the River Adda for the passage of the Imperial troops were still standing, and that the inhabitants of those districts were consequently in great fear of an invasion. State matters, they added, were very delicate (*muy zelosas*), and although they apprehended no attack from the Marquis of Pescara, on whose words and promises they fully relied—confirmed as they were by the advices of their own ambassador at Milan—yet, they felt very uneasy with regard to the said bridges, and to the troops quartered on the banks of the Adda, and therefore begged that the Marquis of Pescara should be written to on the subject, in order that no complication should arise.

To this last objection a suitable answer was made, in conformity with the letters of the Marquis of the 16th and 23d ulto. The copy of the Marquis' last letter* will sufficiently show that they (the ambassadors) have again consulted him as to the manner in which the Duke of Milan is to be mentioned in the proposed new convention with this Signory, or in the ratification of the old one; since he is described in the latter, by the Emperor's express commands, as one of the principal contracting parties. They (the ambassadors) are waiting for his answer, but nevertheless would like to hear the Emperor's views on the subject. They doubt, however, whether the instructions will arrive in time, as the Signory are showing a certain disposition to have this matter concluded. In the meanwhile they have again written to the said Marquis to procure legal advice on this matter in order to ascertain whether the inclusion of the Duke of Milan in the new treaty can in any way hinder ulterior proceedings against his person, should his participation in these scandalous intrigues be proved.

Letters of the ambassador of this Republic, who resides at Rome,† state that on the 21st instant the Pope was already acquainted with Morono's arrest, and with the military precautions taken by the Marquis for the security of the duchy of Milan. His Holiness had shown both terror and amazement on the receipt of such intelligence, but appeared satisfied with the reasons given by the Marquis, as conveyed to him by Lope Hurtado. He had determined to send a confidential servant

* *See* No. 237, pp. 378–82.
† Marco Foscari.

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to the Marquis, begging him to treat the Duke kindly, and was preparing to send another messenger to Spain for the purpose of interceding in his favour. He has also written to this Signory, begging they will use all their influence with the Emperor and with the Marquis of Pescara.—Venice, 27 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. The Ambassadors, 27 Oct. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4.

27 Oct. **241.** JEAN JONGLET, Seigneur des Maretz, to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.* 223. No. 106.

Wrote last to inform her and the Emperor of the answer given by the Legate to his questions respecting the treaty of peace lately published in France. Has also advised that a servant of the English ambassador in Spain had come post haste through France, in 10 or 11 days; a good and intelligent clerk, native of Anvers (Antwerp). Had not seen him at the date of his last, but next day made his acquaintance and invited him to dinner. He came, and they conversed after dinner about the state of affairs in Spain and the Emperor's prospects. He told him that His Imperial Majesty was in excellent health, and that Madame D'Alençon had arrived at Court,* and been very well received. The King of France had been very ill with fever; so much so, that the physicians had despaired of his life. The Emperor had visited him during his illness, and King Francis had been so much flattered by the Emperor's kindness and attention, and by the honour conferred on him, that he had gathered strength and so far recovered as to be already in full convalescence. The Emperor before leaving the King had kindly recommended him to Madame d'Alençon's care, adding that he was to have no concern or fear about his affairs,† as everything would be settled to his satisfaction. His informer was present at the interview, and saw the King of France [in bed]. The Duke of Bourbon was every day expected in Toledo; lodgings had been prepared for him at that city.

Asked him whether at his departure from Spain Richard Boullengier had arrived there. He said he had not, and that he knew him personally. The Viscount of Lombecke (Hannart) had arrived at Court, not Mons. de Praet, who was also expected. The Emperor, he said, had given him some

* The Duchess of Alençon arrived at Madrid on the 1st of October 1525, accompanied by the Grand Master of Rhodes Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. She left Aigues-Mortes in Roussillon, in September, escorted by Doria's galleys, and six more under Fr. Bernardin de Paulx and Baron de Saint Brancard. She landed at Barcelona. Cotta, *Memorias de Carlos V., M.S.*

† "Disant qui il ne se merancoldast (melanconiast ?)."

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commission to execute on his way to Spain, he could not exactly tell what.

Having asked him whether the Emperor knew anything of this peace lately concluded between England and France, he said that he did, and that the information had been conveyed to him from France. As to how the affair had been taken in Spain, and what was said about it, he replied that most well-meaning people wished that the negotiations had been conducted conjointly, not by one only of the contracting parties. Being then asked what hope there was of a treaty being concluded with the French, he answered that as far as he could judge, there were many obstacles in the way of peace, but that it was to be hoped that everything would end satisfactorily.

Fancies that Madame must already know the whole of the above news; the ambassador nevertheless is bound to communicate them in fulfilment of his duty (*pour son acquit*). His informer seems to be both an honourable and trustworthy man. He was the servant of the late Sir Richard Wingfield, English ambassador at the Imperial court, and preceptor (*maistre d'escolle*) to his children.*

Hears also that in Spain no great trust is placed either in the Pope or in the Venetians. Must say that the conduct of the Venetian ambassador at the court seems to him rather strange; he only visits and communicates with the French ambassadors (Jocquin and Brinon), which is an evident sign that there is a secret understanding between them, and that they are plotting something to the Emperor's detriment. It is for Madame and His Imperial Majesty to consider this, and be on the alert. The Legate, nevertheless, persists that the mutual friendship will not be impaired whatever may arise out of the present negotiations.

Jean Jocquin returned to France three or four days ago. Hears that the object of his journey is to bring back certain money (*deniers*) which is awaiting him there. The Captain of Guisnes (Fitzwilliam) and Dr. Taillecher (Tayler) are also going to France to have the peace ratified and sworn to.

The Spanish merchants residing in London have called on him (Jonglet), complaining that one of their ships laden with merchandise had been captured by the French in sight of the English coast (*es limittes d'Angleterre*). They imagined that the truce concluded with Madame, as well as the peace said to have been made with this King, would be a sufficient security for their property. He (Jonglet) has his doubts on this score, and fancies that the truce with the Emperor refers only to vessels engaged in the fisheries. The President of Rouen (Brinon) is of the same opinion, and has told the merchants so. Has been unable to offer them redress or tender advice, except that of applying to the Legate and re-

* Sir Richard died at Toledo on the 20th of August.

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presenting to him that the capture of their ships within the limits of England is an infraction of the peace, and that the King is bound to make reparation, &c.

Hears that the said President of Rouen alleges as an excuse for this and other similar infractions that the Spaniards have been the first to break the truce by trying to take possession of Narbonne. Has inquired from the servant of the late Sir Richard Wingfield whether there was any truth in the French ambassador's statement, and has been told that there is not the least foundation for it. These are pure inventions of the French in order to lay the blame of these transactions on others.—London, 27 of Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 5.

29 Oct. **242.** Antonio di Benaffra to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 85.

Has been sent to Rome by the Lieutenant of the Sumaria and the members of the Collateral Council of Naples, for the purpose of pleading certain law suits in behalf of natives of that kingdom. Has hitherto been successful, and hopes, with the Duke's (Sessa) assistance, to fulfil his commission, although His Holiness the Pope shows little satisfaction at it.

Has found there (at Rome) a considerable number of Siennese, who, in order to escape the despotic rule of the mob, have voluntarily migrated from the city. Indeed, it is a well-known fact that the government of Sienna has been for some time, and is still, in the hands of a most despicable set, in consequence of which the noblest and wealthiest inhabitents have been either cast into prison (*confinati*) or exiled to various parts of Italy, such as Venice, Lucca, Ferrara and other cities. This lamentable persecution stimulates him (Benaffra) to inform His Imperial Majesty who the said emigrants are, and by whom the opposite and now ruling faction is represented.

The citizens now in prison or exiled are those whose fathers and predecessors* were always friendly to the cause of Alphonso I., of good memory, of King Ferrante (Ferdinand), and other monarchs of the house of Aragon, and especially of the Catholic King Ferdinand, with whom the Republic of Sienna made close league and alliance, espousing his cause and sharing his fortunes. The populace, on the contrary, have always adhered to the opposite party, and whenever King Charles [VIII.], King Louis (XII.), and other Frenchmen came down into Italy, served constantly under

* "Questi che son fuori (*sic*) et cofinati son quelli che loro et li loro antecesori," &c.

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their banners against the house of Aragon, persecuting and expelling from the city the avowed partisans of that illustrious family. Among the most treacherous and violent were the father, grandfather, and uncles of Hieronymo Seuerino,* now residing at the Imperial court as ambassador from the Republic: a worthy representative, indeed, of such a wicked and perfidious community. He (Benaffra) can bear good witness to the hatred these people profess to the Imperialists, having passed thirty years of his life among them, and having been himself imprisoned by the French for his devotion and services to the Royal house of Aragon and its descendants. In short, the government of the city is at present in the hands of those very men whose fathers exiled, imprisoned, beheaded and cut to pieces, in 1456 and in 1482, the partisans of the Empire.

Such being notoriously the state of things at Sienna, he (Benaffra) considers it his duty, as the faithful and devoted servant of His Imperial Majesty, to call his attention to it, and beg that his good old servants—those who have always shown their fidelity and devotion under the most trying circumstances—be not entirely forsaken and exposed to the increasing fury of their enemies. Measures should be taken to place the government of Sienna again in the hands of the Emperor's old servants, and deprive this vile and odious rabble, as hostile now as ever they were to the Imperial interests of any share in it. For, although they may not show their venom at the present moment, it is more owing to their not being supported than to any repentance on their part.

It is generally believed that they are now treating by means of their ambassador at that Court, and offering even a good sum of money, which, if accepted, they are sure to pay out of the property confiscated from those who have always been faithful to the Emperor's predecessors. By rejecting their present offers, three different objects may be obtained: First, the servants of the Empire will not be impoverished and ruined. Secondly, the rabble now ruling in the city will have no opportunity of executing their wicked intentions. Thirdly, those who have, on every occasion and at all times shown their fidelity to the Empire, will be saved from utter destruction and thus enabled to render new services. The popular faction, on the contrary, have shown their wickedness; for the wolf changes his coat, but not his nature; and the ass never goes forward unless he sees the stick.†

He (Benaffra) would not dare, as a vassal, to advance such assertions and make such a request had he not lived many years among those people, and witnessed their wicked behaviour. Humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to turn his

* The original says Scurrino by mistake. His name was Girolamo, which Spaniards turned into *Hieronymo*.

† "Perche lo lupo muta bene il pelo ma non il vitio, et lo asino non camina mai senza il bastone."

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attention to the affairs of that Republic, and make such provision that it may henceforwards become a place of security for his servants, and a bulwark of the Empire. For although the city be small, yet a little thorn in the lion's side makes him lame;* and the Emperor, as son and heir of the Catholic King and grandson of Maximilian, is bound to defend his paternal inheritance against all enemies in Italy as well as elsewhere.

Were he to be asked what measures could be adopted to ensure the tranquillity and welfare of Sienna, he would answer, without hesitation, that there are two ways of doing it, without imposing any burden on the Imperial conscience. The first, to divide the city, for the purposes of government and administration, into three *monti*, as it is at present, namely: *Nove*, *Populo*, and *Nobili*. In this manner no injury would be done to any of them, and there could be no cause of complaint. It would be necessary to reinstate all the citizens of Nove now exiled or in confinement; and as they might still consider themselves insecure, a guard might be created for their protection and defence. For the Populo having, as it has, the favour of the lower classes, and being always ready with their support to fall on the Nove at the least commotion or disturbance in Italy, it is but just that they should be protected against any attack of the populace. The inhabitants of the Populo will naturally object to such guard being placed under the command and at the disposal of Nove, but this might be remedied by the appointment of a captain, who, in His Imperial Majesty's name, should see that the inhabitants of Nove were not again expelled from their home and obliged to seek refuge in foreign parts, whilst the Populo would be equally protected against any attack of the rival faction. In this manner His Imperial Majesty† would hold the balance between the two parties, and turn the forces of the city to his own account, when required.

Besides the Council a bailiff's court (*balía*) might be created, of fifteen members for each mountain, to be chosen among those reputed to be friendly to the Imperial cause. In this manner the government of the city would be equally divided amongst the three orders of citizens, so that His Imperial Majesty could derive benefit from all parties.

The second expedient would be to make one single *monte* out of the three, and to select in each of them all those who, in old times, held the government of the city, and are the wealthiest and best born. The same number of *balías* to be then created in the manner and with the guard above described. Only it would be necessary to select the said governors among the citizens most attached to the Imperial

* "Et ben che la cità sia piccola, multe volte una piccola spina fa soppicare un grand leone."

† "Et in questo modo V. Ma^ta Ces. havrebbe la bacchetta in mano di fare quello che secundo la qualita de tempi li fosse necessario et utile. Et piu fare una balia ultra lo Consiglio del populo de quindeci per monte.

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service, and who may be invested with deliberative power, so that at any time, and in case of emergency, the Emperor may avail himself of the services of the Republic.

For further information respecting the state of affairs at Sienna, and the citizens who could be selected, in case of need, for the future administration of the place, the writer refers to the enclosed memorandum,* wherein the different modes of government that have been in use, and the names of the various governors, are specified.—Roma, die 29 Octobris.

Signed: "Servulus Antonius de Benafro."†

Addressed: "Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Antonio de Benaffra, 29 October."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 4.

30 Oct. **243.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

Arch. *Hist.* Cent. Madrid. *Priv. d. Sta Mar. d. Naj.* f. 378 v°.

Has this morning answered by Hieronimo, a servant of the Marquis [de Pescara] now returning to Milan, his Reverence's letter of the 25th inst. Has little to add, except renewing his prayers respecting the matters contained in his answer. Since the messenger's departure we have not ceased treating for the loan of money wanted for the Imperial army. Although bankers in general are men who prefer dealing with merchants and people of their own profession to Princes and great Lords, yet he (Soria) has conducted the affair so briskly as to have obtained from them 6,000 gold cr. upon bills to be drawn on Naples, on his own (Soria's) signature and that of the Marquis of Pescara; the parties having deemed it unnecessary to have his Reverence's or Antonio de Leyva's further security for them.

The bankers will give us here gold crowns of the Sun, (*escudos de oro del Sol*), in exchange for gold ducats (*largos*), to be received at Naples, with an interest of 2°/₀ to be paid to these bankers on the 1st of January next. So that, in exchange for the 6,000 gold cr. bills are to be drawn to the amount of 6,120 gold ducats (*largos*) payable at Naples, according to the enclosed minute. Should his Reverence approve of the arrangement, and send the bills with the Marquis' signature on them, the money shall be paid forthwith.

In this same manner, and on the same conditions, the sums borrowed in the Viceroy's time were obtained; and

* Not in the volume.

† He signs his name *Benafro*, though the endorsement in Secretary Soria's hand has *Benaffra*. He was probably a native of Venafri in the Abruzzo.

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there can be no doubt that when these merchants and bankers see the Marquis of Pescara fulfil his promise and honour their draft, any sum, however considerable, may be got on such security. He (Soria) is the more happy to have been able to procure these funds, that he hears the money is to be employed for an object similar to that of Morono,* whom may God help, since he is making such full confession, writing and signing with his own hand the declarations in his cause, without waiting for other compulsory ways, such as torture, &c.

Is equally glad to hear from his Reverence that the Duke of Milan's health is improving, and shall always feel thankful for any information his Worship may please to send him respecting that part of Italy. Cannot help, however, warning his Reverence—though in reality there is no necessity for it—about the troops now destined to Milan. Great care is to taken that no disputes arise between them and the Milanese, for otherwise the Emperor's interests could not be forwarded as his good servants wish. The pioneers (*gastadores*) now being raised by the Venetians at Brescia might possibly be wasted (destroyed) instead of their wasting the land.†

Respecting the estate of Gavy, it seems to him (Soria) that since the Marquis of Pescara is to have under his power the whole of the duchy of Milan, he might also take Gavy, and intrust it to his keeping; for the position is important, and it would be desirable to take footing in it. His Reverence is humbly requested to look to this little business, and inform him (Soria) of the result of his application.

Shall be glad to hear that the commission for Cevà in favour of Francisco Navarro has been issued.

Kisses the Marquis del Guasto hands for the demonstration he was pleased to make when he first heard of Captain Marco Antonio's shameful conduct at the village of Arqua, from whose inhabitants he seems to have extorted, not 116 ducats, as at first stated, but 240, besides laying the place completely waste.

This Doge has lately received intelligence that Juanes (Giovannino) de Medicis and Nicolao Fregoso were levying troops to attack Sienna. Does not consider the news correct; but still it is important that his Reverence should be apprized of the rumour.—Sextri, 30th of October 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

P.S.—Again begs his Reverence to bear in mind Cabrera's business; for the truth is, he is really ashamed, when he calls, not to be able to give him better news.

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* "Pues dizen han de servir para otro efecto semejante al de Moron."

† "Los gastadores que proveen en Brescia los Señores Venecianos podria ser que fuesen para ser gastados." *Guastare* and *Guastatori* in Italian, are synonymous of *gastar* and *gastadores* in Spanish. Pioneers are still called "gastadores" in Spain; hence the jeu de mots in which Soria indulges.

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Should very much like to hear whether there were any Genoese concerned in Morono's treacherous dealings, that he may have them properly chastised here. Begs his Reverence to write all he knows respecting this affair, and promises to keep it secret.—"Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Magnificent Sir, the Reverend Abbot of Najera, the Emperor's Commissary General in Lombardy, wherever he may be."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 4½.

31 Oct. **244.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 93–7.

On the 28th inst. advices came of the arrest of Hieronymo Morono [at Novara]. A few days after, Commander Lope Hurtado arrived, (*cipher*) and announced to His Holiness the cause of his arrest. The news at first created as much confusion and depression at Rome as the victory of Pavia and capture of the French King, more particularly so among the people who have meddled in these present intrigues. The Pope, after listening with great attention to what Lope Hurtado and he (the Duke) had to say on the subject, answered that Morono's arrest was of little importance, if matters remained as they are now; thereby meaning, no doubt, that he fears it will be the cause for His Imperial Majesty taking possession of his estate. He (the Pope) has despatched one of his private and most confidential chamberlains to the Marquis of Pescara, and on his return will send another one to Spain. Meanwhile he makes no scruple in saying that, perceiving that he is not treated as favourably and graciously as he had reason to expect, since he had from the beginning entered the Imperial league, notwithstanding the advantageous offers made to him by the adverse party; seeing that the grant of those articles in which he had most interest was indefinitely postponed; that the Duke of Ferrara had been summoned to Spain, etc., all this, coupled with the old affront of having the French King conveyed [to Spain] without giving him previous notice, and by the general prevailing rumour that His Imperial Majesty was about to make an agreement with his prisoner, to his detriment and that of all Italy, he had for some time listened to the prayers of those who wished him to take their cause in hand, and replied to them severally and together. The negotiations were now so ripe that only his consent was wanted to bring the affair to conclusion. Had he not done so, he might have remained entirely isolated.* He, nevertheless, had not given that consent, waiting to see whether His Imperial Majesty would change yet in what concerned him. His own impression was that

* "Y que el quedaria como bestia sin tener ningun arrimo."

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the Emperor wished to become master of Italy and keep it under subjection; for such a design his counsel was unnecessary; he would, such being the case, wait patiently for martyrdom with the rest of the Italian potentates. That appeared to him (the Pope) the object aimed at by the Emperor when he endeavoured to make his peace with the French King exclusively of him and of other Princes; which must have arisen from one of two things, either he wished with French assistance to destroy Italy, or to secure to himself the love of Italian potentates. This latter being his object, it could hardly enter the Emperor's views to seize on the estate of Milan; nor was the Duke's guilt, if he had erred at all, of such a nature as to deserve so severe a punishment. Knowing his temper and condition, and what Hieronymo Morono himself had written about him; knowing the precarious state of his health, and the danger he was in of life, he (the Pope) could not help thinking that if there was guilt in what he [the Duke] had done, the best thing to do was to pardon it. Three different systems might be applied by His Imperial Majesty to avoid, in future, the recurrence of similar events. He could occupy with his troops the most important places in the Duchy; he could exact homage from the governors of castles, and from the inhabitants at large, in case the Duke were again to enter into any plot against His Imperial Majesty; or, in the last place, he could marry him to any Princess of His Majesty's choosing, in order the better to secure his fidelity, and thereby calm the fears of the Italian potentates.

This was in substance the answer made by the Pope to Lope Hurtado and to him (the Duke), who tried to persuade him, though in vain, that his fears were without foundation. The fact of the matter is that His Holiness firmly believes that His Imperial Majesty aims at nothing short of the subjection of all Italy; and that he and the rest of the confederates must do everything in their power to prevent it. They consider that the safest way to attain their object is for His Imperial Majesty to make some agreement, no matter what, with the French King; for, once at liberty, he is sure to seize the first opportunity at hand to recover whatever losses he may have sustained in estate and honour. There can be no doubt that the Cardinal of England is at the bottom of these intrigues, since, perceiving that the continually increasing greatness and power of His Imperial Majesty deprive him of his influence as supreme judge and arbiter, as he has hitherto been in these matters, at the same time he has offered both to the French themselves, to the Pope and to the Venetians a good deal more than they ventured to ask. The English, in fact, profess that their joining this new league has chiefly been caused by His Imperial Majesty's declaration that, war being impossible, peace must be made at any cost; that the Emperor was the first to accept it (*es el primer acceptador*) and that they intend to observe the articles of the existing

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treaty. The truth is that their professions are anything but sincere, for they have bound themselves as closely as they could, making the article about the marriage the pivot of all their negotiations ;* and that Cavalier Casale, who is still at Lyons, has brought the treaty with France to an end on terms much more binding than is generally believed. He (the Duke) has every reason for making this assertion, and for certifying His Imperial Majesty that the Pope has given the most ample powers for these negotiations; that the intrigues are being actively carried on, and that it is publicly announced that the Venetians are in treaty with the Turk, for they say it would be far preferable for them to become now tributaries and vassals of that Infidel than to fall with the rest of Italy under His Imperial Majesty's rule ; as they might shortly after be delivered from that infamous yoke by a general crusade.

The Duke of Ferrara has not yet obtained his safe-conduct to pass through France, on the plea that they (the French) want first to consult the King of England. It is here believed that the Pope has had something to do with this refusal, under the impression that the Duke is being summoned to Court by one of the Imperial ministers. He (the Pope) says that there is double dealing on the Duke's part in the matter, in order to get at Lyons the required safe-conduct to proceed to Spain.

(*Common writing :*) Things at Sienna continue in the same state as they were. Although he (the Duke) and the Marquis of Pescara also have often written to them not to proceed criminally against absentees (*foraxidos*), as they have done till now, they take no notice whatever of their warnings, and go on persecuting them and confiscating their property, as before.

He (the Duke) has commissioned Miçer Antonio di Menafra,† who, besides being a good and faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty, has great experience of Italian affairs, and was governor of that city for 30 years, to write the enclosed report, showing the origin and cause of the evils that distract that Republic, in order that His Majesty may apply a remedy to them.

Cardinal Colonna persists in his refusal to return to Rome, notwithstanding the Duke's efforts to persuade him that his person is not suspected, and that he has no real danger to fear.

Cavalier Casal is expected here every day. They say he comes in company with the Papal Auditor (Ghinucci), both as ambassadors of the King of England to the Pope. Casal, however, brings the secret‡ of Alboraçen (Wolsey).

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* "Y el matrimonio in capite."

† Thus in the original, probably Benaffra or Benafro, as he signs himself. *See* above, No. 242.

‡ "Pero el Casal trae el secreto de Alboracen," *i.e.*, Alboracensis, Eboracensis or of York.

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Letters from Venice state that the Signory were increasing their army, and fortifying the country, and that they no longer answered the Imperial ambassadors on the subject of the money claims.

The Pope had given him (the Duke) hopes that, immediately after the return to Rome of Cardinal Sanctiquatro, the matter of the Crusade should be looked into. The Cardinal has returned, but nothing has been done; (*cipher*) and when pressed to take a resolution, his excuse is that he is waiting for His Majesty's answer.

As these people suspect that His Imperial Majesty wishes to take possession of the duchy of Milan, they have introduced all manner of changes in the wording of all the investitures of the kingdom of Naples, adding a clause, among others, to the effect that His Imperial Majesty cannot possess estates in Tuscany or Lombardy without losing the tenure of the fiefs of the Church. But he (the Duke) is of opinion that true right resides in power; his mentioning it at this time is to show that these people not only contemplate defending themselves with arms, but also justifying themselves legally.

(*Common writing:*) He (the Duke) did not write by Busbaca, because, knowing him to be the bearer of the dispensation brief, and having heard that His Imperial Majesty was not pleased that he (the Duke) should know the nature of the despatches taken by the said Busbaca, he thought it more prudent to keep silence on the occasion. Begs and entreats His Imperial Majesty, if his services are not acceptable at Rome, to remove him from the embassy and send him elsewhere. Knowing how little trust is placed in him, and how few are his abilities, it would be a satisfaction to him to be sent where he could be of more service, and devote his life to the promotion of the Imperial interests.

A few hours since Cavalier Casal and the Pope's Auditor (Ghinucci) arrived in Rome. As soon as he (the Duke) ascertains what they bring, he will not fail to inform His Majesty.—Rome, 30 Oct. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Invincible and Imperial Majesty, the King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Duke of Sessa. Rome, 30 Oct. 1525."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 8.

31 Oct. **245.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA, his Ambassador at Rome.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 278–85.

The King. Most Illustrious Duke, our Cousin, &c.—Your despatches of the 14th July, 1st, 3d, and 25th August,

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have been duly received. We thank you for the intelligence contained in them about the Pope's negotiations with France, England, Venice and other Italian potentates. His Legate (Cardinal Salviati) has arrived, and been received in due honour. We hope not only that he will soon inform His Holiness of our good intentions and filial respect, but also that, by his presence at Court, all pending business shall be conducted as befits a Christian republic. The Pope will no longer have occasion to negotiate [with the Italian powers]; but, on the contrary, may cause such negotiations to be broken off, that the whole of Italy and the rest of the Christian world may enjoy universal and lasting peace.

Concerning the alleged discontent of the English about which you have written, We see no real cause for it. If they insist upon keeping aloof and forsaking us, it will be their fault not ours, though We cannot imagine why they should at this moment forsake our friendship and alliance to take up that of another Prince less friendly to them. If they do, they may have occasion to repent, as happens every day. We fancy that their principal object in negotiating a treaty with France is to obtain payment of the pensions owing to them, since they profess, nevertheless, to keep our friendship and alliance, and do not object to our marrying the Princess [Isabella] of Portugal. The reliance placed on other Italian potentates seems to us equally futile, for the Duke of Milan has no reason to be discontented, especially at a time when he has just received the investiture of the Duchy. And since the Duke of Ferrara has not been pressed until now to make restitution of Rezzo and Rubiera, as preconcerted, there is no visible cause for discontent; whilst the fears of His Holiness and other Italian Princes respecting an agreement with France to their detriment must needs be calmed by the arrival of Mons. de Bourbon, who is shortly expected in these kingdoms.

About the injury which His Holiness pretends to have received in being subordinated to the Duke of Ferrara, and the appointments by us made to certain ecclesiastical livings, We have given our reasons to the Pope's Legate here [in Spain], and will again put them in writing when the matter comes to be discussed. We do in nowise mean to prefer the Duke of Ferrara to His Holiness, but His Holiness ought not to give occasion for acts to the detriment of the most Sacred Empire.*

Neither the Pope nor the Venetians have cause for suspicion on account of the Viceroy's journey to these our realms of Spain. He (the Viceroy) has only done what he considered best for our service, and brought with him the King of France. There is no occasion to fear war; for, since the Viceroy's arrival, We have sent an ambassador to Venice to confirm our treaties with that Republic, and the road is open to them

* "Tampoco debe Su Beatitud dar lugar á que se haga cosa que pueda prejudicar al Sacratissimo Imperio."

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to make the best possible terms. As to their applying to the Turk for assistance—a thing which We cannot be persuaded to believe—if they do, their amount of love and respect for religion will become manifest, and God will visit them accordingly. The intrigues of the Datary will, We hope, end in smoke after the provision We have lately made.

You were quite right in gaining time respecting the business of Alberto Carpi. We will treat of the affair here with the Legate.

His Holiness does well to show contentment at our purpose of visiting Italy, since it will be beneficial to himself, to the Apostolic See in particular, and to Christianity in general. We shall do everything in our power to put matters in such order that our journey may not be delayed. Whoever advised you from Lyons of the supposed detention of the Papal Legate (Cardinal Salviati) in that city, was misinformed, though he may have told you the truth in other matters. You can easily perceive this by what has happened since.

Concerning the affairs of Sienna, We have seen what you say in your various despatches; also the report of Commander Aguilera. Our wish is that no change be made, for the present, in the government of that Republic, until We send thither some fit person to inquire into and report on the state of affairs in and out of the city. Meanwhile the citizens are not to lay hands on the property of the *fuorusciti*, and you may rest assured that whatever applications they (the Siennese) may make here, by means of their envoys, We shall not come to any resolution on their affairs until the said report has been drawn up and properly considered.

What you did to prevent the appointment of an ecclesiastic* to the see of Barcelona, We hold as a good service to our crown. The infraction [of what We consider to be our right] lies not so much in the appointing as in the taking possession, as you well know. You were equally right in presenting our warrants (*cedulas*) in favour of Don Alonso de Castro and Don Pedro de Urries. Considering the little regard they seem to have there [at Rome] to our *jus patronati*, you could not do otherwise; and We inform you that the Rota of Aragon has lately given sentence against the said Don Alonso [de Castro]. Still, if it were the Pope's wish that the recognition of all the appointments that are now in litigation should be committed *in partibus* to unsuspected persons, as We have already requested His Holiness to do, We shall be glad to forward such an arrangement.

Respecting the sums borrowed by you from the Bishop of Salamanca (Bobadilla), and Cardinals Vich and Tortosa, the payment thereof is to be made at Naples, since there it was that they were spent, and We have no means of providing for such payment in Spain. But We distinctly tell you that if the

* Cardinal Cortona.

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Bishop of Salamanca wishes to be paid he had better come here to our Court. Cardinal Vich being dead, his heirs also will have to sue here for what was owing to him.

We thank you for the judicial inquiry on the attempted assassination of Severino and the persons therein concerned. On the arrival of the report which is to be made concerning Sienna and its late disturbances, We shall provide a fit governor for the city or any other form of government that may appear most convenient.

Respecting the marriage of Hipolito de Medicis to the Pope's niece, and the Cardinal's hat promised to the son of Lorenzo (de Medicis) We leave the matter entirely in the hands of His Holiness, to do what he thinks best, knowing, as We do, that in these matters both the Datary and the Capuano (the Archbishop of Capua) follow their own inclinations,* and that Agustin Folleta (Foglieta) is not in favour [with His Holiness].

The determination come to by the Pope on the subject of the Crusade is anything but just and equitable. His Holiness ought to consider that the longer the grant is delayed, the longer the war against the Infidel and the preservation of our African conquests are retarded. The Lutherans will increase in number, and We have no other means left to provide for so many expenses. Since His Holiness is not to be out of pocket by it, and the concession is to result so much to the advantage of the Apostolic See and of the whole of Christendom, We cannot understand why the Pope is so long in granting our request. You must again apply to him, in our name, and beg for the concession of the said Crusade, which so many of his predecessors have granted to Spain on similar occasions, to be spent in war against the Infidels, as well as for the protection of our African conquests.

The Pope's Nuncio has not yet told us what has been His Holiness' decision respecting the revocation solicited by us of certain Chancery rules derogating from what Pope Adrian established with regard to the Spanish Church.† We order you to attend to this business, and bear in mind that the said derogation has been, and is still, the cause of innumerable quarrels and lawsuits between different parties, and that now, lately, a certain Miçer Vives,‡ residing in that city [Rome], has instituted a lawsuit against Secretary Soria, regarding the deanery of Bar. (Bari ?), and that they are sure to do the same with regard to all the livings which Pope Adrian gave away, thus molesting our natural subjects beyond measure. We have written to His Holiness on this subject in general,

* "Pues el Datario y el Capuano van al peso (paso ?) que suelen, y Agostin Folleta muy apartado."

† "La revocacion de las reglas de Canc. (Cancilleria ?) hechas en derogacion de lo que hizo Papa Adriano quanto á las iglesias de Spaña."

‡ Probably a brother or relative of Juan Luis Vives, a Valencian theologian and writer, at this time residing in England.

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and particularly in the case of our Secretary Soria, whom We wish to remain in quiet possession of what was granted to him by the said Pope. You are therefore to manage matters in such a way as to make the aforesaid Miçer Vives desist from his claim.

We have heard of the commission which Mons. de Bourbon sent you to prosecute Count Mirandula (Giovanni Tomasso della Mirandola). We order you not to proceed against him until you hear from us again. In the meantime you are to keep the matter secret, so that the Count may not have his suspicions aroused, for he (the Count) having been, as reported, a good and faithful servant of the Emperor Maximilian, our grandfather, and not having otherwise taken up arms against us, or in favour of our enemies, it would not do, on so trifling an occasion, to do him injury.

We do not wonder at the truce with France not being exactly to the Pope's liking; but whether he liked it or not, his remarks to you on the occasion had no weight whatever, for at the time he made them the truce was not yet signed.

We are not at all pleased at the appointments made by His Holiness to the vacancies caused by the death of Cardinal Vich, and We can assure you that unless the persons appointed be natives of these our realms, We shall not give them possession; indeed with regard to those ecclesiastical benefices which belong to our *jus patronati*, We do not intend to admit any presentation on his part, even in favour of Spanish subjects.

At the same time We are glad to hear that His Holiness has sent new powers to his Legate here. Should he speak to you about the Ferrara business, you will tell him that We shall do everything in our power to adjust matters to his satisfaction.

The Dauphin's marriage to the Princess of Wales (Mary), and the agreement between the French King and ourselves are matters about which no certain statement can be made just yet; time only will show what truth there is in the report. The Grand Master of St. John* has not yet arrived; and though it is reported that he comes without sufficient powers from his Order, yet We are ready to do anything to promote his wishes.

We were very sorry to hear of Cardinal Vich's death; he was a good and faithful servant of ours. As to the filllng up of the vacant see [of Barcelona], certainly the Pope ought to have considered that he was a native of these realms, and that Barcelona forms part of our dominions. The Pope, therefore, must not be surprised if, upon the application made by these realms for redress, a Christian ruler should try to repair their wrongs. It is our intention, in future, whenever a vacancy of this sort occurs belonging to our *jus patronati*,

* Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Grand Master of Rhodes. He had not yet reached Spain at the date of this letter.

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not to give possession of it to ecclesiastics appointed by His Holiness; neither shall We grant possession in the case of those appointments reserved to His Holiness, unless they fall on natives of these realms, which, after all, have not been less important or fruitful than other Christian estates, whenever an opportunity has occurred of showing zeal for the defence and exaltation of the Church of God.

Secretary Soria was in treaty with Cardinal Vich for the cession of the archdeaconry of Belchite, in the cathedral of Saragossa, on condition of his renouncing the rents thereof. The Cardinal died in the meantime, and the affair remained unsettled. Among other benefices vacant by his death, We wish that the above-named archdeaconry of Belchite, or at least the title of it, should be granted to the said Secretary, and We have written on the subject both to His Holiness and to the Cardinal de Rangon (Rangone), on whom, it would appear from your despatches, that the said archdeaconry has been conferred. We beg of you to do your utmost to persuade the said Cardinal (Rangone) to renounce the same in our Secretary's favour, promising him a suitable pension instead, and, if that cannot be obtained, for the Cardinal to reserve as ecclesiastical pension the revenues of the said archdeaconry, and pass over the title to Secretary Soria. This, We presume, will not be difficult to obtain when the Cardinal becomes aware of our intention not to give him or any other foreigner possession of the said livings in our gift.

To your despatches of the x., xi., xii., and xviii. September since received our answer is as follows:—

With regard to Luther and the Pope's declaration to you that the best remedy for the extirpation of his sect is our presence in those parts, We entirely agree with him; but His Holiness ought so to dispose matters that it may be done to his own satisfaction and the rest of the Italian potentates, and as a Catholic Prince, We shall not be wanting. We wish We had at present a sufficiently qualified person to send to those parts, who might manage matters so as to prevent any action to the Pope's detriment; but not having here by us any other but Jean Hannart,* who is not acceptable to our brother the Archduke, or the Provost of Valcheuek, who at present is unwell, and incapable of such work as that demanded, it will be necessary for us to think of some other expedient. You will tell His Holiness, in our name, that We are extremely sorry that, at the present moment, We cannot apply a remedy to such evil; but in order to stop the exorbitant demands there made against the Church, We have written to the Archduke our brother and to the Electors and other influential members of the Diet not to meddle with matters that may turn against the Holy See; and if they can break up the Diet to do it as soon as possible.

* Jean Hannart, Viscount of Lombeke, Chief Secretary and Audiencer of the Council of Flanders.

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Had His Holiness considered well the necessity in which our brother the Archduke finds himself, or had he been sufficiently informed of the difficulty of his position, he would have had no reason to be discontented with the articles he granted. For His Holiness must be aware that the Archduke, surrounded as he was by the rebel peasants, could not do otherwise than dissemble with them in order to get free.

The Legate Cardinal (Salviati) is here. He brings powers from the Pope which We have not yet examined. If these are deemed sufficient, and the Legate's real intention is to establish a firm and true union between His Holiness and ourselves, he will always find us ready to promote the cause of the Holy See, of the Church in general, and of the Pope in particular. You are to speak to him in terms such as these, calm his fears, if he has any, and try to find out the intrigues in which he may be concerned.

You have already been told that the Rezzo and Rubbiera business is to be reserved for discussion here with the Legate. We are glad to hear that the Marquis of Pescara has sent you a copy of the articles of the truce.

We have heard of the Duke of Milan's recovery, and thank God for it. We approve of what you said to His Holiness on this subject; and you may assure him that were God to call the Duke to his presence, We would follow his advice and provide for the succession to his estate in the most suitable manner for the peace of Italy. His Holiness, however, was quite right in taking offence at what you told him in Pescara's name concerning the 150 men-at-arms to be quartered on the estates of the Church. It is but just that the Pope, who is the Vicar of Christ on Earth, should be treated with due respect, more even than any other Prince in Italy; and We have written to the Marquis to tell him so. You will take care that he (the Pope) is made acquainted with these our sentiments towards him, and assured also that it is not in our thoughts to offend him in the least. As to his saying that he has condoned 10,000 ducats which were owed him for certain corn taken up by us during the vacancy of the Toledo see, you will tell him that We have no knowledge whatever of that transaction, and that when sufficiently informed, We shall not fail to thank him for the said condonation.

The state of affairs at Sienna causes us much displeasure. We are now writing both to the citizens inside and to the absentees outside (*fuorusciti*) not to move or proceed against the persons and property of the said absentees until We send a proper person to hear them and report the result to us.

Respecting the confirmation of the league, there is no occasion for you to say anything until We inform you of what has been agreed with the Pope's Legate here.

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The English have made a treaty with France; and although they pretend that it is in nowise to our detriment, or to that of the friendship they bear us, yet there can be no doubt that their doings bear a contrary construction.

Intelligence has been received here of the arrival at Venice of Prothonotary Caracciolo; but up to the date of Alonso Sanchez' letter, who writes about it, he had not advanced one step in the negotiation.

About the money lent by Cardinals Vich and Tortosa, and the Bishop of Salamanca, We have already sent you instructions. It is important that the last named (the Bishop) come to Court, and therefore you will tell him so, whatever excuses he may offer.

By what you write on the Santa Christina business, We clearly perceive that there is a determination at Rome to do away with all the Church patronage that belongs to us by right; and that if We are to keep and preserve our own, proper measures must be taken. The deeds and other testimonials which Narciso, our physician, has sent to Rome are by no means so prejudicial [to his case] as they make them out to be.

The ill-treatment which the Pope's galleys and their crews are said to have received at our people's hands has caused us considerable grief. We have forthwith ordered an inquiry to be made, and the guilty parties shall be punished accordingly. But at the same time that We deplore acts accomplished without our knowledge and against our will, We are very much indebted to the Pope for having allowed the Duke of Bourbon to make use of the said galleys for his passage to Spain, and We quite approve of the expedient that was taken of making it appear as if they had been pressed into our service.

Intelligence has reached us through the Marquis of Pescara that Joanin de Medicis had made an agreement with the Marquises of Malespina. It is to be hoped the outlaws (*foraxidos*) of Lucca will now desist from their attacks.

Joan Baptista de Divicys has been of late disputing the possession of the Abbey del Poyo with Don Martin de Avila y Carvajal, son of Doctor Carvajal, of our Council, to the detriment of our Royal patronage and of the privileges of these our realms. We now hear that the said Divicys, in despair of gaining his cause, is thinking of transferring his rights to Cardinal Campeggio, under the belief that this prelate, being more influential and powerful, will more effectually molest the said Don Martin in his possession, which is nothing more than a cunning device to gain his end. We do not suppose that the Cardinal will accept the said renunciation in his favour; but still, as it is probable that Divicys, having gone so far, will persist in his determination, and conceal the truth from Cardinal Campeggio, We order you to speak or write to the said Cardinal on the subject, and tell him We are sure that

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when he knows how matters stand, he will not be the cause of such detriment to our Royal patronage and privileges, or of further molestation to the said Don Martin. That We expect from his friendship to us that he will reject the proposed resignation which is to be made in his favour, or, in case of accepting it, will make over the said benefice to Don Martin.

The Pope, through his Legate at this court, has offered to grant us the Crusade for the period of one year, to commence at the expiration of the jubilee. You will insist upon the grant being made at least for three years; for, in truth, We cannot conceive how, when the effects of the grant are to be so much to the advantage of the Christian religion, there should be so much delay in this affair, when it is well known that our African and other possessions are in danger of invasion from the Turk.—Toledo, 31 Oct. 1525.

Spanish. Original draft in Gattinara's own hand. pp. 16.

31 Oct. **246.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 272–4.

The King. Illustrious Duke, &c.—By our letter of this date full answer has been given to the different heads of your despatches. What We have now to say is this: That the Duchess of Alençon's journey to this our court has been of no avail, for not only has the progress of the negotiations not been advanced by it, but it would seem as if with her presence the offers made by the French King to Don Ugo de Moncada, before his arrival in Spain, had been to a certain extent modified or withdrawn. At all events, the said Duchess has taken her departure* without accomplishing anything; and we firmly believe the cause to be no other than the agreement lately made between England and France, and the reliance which they (the French) place on the negotiations now pending in Italy.

The Duchess has lodged at Madrid with her brother the King [of France]; and it cannot be reasonably supposed that he (the King), being a prisoner in our hands,† they will altogether withdraw from the negotiations, especially when our demands have been so reasonable. For in the article relating to Burgundy, which seemed the most disputed of all, the only obstacle has been that the French wished the Peers of the Realm, together with the Parliament, to take cognizance of the justice of our claims, whereas We wanted the whole thing to be submitted to the arbitrage of a third person. To this last

* The Duchess of Alençon left Toledo for Madrid on the 19th of October. After a short visit to her brother Francis, still a prisoner at the latter place, she undertook her journey towards France.

† "La Duquesa ha parado en Madrid con el Rey su hermano, y no se ha de creher por razon que teniendo tal prenda en nuestro poder dexen la negociacion assi irresoluta, habiendonos specialmente puesto tanto á la razon."

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condition the Duchess had already agreed, but the councillors* she brought in her company having told her that she could not do it, she has gone away without coming to any definite settlement in the affair.

We have taken care that the Papal Legate (Salviati) should be informed of every particular concerning this negotiation, of the proposals as well as of the answers made on both sides, and of the right and justice of our demands. It must be owned, also, that the Legate has done everything he could to persuade all parties to peace, and bring about a settlement of our mutual differences. On what more particularly concerns His Holiness We have often conferred with him, and the draft of a treaty, explanatory of the former league, has been made for his inspection, of which a copy is enclosed. The Papal Legate, to whom the draft has been read, makes no difficulty about any portion of it, save the article referring to the 200,000 ducats demanded by us to withdraw our infantry from Italy, and fit out a fleet against the Infidel. This, he alleges, is an innovation, and he has no power to agree to it; besides which the sum named appears to him rather excessive. We could reduce it to 150,000 ducats, payable in four months, provided the whole sum should be deposited previous to the departure of our infantry from Italy; but in order to show His Holiness that all further reduction is impossible, We enclose you an estimate of what the fleet will cost monthly.

In the affair of Rezzo and Rubera the Legate wished that it should be left to the Pope's choice either to give it in fee to a person of his own choosing or to mortgage that estate,† whilst We wished to be the sole arbiter in the matter. In short, the Legate has consulted the Pope thereupon; and as much time might be lost in going backwards and forwards, We have resolved to send you a draft of the treaty, that it may be discussed there, and, if accepted, published immediately.

To accelerate the conclusion of a league as important to the peace and tranquillity of Italy as to the welfare of Christianity, His Holiness ought not to heed such a small contribution as the one now demanded, since it is destined to withdraw our infantry from Italy and fit out a fleet against the Turk, whereby peace shall be ensured and all cause for jealousy and suspicion removed. Should the sum of 200,000 ducats appear excessive, We would consent to reduce it by one fourth, but no more, on condition that the whole of that money shall be deposited before the infantry actually leaves the country. And that His Holiness may see the insufficiency of a smaller sum for so mighty an operation, We enclose you a detailed account of the ships, seamen, and other things

* "The Bishop of Embrun, the first President of the Parliament of Paris (Selve) and the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency."

† "O de tomar el feudo para la persona que [el] nombrare ó lo del empeñoramiento."

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required for such an armament as that required to bring back the said infantry and use it against the Turk.

With regard to Rezo and Rubera there is nothing to abate from our former demands, as it is quite impossible for us to accept the article as it was drawn at Rome. Should, however, His Holiness consent to erase the clause concerning the mortgage as it stands in the Legate's memorandum, or to choose at once between the two means, viz., the mortgage or the giving in fee to a third person, so that only one part of the alternative and no power of choice remain, We are ready to acquiesce in it, provided it be done speedily and at once, and that by the return of this courier, who is to wait for an answer, We may know whether the proposed league is accepted or not. Should His Holiness agree to the above conditions, with the amendments above specified, but not otherwise, you will at once sign it in our name, and, when signed, have it published, so that the contracting parties may be acquainted with the treaty of league, and settle among themselves the amount of contribution to be paid by each of the Italian potentates.

Should you perceive, on the contrary, that His Holiness uses dilatory expedients, waiting, perhaps, for the issue of overtures made in another quarter, you will at once inform us by this same courier, in order that We may know how to conduct a negotiation in which, as the Pope cannot fail to have seen, We treat him as a true father, and prefer him to everyone else, without exception.

Notwithstanding the agreement lately entered into by England and France, the ambassadors of the former country residing at this our court have received full powers to consent to our marriage with the Princess of Portugal upon certain conditions, as well as to a renewal of our mutual friendship, assuring us that in their recent treaty with France nothing had been done to our detriment, and that they wanted still to be our friends without, however, breaking with France, since their object was to obtain from that country better conditions and a larger indemnity. We therefore sent full powers to Portugal* to conclude our marriage with the said Princess, which, thanks to God, is by this time accomplished by proxy. As We wish, moreover,—for the satisfaction of our subjects and at the request of our Realms, assembled in the last Cortes,—to consummate and solemnize the same as soon as possible, We order you to procure for us the required brief of dispensation from the Pope, for although We were already provided with a general one for every degree of consanguinity or affinity, excepting the first—which was applied for and obtained for the English as well as for the present marriage—it would appear that the several degrees of consanguinity between us and the

* Poupet de Lachaulx and Juan de Zuñiga were the ambassadors sent to Lisbon on this occasion. *See* their letter to the Emperor, under No. 231, p. 369.

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said Princess of Portugal, our betrothed, require a fuller dispensation, as detailed in the enclosed memorandum lately sent to us from Lisbon. We are now writing to His Holiness, in our own hand, to inform him of our present request, and beg he will, at the same time, grant us the Crusade for a period of three years, since the revenues of one year would be insufficient to preserve our conquests, still more to wage war on the Infidel.

Should you observe, as aforesaid, that His Holiness purposely delays the conclusion of the treaty, waiting for the issue of the negotiations now pending between the Italian potentates, and that the said negotiations are getting more brisk, in that case you will immediately inform us of the circumstance, and tell the Pope, besides, as if it came from you, that you know the cause of the delay; that he ought to consider the present state of affairs and the ever increasing sect of Luther, and bear also in mind that We have always been a dutiful son of the Holy See and a friend of his in particular ever since he was *in minoribus*. That by not forwarding with all his might the peace and tranquillity of Italy and of the Christian community at large, he runs the risk of making an enemy of us. For the French King being in our hands, and, as it were, at our mercy, it is just as easy to increase our demands upon him, as it is to loose the bonds of his captivity, and make such terms as will allow us both to unite our forces and take satisfaction and revenge of those who may have offended us. You will also tell him that We have particularly charged you to acquaint us immediately with his (the Pope's) determination, that We may take our measures accordingly, and that our orders on this point are so pressing that you must have, as soon as possible, a categorical answer.

Of course your language to His Holiness on this occasion ought to be such as not to produce any scandal,* but at the same time plain enough for him to see the danger of delay, and know what our intentions are in the event of his refusing to ratify the treaty. If you saw that, notwithstanding the Pope's dilatory behaviour in this affair, the negotiations of the Italian potentates relaxed or were suspended, then, in that case, you will not take extreme measures with His Holiness, but will go on temporizing with him, and pretending that you want to consult us upon the difficulties that arise in the negotiation.

You know already the nature of the conferences that have been held with the Duke of Ferrara about Modena. Should His Holiness persist in his procrastinating policy, so as to give you occasion to send back this courier without any hopes of the treaty being concluded, you will again open negotiations with the said Duke, and promise him the restitution of

* "Passandolo assi todo blandamente con Su Beatitud, por manera que ni se escandalize, ni se le dexe de poner todo ello delante."

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Modena on condition of his making up the sum of 200,000 ducats, after deduction of what he has already disbursed.* The affair to be conducted with great caution and secresy, letting us know the result as soon as possible, and informing the Marquis of Pescara also of the intrigues of the Italian potentates as well as of the Pope's real intentions.—Toledo, 31 Oct. 1525.

Spanish. Original draft, docketed in Gattinara's own hand. pp. 6.

31 Oct. **247.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 88.

The King. Abbot of Najera, &c.—We thank you for the intelligence conveyed in your letters of the 21st July, 20th and 24th of August, and 8th Sept., to which this present is an answer. With regard to the necessity which, as you and our generals think, exists of pressing the negotiations for peace with France and the Italian Princes, providing money for our army, and attending to other matters connected with our service, We need not say anything here, having written at length to the Marquis of Pescara on this subject, besides ordering him not to fix Mons. de Labret's ransom.†

Your own application to have the yearly pension of 500 ducats on the bishopric of Ciudad Rodrigo transferred to that of Valladolid, cannot at present be entertained, as you well know that similar transfers must not be effected without the previous consent of the bishops themselves.

We quite approve of your having sent 3,000 ducats to the Lord of Monago, to provide for the defence of his estate in case of attack.

We have also forwarded to the Marquis of Pescara a memorandum of the conditions under which the grant (*privilegio*) is to be made, hoping he will be satisfied with them.

Having written thus far, your letters of the 10th and 25th September came to hand. Thank you for the intelligence they contain and the advices of our army. We have given orders that the Marquis of Pescara should be written to in our name with a full answer to every one of the points therein contained and specified.

What you say about the Germans shall be looked into and suitably arranged for on the arrival here of Mons. de Bourbon, who, We hear, has already landed [at Barcelona].

The advices you sent to our brother, the Archduke, We quite approve of. It was wise to let him know the state of affairs in Italy, that he may procure the means of paying George Fransperch (Fruntsperg) and his Germans their arrears, and be prepared for any emergency.

* "Asentando con él que haga el cumplimiento á los doscientos mil ducados sobre lo que tiene dado restituyendole la posesion de Modena conforme á lo platicado."

† "Que no se haga la talla de Monsieur de Labret."

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We deem it far preferable that the Marquis of Pescara should send us here the person of Mons. de Labret, as We have commanded him to do, than keep him a prisoner at Pavia.

Glad to hear you have received 40,000 cr. out of the 80,000 remitted to you in bills, and hope you will use all possible diligence in getting the remainder.

We have letters of Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, our ambassadors in Venice, reporting on the state of their negotiations with that Signory. A suitable answer has been made to them by our command, and they shall also be provided with funds to the utmost of our power.

It is not to be wondered at if the alacrity and goodwill with which We have sent the Duke [of Milan] his investiture has not been a sufficient cause to allay the fears and remove the suspicions of the Italian Princes, for, before the said investiture was granted, passion ran so high, and the people were so excited, that it will take some time before their apprehensions subside. It is, therefore, necessary to calm them down little by little, and separately, so that with prudence and good management everything may turn out well to God's service and our own.

The cause of the Verulano's journey to that city (Milan) will soon be made public, and therefore there is no occasion at present to plunge into a world of conjectures; although, on the other hand, what they say about his going to the Grisons may, after all, be the right one. At any rate, it behoves you and the generals of that army to be prepared for any emergency.

Your suspicions about the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) and his sudden departure may turn out true; but it appears to us that he is not the fit person to be sent on such commission as you represent.

About the peace which you say has been proclaimed at Lyons [between England and France], it is one of those tricks whereof Frenchmen are so fond, they being in the habit of publishing news to their advantage, however improbable or untrue. Even if it were so, it is a matter of very little importance.

We are sorry to hear of the Duke of Milan's indisposition, though the swelling of the legs might rather be a sign of better health than of dropsy.—Toledo, 31st of October 1525.

Indorsed: "From the King. 1525. Toledo. To the Abbot of Najera, 31st of October."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4¼.

1 Nov. **248.** Prothonotary Caracciolo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 105.

Has not written often of late owing to a severe illness from which he is still suffering. He is up now, though still unable to leave his room. This notwithstanding, he has, in

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company with his colleague (Alonso Sanchez) negotiated with the Signory, as His Imperial Majesty may have seen by their common despatches in date of the 21st and 27th Oct.

(*Cipher:*) Though it be true that this Signory has lately shown a desire of coming to a final settlement in the negotiation now pending, yet it might possibly be a feint, with a view to ascertain what is to become of the Duke of Milan. For the present Italian league has been principally formed for the preservation and defence of that Duke and his estate, as His Imperial Majesty may see by the enclosed copy of one of its articles, wherein it is stipulated that in case of the Emperor having other designs upon the estate of Milan a new form of negotiation and league would be required. It is, therefore, very urgent that His Imperial Majesty make known his determination and will in this affair, that he (Caracciolo) and his colleague (Alonso Sanchez) may negotiate in conformity therewith.

These new practices of the English King are a matter of serious thought for many people, and therefore it behoves His Imperial Majesty to come at once to such a resolution with regard to the French King and the others as may put an end to these plots, and save the expense of keeping so large a force in Italy.—Venice, 1st of November 1525.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 1st of November."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

4 Nov. **249.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 121–2.

Prothonotary Caracciolo and he wrote the other day in common. He (Sanchez) writes again with the sole purpose (*cipher*) of enclosing copy of a letter just received from the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza), and addressed to the friar through whom they are in the habit of corresponding. As His Imperial Majesty is well acquainted with these things and their foundation,‡ it will soon be known whether the Bishop tells truth or not. (*Common writing:*) Has sent another copy of this letter to the Marquis of Pescara.—Venice, 1st of November 1525.

P.S.—Had written so far when an express arrived from the Marquis, (*cipher*) asking for 6,000 ducats for the use of the

* "Potrá vedere per el capitulo que quando quella designasse altro del Stato, bisognaria fare nova forma de negociatione e de liga."

† "Metteno el cervello a partito a molti."

‡ "Y pues sabe las cosas con el fundamento que son se servirá dello en lo que le pareciere y vera si dice verdad."

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Imperial army. The demand was so pressing that every effort was made, and, although money is not abundant in this market, he (Sanchez) has obtained that sum at a very reasonable interest. Hopes to send to the Marquis the whole sum this week, or the beginning of next, by the same express who brought him the message.

Sets forth his own services on this occasion; protests of his fidelity, and asks for reward.—Venice, closed on the 4th, the very day in which the money is being forwarded to the Marquis.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Ambassadors. Venice, xx. (*sic*) of November. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

4 Nov. **250.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 131.

Having written conjointly with Alonso Sanchez what occurred up to the present date, has nothing to report, except that the Marquis of Pescara, being greatly in want of money for the support of the Imperial army, has applied to his colleague, Alonso Sanchez, who, with his usual zeal for the Emperor's service, sparing no trouble or fatigue to himself, has procured and actually is sending him 6,000 ducats.—Venice, 4th Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesaræ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 4th of November."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

4 Nov. **251.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 127–31.

Wrote on the 18th of October last in an enclosure addressed to the Marquis of Pescara, and again on the 22d by an express whom he (Soria) and some merchants of this city (Genoa) despatched by way of Lyons. Sent at the same time copy of the Archbishop of Capua's letter to him, and now sends another received since from the same (Fr. Nicolao Schomberg). No news from Rome, except the arrival there of Lope Hurtado.

The Doge [of Genoa] has received advices that Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis and Niccolo Fregoso were together in Tuscany, and that the former was collecting troops to march upon Sienna. The news, however, is not authentic and requires confirmation.

The two Papal galleys passed by this port on the 28th ult. They brought intelligence [from Spain] that those of Genoa

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and the Imperial fleet were at Salou [in Catalonia]. As there can be no necessity for them in those parts, it would be highly advantageous for the Emperor's service and for the security of this city that they should return here, for Genoa without galleys is exposed to every sort of danger, not only on account of its proximity to Provence—where sea forces [of the enemy] are continually stationed—but also on account of the Fregosi faction within its walls, who are always trying to eject the Adorni and seize on the government, to gain which object they are sure to run any risk. The galleys, therefore, ought to come here, especially if the truce now existing, and which expires in two months' time, is not to be extended. The French pretend that Genoa is not comprised in it; they have never ceased capturing their merchant vessels, or seizing on their property whenever they had an opportunity. The Genoese being such good vassals and servants of the Emperor, orders ought to be issued for their being included in this truce, and in case of a new one being made, being expressly named in it, so that may live in security and navigate the seas as before.

This Doge is as much attached to the Imperial service as ever he was, and there is no cause whatever to apprehend that he will not continue so. The Emperor, therefore, ought to acknowledge this in his letters, and encourage him to persevere.

As the bearer of this letter, who is one of the Duke's servants, comes direct from Milan, it is very probable that the Marquis of Pescara and the rest of the Imperial ministers in that city have reported at the same time upon the late occurrences. Will, however, say in a few words what his advices are, according to letters he himself has received from the Marquis and from the Abbot [of Najera]. The Marquis was still at Pavia, suffering from his usual complaint, but was shortly to leave for Milan for the purpose of arranging certain matters, and urging the payment [by the Duke] of the 100,000 ducats. He was to take as an escort 200 lances and 2,000 foot, and had already, with the Duke's consent, taken possession of all the Milanese territory, fortresses as well as open towns. He had placed garrisons in all the former, except in the castles of Milan and Carmona (Cremona), which, at the Duke's own request, he had not occupied until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. The rest of the men-at-arms and of the infantry were to be quartered on the other side of the river Adda, in the district known as Enjaradada (Ghiara d'Adda), where the land of the Venetians commences. Fifteen hundred Germans had occupied Carmona (Cremona), so that it may confidently be asserted that the whole of the duchy of Milan now acknowledges the Imperial rule, except, however, the two afore-mentioned castles (Milan and Cremona), which, for the above reasons, the Marquis has not yet garrisoned with his troops.

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Until the present moment no movement has been made, either by the estate of Milan itself or by any other of the Italian powers, except, perhaps, the Venetians, who have sent many pioneers to Bressa (Brescia), and are fortifying that city and all others on the frontier, more with an intention, as it is believed, of guarding against an attack of the Imperial army than to take the offensive themselves. Their designs, however, and those of the other Italian powers cannot long remain concealed, for, as the Abbot [of Najera] writes, Morone has already declared what the plans of the confederates were.

Notwithstanding the truce the Marquis and Marchioness of Saluzzo retain possession of the whole of their former estates, and of the district of Carmeñola (Carmagnola) besides. For this reason the Marquis [of Pescara] is now sending thither the Italian infantry and some light cavalry to recover the same.

He [Lope de Soria] has occasionally written to His Imperial Majesty about the differences existing between the Genoese and the people of Savona, that they might be adjusted and put an end to. The former, he hears, are determined to force the port of Savona, and sink there, at its mouth, two vessels laden with stones,* so as to prevent all ships going in or out for the future. They say they have sustained great losses, not only by the decrease of the customs' dues, but also by that of the traffic, which, they say, they are completely losing, owing to the said port of Savona being more secure and frequented than their own. They want the people of that city to recognise them as supreme lords, alleging that Savona is as much under their rule as the rest of the cities and towns on this coast, and have already sent thither a body of troops to bring them under subjection and prevent any resistance to the contemplated obstruction of their port.

Has begged the Genoese to consider well what they do before they engage in such an enterprise; to act according to justice, and not give the people of Savona occasion for saying that what might have been obtained by fair means, or by first consulting the Emperor, had been wrested from them by force.

Has remonstrated against their spoiling the said harbour of Savona, because, besides its being very useful as a place of shelter for the Imperial fleet and merchant ships coming from Spain whenever pestilence prevails in Genoa, there is not in the neighbourhood a fitter place for the galleys of the Signory to anchor at. Has not yet been able to persuade them. They say they will so far injure (*gastar*) the port that only galleys and small vessels may go in and out. Has reason to believe that the Genoese will not execute their threats, and that all their preparations are merely designed to frighten the people

* " Y esfrondar á la boca del dos naves cargadas de piedra."

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of Savona, the better to reduce them to obedience and make them comply with their demands. Yet, on the other hand, they are so jealous of the Savonese that it is to be feared they will perhaps carry out their threat and inflict all possible injury upon them.

A few lines will be sufficient to acquaint His Imperial Majesty with the real cause and origin of these dissensions. The Genoese assert that Savona belongs to them, and want to exact complete obedience from the inhabitants without even leaving them the right of appeal to the Emperor. The Savonese, on the other hand, maintain that they owe Genoa no such obedience, and will never submit to their yoke, and that the only judge in any dispute arising between them is the Emperor; but that in all other matters they are quite ready to acknowledge the supremacy of Genoa, to enter into such agreements and covenants as may be thought expedient, and faithfully to keep and observe the same. He [Lope de Soria] cannot decide on which side justice lies. If Genoa be in the right, it is but just that they should carry out their point. This city is considered the head of the Republic; it is the richest and most liberal with its money for the Imperial service. If, on the contrary, the demands of the Genoese are unjust, it is a very hard thing that they should take by force that which belongs to His Imperial Majesty.

The truth of the matter is that Genoa does not choose Savona to have any port at all, and wants all merchandise to be laded or unladed at this port. They, (the Savonese) are not to have high-masted vessels, nor to admit into their harbour any ship going thither for shelter, but send them on to Genoa; in fact, the Genoese wish to have all the trade to themselves. The Doge and Community are now writing [to Spain] on this particular, and will, no doubt, report much better than he (Soria) can do. It will be for the Emperor to decide according to justice.

Had written so far when the enclosed letter from the Marquis of Pescara came to hand concerning the said dispute between this Community and the city of Savona. Those which the Marquis says he has written to the Doge and Community in his (Soria's) credence, have never reached their destination. Has, in consequence, spoken again to the Doge, in the Marquis' name, and requested him to suspend the execution of their plans. The Doge's reply has been that he could not take upon himself to communicate the Marquis' message to the Community, as it would look too much like a threat just now. He would take care that measures against Savona should not be pushed on so rigorously as at first contemplated, and try to calm the irritation of his own people.

Should the Marquis' letter to the Doge and his own of credence arrive in the meantime, he (Soria) shall not fail again to remonstrate with the Doge and Community in the

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mildest possible terms, so as to bring some sort of arrangement between the two cities, and thus remove all cause for scandal; for, after all, Genoa must be attended to for her services to the Empire.

News has arrived of the Marquis having left Pavia for Milan on the 1st inst. He takes as an escort 2,000 Germans, owing to the hatred the Milanese bear the Spaniards. The Duke and the city had sent to make him every offer of service, and beg him to avoid, as much as possible, any ill-treatment of the citizens. Twelve *conservatori* have been appointed for the government of the Duchy in the Emperor's name and the Duke's conjointly. Such, at least, is the avowed purpose of the said officials, though their intentions might be different, for among the persons selected the following might be pointed out as being by no means friendly to the Imperial cause; viz:—

Giovanni Paolo, the Duke's bastard brother.
Esforzin.
Alessandro Bentivollo (Bentivoglio).
Il Cavalier di Posterla.
Antonio di Busto.
The son of Giovanni Francesco Marillano (Marigliano).
Micer Jacopo Filippo Saco.

Cannot say what the others are, but it is to be presumed that all are as much the Duke's friends as the above named.

Advices from Lyons of the 30th of October state that Busbaco, the Pope's courier, arrived there with letters from the Imperial court. He had been detained and then released, and, lastly, had left France to come into Italy. But the day after his departure another courier left Lyons, who passed through here on his way to Rome, and, though he had inquired for Busbaco on the road, could get no tidings of him. It is feared that the Pope's courier has met with some mishap on the road, especially as he was known to be the bearer of important despatches from His Imperial Majesty.—Genoa, 4th of November 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope de Soria, 4th of Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

4 Nov. **252.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 109–12.

Their last letter of the 28th October gave an account of their negotiations up to that date. Since then the Signory have deputed people to hold a conference with the ambassadors.

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(*Cipher :*) After some conversation on general topics, perceiving that they intended them to speak out first, the ambassadors entered into the particulars of the negotiation as follows :—

Setting aside the question of an offensive league—that being a sort of proposal which they (the Signory) have always rejected as unreasonable and contrary to their interests ; abandoning likewise all thought of reducing them to the defensive over and above the terms stipulated in the treaty, and for the reasons alleged at the time peace was negotiated,—the ambassadors proceeded at once to discuss the point of the money which the Venetians were expected to give in exchange for the promised infantry.* But this last seemed to them so hard a condition, and the Signory remonstrated so strongly about it, that the ambassadors decided to drop the question, provided the article was so worded that there should be no doubt in future as to the sort of help which Venice was obliged to furnish when necessary. This point, in the ambassadors' opinion, offers no difficulty, and may be considered as settled.

Respecting the outlaws (*fuorusciti*), perceiving the gravity of the case ; that the Signory was likely to make great opposition, and that the very individuals with whom the ambassadors are negotiating happen to be the actual holders of the confiscated property, two expedients were devised. One is that, instead of the 5,000 ducats which the Signory pay every year, and 10,000 more which they are bound to give the outlaws by the terms of the last peace, we should make over to them 25,000, and the outlaws then would be restored to the possession of their confiscated property. Or if they preferred, to add to the 5,000 ducats 3,000 more, to make up 8,000, wherewith to pay, by way of an annual pension, the dowries of their wives.

This promise the ambassadors have ventured to make owing to the engagement taken by the Duke [of Milan] of paying 18,000 ducats of his own estates to the outlaws (*foraxidos*), as His Imperial Majesty is no doubt informed, and as we wrote at the time of the conclusion of the peace, and also because many of the said outlaws, discussing this matter over with us, have shown a readiness to pay a larger sum than the above 25,000 ducats,† provided they be reinstated in their property. This suggestion of the ambassadors is not without purpose, for by making a higher demand they are pretty sure to obtain what is wanted. Those who are not interested in the restitution, rather than see the money enter the Imperial coffers, will consent to it ; whilst those who have a real interest in it, in order to shut

* "Quanto al dar despacho en lugar de la infanteria," &c.

† In the original "que daran ellos mucha mayor suma de los xx. mil ducados," which is evidently a mistake for "xxv. mil ducados."

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our mouths, and prevent us from bringing forward the question of the confiscated property, are sure to obtain from the Signory the grant of the additional 3,000 ducats demanded by us.

Respecting the compensation money, the ambassadors remained firm to the 120,000 ducats. The deputies then went away, saying they would report to the Signory and return an answer as soon as possible.

The inclusion of the Duke of Milan in the present treaty is a thing which, as they wrote on the 27th of last month, keeps the Imperial ambassadors in a state of perplexity and doubt; for it is quite certain that, in order to give the 80,000 ducats which they are now offering, the Signory will require—as they informed the Duke of Bourbon at the time—not only powers from the Duke of Milan, as well as from the Archduke, but the Emperor's ratification also.* This will naturally embarrass the negotiations, though, in the end, the ambassadors intend to follow the instructions of the Marquis [of Pescara], as the person best acquainted with the practices and aims of the Italian Princes, and with the Emperor's intentions. The ambassadors propose, also, consulting legal men, and have already written to the Duke [of Sessa] to procure them a lawyer's opinion at Rome, and if it is not to be had there, to consult some of the Imperial councillors at Naples. In short, the ambassadors will endeavour, in case of a settlement being made, so to arrange matters that if the Duke really be guilty His Imperial Majesty may not be prevented from exercising his authority in that respect, though, as before stated, it would be far preferable that His Imperial Majesty should, as soon as possible, transmit them his own orders and instructions respecting this particular point.

(*Common writing:*) Have been informed by the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara that his son (Hercole) has lately had letters dated from Saint André. It is not true, as reported, that Madame the Regent (Louise of Savoy) had refused his father a safe-conduct through France or sent him a message respecting his journey to Spain.

Cavalier Casal, who comes from England, has just passed through Brescia on his way to Rome. He is shortly to be followed by another ambassador from England, sent for the same purpose.—Venice, 1st of November 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

(*Cipher:*) Having written so far, letters have come to hand from the Marquis of Pescara, dated the 27th and 30th of October last, stating his opinion that the Duke of Milan ought not to be included in the treaty of league, as he

* "Que no hay duda que no espediran [sin] poder del Duque de Milan, que se le pidieron al Duque de Borbon juntamente con el del S^r. Infante y la ratificacion de V. M^d."

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has been hitherto, without the Emperor's express commands, which he (the Marquis) has no doubt would arrive at an early stage of the negotiation. The ambassadors have therefore decided, in pursuance with the Marquis' orders, to prolong the conferences as much as possible, so as to await the said orders [from Court], and if they do not come, to follow entirely the Marquis' instructions in this particular.

Since Monday last, when the deputies of the Signory, as before stated, called, the ambassadors have not heard from them, and, in their opinion, the ardour for negotiation which they showed at first has much cooled since. Whether this proceeds from their having heard of the Marquis' visit to Milan, and their waiting to know what comes of it, imagining that the Duke may be thereby placed in a more critical position (*terminos mas apretados*) than they thought at first, or from some other motive, the ambassadors cannot positively say, but the fact is that the Signory does not show the same inclination to negotiate as they did at first. Have been told that the Pope is doing all he can to prevent these people from coming to an arrangement, but they must add that their information on this score is not authentic enough to be relied upon.—Closed on the 4th of November 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Ambassadors at Venice, 4th of November."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

5 Nov. **253.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 135.

By his letter of the 25th October last His Majesty must have been informed of his (Hurtado's) journey to Rome, at the Marquis' express desire, for the purpose of acquainting the Pope with the causes of Morono's arrest, and his [the Marquis'] reasons for taking certain military precautions in the Estate of Milan. He, moreover, was furnished with a letter of credence to the Duke of Sessa, with whose consent and approval the mission has been undertaken.

On his arrival at Rome on the 20th, the Duke [of Sessa] accompanied him to the Quirinal, where he presented his letters to the Pope, and, in compliance with his instructions, said that the Marquis [of Pescara] had been obliged, for the safety of the duchy of Milan and that of the Imperial army there encamped, to arrest the person of Hieronymo Morono; and how he hoped that His Holiness, knowing the Emperor's good feeling towards him, would approve of the measures taken for his own defence. The better to impress the Pope

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with the sincerity of his words, he (Hurtado) handed over to him the instructions of which he was the bearer, that he might thereby be convinced of the Emperor's benevolent intentions and of the wicked and blameable practices (*bellaquerias*) of those who were plotting against him [in Italy].

(*Cipher :*) The Pope was, at first, thrown into some confusion by this address, showing neither satisfaction nor discontent at what he heard, but carefully avoiding all allusions to the plots and intrigues of the Italian Princes, and as to whether he was or was not concerned in them. He began by uttering complaints against His Imperial Majesty for not having approved of and ratified the articles about Rezzo and Rubiera, and the stipulations about the Salt,* as he had done the rest of those contained in the league with the Duke [of Ferrara]; which circumstance, coupled with the Duke's intended journey to Spain, and the wanton waste of the Piazzentino by the Imperial troops quartered on the inhabitants as if they were enemies, had, he said, raised his suspicions beyond measure.

Both the Duke and he (Hurtado) made a suitable answer to the above accusations, and on that day there was no more conversation on the subject. But on the next day he (Hurtado) was sent for alone, and introduced by the Archbishop of Capua, when the Pope said to him: "Tell me the reason, for you must know it, why the Emperor will not consent to the proposed restitution of Rezzo." He (Lope Hurtado) answered: "I have had nothing to do with that affair, but I should think that His Imperial Majesty is only waiting for the arrival of the Legate [in Spain] to have the matter discussed and settled satisfactorily for both parties." Upon which the Pope began to recount the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted from the beginning, showing much dissatisfaction at the Viceroy's behaviour, who, he added, was the principal cause and origin of the Duke of Ferrara's journey to Spain, that he might there come to some agreement with the Emperor. He did not deny that—seeing every Prince in Italy attend exclusively to his own particular interests—he had occasionally listened to, and even taken part in, the negotiations of the confederates, lest by the Emperor entering into an agreement with the other parties and refusing to approve of his own articles for the league, he should remain in an isolated position, without anybody to speak to, and reduced to the condition of a wild beast.† But the fact was that he had not come to any decision, nor would he until he knew for certain that His Imperial Majesty preferred the Duke of Ferrara's friendship to his own.

* "De no haber V. Mag. aprovado lo de Rezo, y la Sal como los otros capitulos de la liga que el Duque hizo."

† "Su Beatitud quedaba como una bestia."

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He (Hurtado) replied to the best of his ability, saying that the Emperor's good intentions were sufficiently tested by the instructions which he and his colleague, the Duke, had received, and that his past behaviour to Italy, and to His Holiness in particular, was quite enough to do away with all causes for mistrust or suspicion.

The Pope then said that the Milanese business could not fail to raise the suspicions of every Italian Prince, for (said he) if the Emperor now takes possession of that estate, everyone will think that he is about to seize what belongs to others.

At this stage of the conference the ensuing dialogue took place between the ambassador and His Holiness, which, for the Emperor's information, he (Hurtado) sets down as correctly as his memory will allow him :—

(*Hurtado.*)—"If the Duke [of Milan] has been ungrateful to the Emperor, how can he possibly be trusted?"

(*The Pope.*)—"I do not think the Duke capable of the crimes imputed to him. It might be that, before the arrival of the investiture, he let fall some expression or listened to some proposal; but if Morono has confessed his own guilt, why is the Duke to be responsible?"

(*Hurtado.*)—"If the Duke be innocent, he may be sure that no proceedings will be instituted against him, for had the Emperor wanted his estate, he might have had it long ago."

(*Pope.*)—"Should His Imperial Majesty dispossess the present Duke to give his estate to another, I think the Italians will not make a stir; but if the estate be retained by the Emperor, I cannot say what things may cometo, for certainly the Venetians will never be satisfied on that score."

(*Hurtado.*)—"It is for Your Holiness to consider what, steps may be taken. The Emperor is ready to take any just measures if recommended by Your Holiness."

(*Pope.*)—"Several might be pointed out."

(*Hurtado.*)—"If Your Holiness state what those measures are, or otherwise suggest a plan that may satisfy all parties, I promise to go to the Marquis and communicate it to him and write to the Emperor besides."

(*Pope.*)—"Willingly; but in the meanwhile I am about to send Paulo di Rezzo to the Marquis."

(The Marquis will no doubt inform His Imperial Majesty of what the said Paulo brought here [to Milan], when he came, and of the Pope's answer.)

(*Pope.*)—"I have letters from the Legate, of the 2d of October. He informs me of the grand reception whichthe Emperor gave him, and how he was in hopes of advancing in his business. But neither His Imperial Majesty nor the Chancellor (Gattinara) has said a word to me about this Italian affair, which omission naturally makes me suspect that there is something wrong."

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(*Hurtado.*)—"Perhaps His Imperial Majesty did not like bringing on the subject at the very first interview, intending to discuss it on another occasion. But even if His Majesty was silent, Your Holiness ought not to wonder at it, for he knows what Your Holiness has done to his detriment,* sending for Alberto [di Carpi] after he had been expelled from the dominions of the Church at the Emperor's express request; refusing to grant the Cruzade promised a thousand years ago; indefinitely proroguing the creation of Cardinals, so often and so long ago claimed by His Imperial Majesty, and successively announced for the four *temporas* of last year."

(*Pope.*)—"With regard to Alberto [di Carpi], I only wish that, instead of only one gentleman so recalled to my estates, there were four Kings. The Emperor might then perhaps pay a little more attention to my affairs. The Cruzade shall be granted in time, to the Emperor's satisfaction. The creation was postponed because most of the Cardinals were absent from Rome, and also because six was not a sufficient number, as I intended my own nephew to be one of them.† What do you think the Emperor will do?"

(*Hurtado.*)—"I cannot say for certain. I imagine that if his friends do not come to an agreement with him, he will be obliged to look out for his enemies, which would be a serious injury to Italy."

(*Pope.*)—"What remedy then?"

(*Hurtado.*)—"None whatever, except Your Holiness and the Venetians send forthwith ambassadors to His Imperial Majesty, with powers sufficient to explain the past and treat for the future; and, in case of the Venetians refusing, for Your Holiness to send alone, for, whenever applied to, the Emperor will be found a loving and dutiful son of the Church. Let not Your Holiness place faith in wicked people, but rely entirely on His Imperial Majesty, whose friendship and alliance will always bring peace to the Vicar of Christ and maintain the supremacy of the Church."

Many other similar things did the Pope tell him (Hurtado) on this occasion, which would take too long to relate. He promised, however, to reconsider the Milan business and let him have an answer. Accordingly, two days after this, the Duke and he (Hurtado) again called at the Palace, when, after conversing with the former for a good while, the Pope beckoned him (Hurtado) to approach, which he did, and the Duke went away. After a long preamble on the affairs of Italy, His Holiness proceeded to say: "The Emperor intends to carry out his views in Italy, either by sheer force or by

* "Pero aunque se recatasse S. Mag. Vuestra Beatitud no se maraville segun lo que ha tractado Vuestra Sanctidad en su perjuicio."

† "Porque los Cardenales estaban fuera de Roma, y con seis no los quise hacer, porque quiero hazer á mi sobrino."

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fair measures. If by force, there can be no doubt that his power being so great, he will have no difficulty in depriving the Church of her own; and as priest I shall not be ashamed of losing it.* Venice he might also conquer, though the Venetians are strong and would not be easily subdued; besides which, if pressed very hard, they might call the Turk to their aid. If these reasons are not sufficient to deter the Emperor from his enterprise, there is, besides, the immense cost of maintaining the Imperial army against the will of Italy. Should the funds for its support come to fail, every Italian Prince would rise in arms, and, seizing the opportunity, strive to recover his own, which would keep the whole of Christendom in trouble and confusion, and perhaps be the cause of its destruction at the hands of the Infidel.

"If by fair means" (the Pope continued) "there is but one path to be followed, namely, to settle at once the Milanese question. If the Duke be guiltless, and His Imperial Majesty require greater securities for the future, the governors of fortified towns and commanders of troops might be made to take the oath of allegiance, and promise obedience to the Emperor in the event of the Duke failing in his duty. The persons appointed to such offices might be such as His Imperial Majesty could rely upon, and he might, besides, give him a wife of his own choosing. If the Duke be guilty, let the Emperor take the estate away from him and give it to another Prince, provided it be not to the Infante (Archduke)."

(*Hurtado.*)—"Who could that be?"

(*Pope.*)—"The Emperor might appoint the Duke of Bourbon, and have him married to Madame d'Alençon."

(*Hurtado.*)—"That I should think Your Holiness would never advise or recommend, from fear of the Duke's successors not being exactly of his mode of thinking."†

(*Pope.*)—"Let the Emperor appoint whom he pleases, because, that question once disposed of, all others may easily be arranged. Without that preliminary step nothing can be undertaken, for without it the Venetians will never be satisfied, nor trust His Imperial Majesty, nor will they come to any arrangement whatever, even if no money is exacted from them. Indeed, were the Emperor to agree to their offer of the 80,000 ducats, instead of the much larger sum demanded of them, my impression is that they would reject all overtures."

(*Hurtado.*)—"There can be no doubt that, what with Your Holiness' help and that of the English, the Venetians are very proud now-a-days."

(*Pope.*)—"Not with mine, because had His Imperial Majesty done what was stipulated, they would have had no object in coming and speaking to me. Englishmen are far off,

* "Que si era por fuerza con su grandeza podria quitar á la Iglesia lo suyo, que á un clerigo no se le enverguenza por ello."

† "Esso no lo aconsejaria Vuestra Beatitud porque los succesores no serian quizá como agora es Mosiur de Borbon."

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and besides it has been seen how they manage their own affairs,* much more those of other people."

After this the Pope added: "The Cardinal (Wolsey) must have done this out of envy, for the Emperor's greatness and importance grew so rapidly that no notice was taken of himself or of England."†

Having then asked him whether it was true that the Auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci) and Chevalier Casal were coming [to Italy], bringing the articles of the league to be signed by him and the Venetians, the Pope answered that it was quite true that the ambassadors were coming for that purpose; but as far as he was concerned, he was not prepared to accept or sign until he knew the Emperor's views and intentions towards him. This he would soon be able to ascertain, for, immediately on the return of Paulo Rezzo (from Milan) he intended to send a fit person to His Imperial Majesty. It was his earnest wish (he added) that the person he was about to send should arrive in time to make his good intentions known to His Imperial Majesty. He had advised the Venetians to do the same. God Almighty knew that his purpose was to be closely united to the Emperor in all things.

Many more fine words of the same kind did the Pope say, and concluded with the following: "That the Imperial ambassadors may judge whether my wish ever was to embroil the Emperor with the King of England, I will tell them one thing in confidence: I take my most solemn oath to you that the dispensation and relaxation of vows which I sent to the Emperor, that he might accomplish his Portuguese marriage, was kept a secret from all parties except the Emperor, and that not a word, good or bad, was uttered on the subject."

On this last point the Pope laid much stress. He now sends a messenger to the Marquis of Pescara, begging he will make friendly representations to His Imperial Majesty respecting all these things. Has also requested him (Hurtado) to do the same, and acquaint the Emperor with his goodwill and intentions.

Having further inquired of His Holiness whether it was true, as reported, that he was sorry to hear of the Emperor's intended journey to Italy, he answered: "If the Emperor comes here, as he ought to come, nothing can give me greater satisfaction, especially if he takes, in these affairs, the course I have just pointed out. His Imperial Majesty and I may then come to an understanding about these German differences, which, with one single word from him, can be easily settled when he

* "Yo no, que si S. Mag. hubiera hecho lo que se assentó excusada tenian mi habla. Ingleses caen lexos, y ya se ha visto lo que hazen en sus cosas propias quanto mas en las agenas."

† "Estas cosas debe de haber hecho el Cardenal de envidia que la grandeza del Emperador subia tanto que dél no habia memoria ni de Inglaterra."

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comes among us, and then we may think about waging war on the Infidel."

The above, besides many other fair-seeming replies and very fine words, is the substance of what passed between His Holiness and him (Hurtado). His Holiness showed great jealousy at the Duke [of Ferrara's] intended journey to Spain, as well as resentment against the Viceroy for having, as he says, persuaded him to undertake it, for in his (the Pope's) opinion the departure of the Duke [for Spain] and the Emperor's refusal to grant his request about Rezzo and Rubbiera were entirely owing to the Viceroy's suggestions.

In answer to which he (Hurtado) replied: "Your Holiness must not imagine that the Duke of Ferrara can ever be the cause of His Imperial Majesty doing anything to the Pope's detriment. Besides the despatch that came after the Viceroy's arrival [in Spain] was entirely drawn up by his advice, and therefore that was enough to free him (the Viceroy) of all charges in that respect.*

The Archbishop of Capua, on the other hand, maintains that it is the Reggio affair, the article about the Salt, the fact of the Imperial army being quartered on the Pope's lands, the riots at Sienna, certain Royal warrants (*pramaticas*) issued in Spain and the present doings at Naples concerning the filling-up of ecclesiastical endowments, that have raised the Pope's suspicions, and been the cause of badly-intentioned people making mischief. In his (the Archbishop's) opinion, His Imperial Majesty ought to make some settlement, or suspend the whole, so as to make it appear that there is no real ill-will against the Pope, as he is daily told there is, and thus remove all causes for suspicion. Respecting Reggio (he says), some arrangement might be made with the Duke of Ferrara, for him to give it up in exchange for some of the territory which Venetians withhold from him unjustly. This, he added, might turn out a very profitable arrangement, because if His Imperial Majesty is to have them (the Venetians) punished some day or other for their misdeeds, it cannot well be effected without a proportionate sea force, and there is no place so fit as Ferrarara to collect a fleet. His Majesty once agreed with the Pope with regard to Reggio that if the Duke received as compensation the land which the Venetians now retain, and which might easily be claimed from them on account of the League, the Duke would be under the obligation of assisting the Emperor against them.

On no consideration ought His Imperial Majesty to break with the Pope if the two facts which he (the Archbishop) represented whilst at the Imperial court† be attended to. As far as he is concerned, he (the Archbishop) does all he can for

* "Y que el despacho que V. Mag. habia enviado, despues de llegado el Visorey, habia sido con su parcerr y esto le salvaba."

† The Archbishop of Capua had resided some time in Spain as Papal Nuncio.

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the Emperor's interests ; but as he is alone, he cannot do much good. Has frequently remonstrated with the Pope, who, in consequence, has often made him say or write to His Imperial Majesty one thing, whilst, at the same time, and through another channel, he was saying or doing the very reverse. This is not the Datary's fault, but that of His Holiness, who is the cause of it all, by allowing two people with different inclinations and tastes to serve him at the same time, which, being highly detrimental to his interests, he (the Pope) ought by no means to tolerate.

The truth is that, as the Archbishop of Capua says, there are in the Pope's councils two opposite parties, and that the one on His Majesty's side is the weaker of the two, because the Datary represents the Pope, and Alberto [di Carpi] represents at once the Datary and the Pope, and both are unfriendly to the Emperor. It is therefore imperative, if an agreement is to be made at all, to have these two individuals removed from the Pope's councils, for otherwise, before the ink is dry and the treaty signed, they are sure to devise some means to break through it and do His Imperial Majesty harm. This he (Hurtado) finds to be the general opinion [at Rome] as to what the said parties are likely to do in the case of His Majesty coming to an agreement, for the Pope has no power whatever over them, and is so much in their hands that things must necessarily come to a bad end unless the said Datary and Alberto di Carpi be stopped in their course. The Archbishop himself is of this way of thinking, and owns that he has no influence whatever over them. Micer Agostin Folleta (Foglieta), as well as several of the Emperor's friends to whom he (Hurtado) has spoken on the subject, are all of the same opinion and approve of his suggestions, declaring that the only remedy for the impending evil lies in His Imperial Majesty's ascendancy, and that since words will do no good, another course must needs be followed.

Micer Agostin has not called at the Palace for four months, and declares he will not see the Pope until he has dismissed from his presence those who bear him so much ill-will. Both he and the Archbishop are very determined ; they are generally considered friendly to the Imperial cause, and His Majesty may regard them as such.

The Marquis of Pescara gave him (Hurtado) another private letter for His Holiness, written entirely in his own hand. He (Hurtado) was to give it to the Pope after his first conference, and insist upon its contents remaining a secret between the two. Before closing the letter the Marquis had it read to Antonio de Leyva, to the Abbot de Najera, and to him (Hurtado). It says, in substance, that His Holiness is to forgive him if his honour and reputation prevent him on this occasion from obeying his commands, but that in any other matter, should the opportunity occur, he will use such favourable influence with His Imperial

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Majesty that His Holiness may at once learn what a good servant of the Church he (the Marquis) is. This is intended to make the Pope understand that the Marquis will never reveal to His Imperial Majesty the whole of what has passed between them, and wishes it to remain a secret. He (Hurtado), however, has reasons to believe that the affair has already been bruited in Spain, and that the Pope knows of it, for when the Legate's letter of the 2d of October last arrived, the Pope evidently knew nothing about it, whereas by those of the 6th, which the last express brought from Naples, he must have received information from Court; for when the Duke of Sessa, after putting the said letters of the 6th into the Pope's hands and conferring with him, came back to his palace, he (Hurtado) happened to mention to him certain reports [from Milan], and, among others, that which blamed him for knowing nothing about these Italian intrigues, upon which he (the Duke) replied: "How am I to know when the actors are of such a quality? Write to the Marquis of Pescara, and tell him that since he knows who the parties concerned are, he must not wonder at my not understanding the allusion."*

Cannot help relating another conversation, which proves to him (Hurtado) that the Pope is aware of the fact. Talking the other day with Micer Agostino Folleta (Foglieta), he heard him exclaim: "Look ye, and what madness! They wanted to make a traitor of Pescara, and allured him with the crown of Naples!" Has mentioned this, because he deems it very important that such matters touching the Imperial service should be kept secret. People here are exceedingly prudent and reserved, and things might happen which it would be very dangerous to keep from the Emperor† or his ministers.

His Imperial Majesty has, no doubt, ere this been informed of Cardinal Colonna's retirement from Rome. He neither chooses nor dares to return, at which the Pope is greatly annoyed. As the Marquis [of Pescara] wrote both to him and to Ascanio, in Hurtado's credence, they, immediately upon his arrival at Rome, begged him to pay them a visit, for which purpose the Cardinal was to come up as far as Marino to meet him. Hurtado promised to call the next day. No sooner did the Pope hear of it than the Archbishop [of Capua], at his desire, sent for him and said: "His Holiness knows you are going to visit Cardinal Colonna; he wonders much what you

* "Esto pienso por lo que me dixo el Duque de Sessa despues que vinieron [las cartas] y habló al Papa. Diciendole [yo] que aca le culpaban de que no sabia nada de los tractos que habia, dixome: 'Como lo habia de saber andando las platicas entre quien andaban? Decidlo al Marques y pues su Señoria sabe quienes son, no se maraville si yo no lo entiendo.'"

† "Esto digo porque conviene que V. Mag. mande que haya grande recato en que no se sepa acá lo que V. Mag. viere que no conviene á sa servicio, porque todos estan muy recatados y podria ofrecerse cosa que dañasse mucho no osar decilla." The passage is somewhat obscure, but Pescara, Sessa and the Pope are evidently alluded to.

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have to say to him; his suspicions are aroused." The ambassador's answer was: "It is true the Marquis gave me a letter of credence for him. I am to acquaint him and his brother [Ascanio] with Morono's arrest, and tell him the reasons the Marquis has had for this measure, for people attached, as they are, to the Imperial service should be dealt with befittingly. But if His Holiness objects, I shall not visit him, lest His Holiness should think that the Emperor's ministers mix themselves up with his private concerns." Upon which the Archbishop told him (Hurtado) that he might go, and he accordingly went and visited the Cardinal at the place where he was then residing. Found him in high glee at what the Marquis had done, and not only he but Ascanio and all the Emperor's servants in that locality approved highly of the Marquis' measures, saying it was the only way of His Imperial Majesty becoming in time supreme lord of Italy. The Cardinal further said to him (Hurtado) that he had left Rome because he knew what the Pope was about, and as he could not witness such things and be unfaithful to His Imperial Majesty, he had joined his brother Ascanio. They would call together their kinsmen and relatives, and obey the Marquis' orders as the Emperor's Lieutenant and Captain-General in Italy. His brother Ascanio made the same professions, adding that they were about to procure 50,000 ducats, wherewith to raise troops if necessary, and be ready to enter Rome when required. They and their relatives and friends would then reside in the city and serve the Emperor's cause, in spite of all opposition. But until things came to an issue, or orders arrived from Spain, he (the Cardinal) had decided to keep away and not return to Rome. Both he and Ascanio begged him (Hurtado) to write to the Emperor to appoint there, at Rome, a trusty person to guide them in their conduct, for these they said) were not times to leave things as they were.* Vespasiano [Colonna] had refused to attend the meeting, but they assured him (Hurtado) that he would, when required, follow their steps in every particular. His Imperial Majesty should bear in mind these offers of service from the Colonna party, because if no agreement is made with the Pope, it will be advisable to favour the Cardinal and his party.

As Morono's arrest and the military precautions taken in the estate [of Milan] have been the cause of so much wonder and surprise among these people—those who are unfriendly to the Empire saying that he, with one hand, had given the Duke the investiture, and, with the other, taken the estate from him—it would be advisable to write to the College of

* "El y Ascanio me dixeron que escribiese a V. Mag. que pusiesse persona alli que los dixesse lo que habian de hacer, y aun de quien se fiassen, que agora no era tiempo para estar lo de alli como V. Mag. lo tenia."

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Cardinals, and especially to those who are the Emperor's good servants, and to all other persons to whom it may seem fit, informing them in the most suitable terms of the plots that are on foot.* Of what has been done hitherto some are glad, others are sad and fearful, especially those who have taken part in these intrigues. Which last circumstance and what he has heard at Rome make him (Hurtado) think that no reliance is to be placed in these people respecting His Majesty's intentions of taking possession of the Duchy or visiting Italy, because of past favours they have no recollection whatever, but, on the contrary, imagine that His Imperial Majesty is in their debt.

As to the Pope's ministers, he (Hurtado) has already stated his opinion of them. Let the Emperor look to his power and supremacy [in Italy] and to the means of maintaining them, that God may preserve them from what these people would have them come to. The remedy, in the opinion of all, lies in the Emperor making his peace with France, taking the duchy of Milan for himself—which is what they most fear, and would be equivalent to bridling them for ever—and wresting from Holy Mother Church both Parma and Piacenza. Hears that the Pope, fearing a determination of this sort, has lately given orders to repair the fortifications of the former city. Has seen the works there with his own eyes, and been told, besides, that the Pope had given orders for a fit garrison to be placed in both those cities.

The Legate† is considered by the Archbishop [of Capua] and by Micer Agostin [Foglieta], to be a good servant of His Imperial Majesty. The Nuncio, likewise, is held in the same light, and that is, perhaps, the reason of his not receiving so much attention as others at this court.‡ Micer Agostino [Foglieta] told him (Hurtado) the other day that the Archbishop [of Capua] had lately conceived certain suspicions about him (Cardinal Salviati), owing to the circumstance of his having sent to his father, Jacopo de Salviatis, a copy of his letter to the Pope of the 6th, with two paragraphs in cipher more than were in the original. Jacopo Salviatis and all the rest are very glad to hear of the favours the Emperor has bestowed on his son. He declares he is determined to do service; few, however, believe in his protestations.

Fifteen captains of the Switzers have visited Rome of late; some say to claim from His Holiness certain arrears of stipend due to them since the days of Pope Leo [X.]; others that their visit has another and a different object. Time will show the real truth. Met, at Rome, the Warder (*alcayde*) of Gaeta, who was returning home. He has, it appears, made an arrangement with the Duke of Sessa. The latter is to give him, in

* "Conforme á la manera que V. Mag. lo querra tomar."
† Cardinal Salviati.
‡ "Y a la causa acá otro es mejor tratado."

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exchange for his wardership (*alcaydia*), 800 ducats in ecclesiastical benefices, provided His Imperial Majesty approves of the exchange, and Alarcon does not want that office for himself. On those terms the warder is willing to let the Duke have it. Under the present circumstances it would seem as if Gaeta were not safe with so slight a garrison and without a governor. His Imperial Majesty should mention this to the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy], now in Spain, that means for the defence of the castle may be provided, at least during the present unsettled state of affairs in Italy.

Has been told by the Archbishop [of Capua] that the Venetians are now treating with the Turk in the event of a rupture with His Imperial Majesty. The Turk is to help them with money in case of war [in Italy], and the Venetians, on the other hand, engage to deliver to the Turk Napoli di Romania whenever they may choose to come down with a fleet upon the island of Sicily. On this account, and as the Venetians are powerful at sea, and generally very dangerous people in all Italian affairs, thinks it advisable—unless some agreement be previously made—to strengthen the Imperial fleet, as there can be no doubt that these people (*estos*) have their eye on that Island.

Has tried to ascertain what amount of money the Pope has at his disposal. Has been told by some that he has 150,000 ducats. Just now, by creating Cardinals,—which he says he does to please His Imperial Majesty,—he will increase that sum by 50,000 more, for the Cardinals are to be seven in number, and each of them will give more or less money. Of course none will be friendly to the Imperial cause, for the Pope does not so much look to the present and to the means of procuring money, as he does to the future and to the succession to the Pontificate, so that the election may turn out unfavourably for the Empire. Such, at least, is Micer Agostin Foglieta's opinion.

These people have shown to the Duke [of Sessa] the letter which His Imperial Majesty wrote to them, desiring that no Cardinal's hat should be conferred upon any vassal of the Imperial crown unless His Majesty expressly applied for it. The Duke is offended at this mandate,* and complains (*se quexa*) of people accusing him of being the cause of the present Italian league. He (Hurtado) has been told that the Duke has applied for congé, that he may go to Spain and explain his conduct. His Imperial Majesty would lose nothing by granting his request, and the Duke himself might gain much in the estimation of all the Emperor's servants, who are by no means satisfied with him. He (Hurtado) has no complaint to make of him; he has treated him very well, yet he feels it his duty to state what he considers right for the Imperial service.

* The Emperor's order was personal against the Duke, whose application for a Cardinal's hat at this time had been encouraged by the Pope.

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The Marquis of Pescara and the rest of the Imperial ministers at Milan must have informed the Emperor of the state of affairs [in Italy]; he therefore need not dwell any longer upon this subject. One thing, however, he must not omit to say, namely, that the delay in answering their former despatches and sending suitable orders to the Marquis has already been very inconvenient, and may ultimately prove highly detrimental to the Imperial cause. It has already had the effect of aggravating the Marquis's physical sufferings, for, not hearing from home, and not knowing how to act in the present emergency, he was actually in great despair. He is now in better health.

Was told by the Cardinal (Colonna), the other day, that, owing to a false investigation (*informacion*) made in Sicily, the Datary would soon be raised to the rank of Cardinal. His opinion is that His Imperial Majesty should order the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) to ascertain how the said investigation had been conducted, and to have a new and true one made, to be forwarded to Rome and exhibited in the College whenever the appointment of Cardinals is announced, so as to introduce a protest against the Datary's nomination. Campeggio, Lavalle, and Egidio (Cardinal of San Matheo) complain (*estan quexosos*) because they say His Imperial Majesty did not confer any favours on them when the opportunity offered itself. His Majesty would do well to bear them in mind, for our influence in the College is daily decreasing.—Milan, 5 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Lope Hurtado. 5 of Nov."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 11.

6 Nov. **254.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez to the Marquis of Pescara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 147–50.

Received, yesterday, his letter of the 2d inst., though too late to call on the Signory. Prothonotary Caracciolo being still unwell and unable to quit his room, he (Sanchez) called next day at the College, and addressed them as follows:—

The rumour was afloat that either the Duke of Milan or some other power in Italy was trying to persuade them to take possession of Cremona and its castle. And although the Marquis of Pescara did not, for many reasons, give credit to the report, yet he considered it his duty to inform them, as the Emperor's friends, of anything that was said against

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their reputation. For certainly, were the report true, not only would it prove a contradiction to the many fine words they had said to us, and to the messages lately sent through their deputies, but it would be equivalent to taking up arms and declaring war against the Emperor, which would be contrary to their avowed desire of peace, especially as the matter did not concern them.

Their answer, after showing great surprise, was, of course, to deny, under all manner of oaths and protestations, their having ever received, either from the Duke of Milan or from any other person, proposals to that effect, much less having thought about it themselves. It was true that at other times offers had been made to the Signory, which might have been listened to and accepted, but they had refused, because their intention had never been to make accessions to their territory, but merely to keep their own. They professed the greatest respect for His Imperial Majesty, with whom they wished to live in peace and union, since their only desire was the tranquillity of the World and the welfare of Christianity, for which they were making daily prayers to the Almighty.

With regard to Milan, they had always been of opinion that the best thing for the Emperor to do, if he wished for the peace of the World, was to establish and confirm (*establecer y firmar*) the Duke in his estate. They could not, however, help remarking that as the reports made to the Emperor about them were false from beginning to end, similar calumnies might have been circulated about the Duke by some one, who, in order to excuse himself, was trying to cast all the blame upon him. They trusted in the Marquis' prudence and wisdom as a statesman to enable him to distinguish falsehood from truth.

Replied that their answer was in consonance with what your Lordship and ourselves thought about them. We had no doubt the Signory had rejected the offers made to them on this occasion. As to the reports circulated about them, (Sanchez) again declared that your Lordship did not believe in them. The accusations against the Duke might equally prove to be false, but still they had so good a foundation that the Emperor's ministers in Italy could not help taking notice of them. No one would have acted differently than your Lordship had done, and everything was meant for the best, as I and my colleague (Caracciolo) had told them on a previous occasion.

Concerning universal peace, I told them that whoever was not absolutely blinded by passion could easily perceive that His Imperial Majesty's actions, before as well as after the victory of Pavia, had been constantly directed to that end. "Would to God, "I added," that other parties had been as sincere in their wishes for peace as the Emperor has been." This they did not deny ; on the contrary, they owned to me that

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His Imperial Majesty might, after his victory, have done many things, &c., which he did not do.

The above is the substance of my conversation with the Signory, and the answer they made to my applications. I did not consider it prudent to ask them on what terms they intended to live with the Imperial army.* If your Lordship still wishes it, I will make the inquiry, but they are sure to answer, in general terms, about their goodwill and desire for peace, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Considering that they tell us nothing about our pending negotiation, and that after the visit of their deputies, eight days ago, we have received no intimation on the subject, as though such negotiations did not exist; that they have had since two *pregas*, one of which has lasted until five o'clock in the afternoon, we have reason to believe that since they are not for us they are against us. We cannot exactly say how matters stand, but our impression is that they are plotting something unfavourable to the Imperial cause. Perhaps they are trying to join the league proposed by the English King, for they have had letters from Rome, stating that the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) and Cavalier Casal, ambassadors of the King of England, had arrived at that city on the 31st of October last. We are the more inclined to suspect them at the present moment because one of their number who used to furnish us with occasional information now keeps away and avoids all intercourse, and because they are making *pregas* almost daily, which is their habit whenever they are in difficulties, or are called upon to deliberate on some arduous point; besides which, it is evident that they are neither satisfied nor tranquil just now. Whatever intelligence we may henceforth get on this subject, we shall not fail to communicate to your Lordship.

(*Common writing:*) The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara tells us that he has received letters from his master, from Morlian, close to Sant Andrea, on the 18th of last month, purporting that he (the Duke) had returned from the Regent's court without accomplishing his object, notwithstanding that he had offered to send on a gentleman of his suite, and declared his intention, which was to go to Spain, if they would let him, and if not, to await there the return of a messenger he had sent to his ambassadors in Spain, that they might acquaint His Imperial Majesty with his case.

(*Cipher:*) The Signory have again a *pregha* to-day. We hear it is for the purpose of deliberating what they are to do respecting this league. An express is to leave for Rome, this very night, to acquaint the Pope with their answer. Everything leads us to believe that they are by no means well disposed towards His Imperial Majesty and will not take his side.

* "En como entienden vivir con esse fellicissimo exercito."

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(*Common writing:*) As soon as the Signory's decision is known we shall not fail to apprize your Lordship of it, but in the meantime we consider it our duty to say that the Signory have lately received letters from Rome purporting that the Pope was in great fear [of the Emperor], and wanted to levy troops, &c., having already imposed a tax of two tenths (*decimas*) upon all the offices and benefices at his court.—Our Lord, &c., Venice, 6th of November 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotary Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Lordship the Marquis of Pescara."

Spanish. Copy partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. $4\frac{1}{3}$.

10 Nov. **255.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 156.

Wrote on the 4th inst. through the Marquis of Pescara, and again by way of Genoa. On the 5th two letters came from the said Marquis, dated the 2d, from Binasco, of which a copy is enclosed, that His Imperial Majesty may be duly apprized of their contents.

The very same day that the Marquis' letters were received, the ambassadors called on the Signory, and held a conference with them, the substance of which will be better understood by the appended copy* of what they wrote to the Marquis in reply. No need for them, therefore, to expatiate further on this subject.

Had written so far when, after a lapse of 12 days, the deputies of this Signory called upon them (the ambassadors), bringing, as they said, an answer to their proposals. After a good deal of courteous phraseology and many protestations of their good feeling towards the Emperor, as well as of their wish for universal peace, they stated in substance: (*Cipher*) That they had faithfully delivered our message to the Signory, who had ever since been reflecting on each point, but that these last movements in the estate of Milan made them hesitate, because the Duke happening to be one of the chief contracting parties, and they being called upon to ratify and sign the last treaty, they wished first to know what view the Emperor took of that affair, and how it was proposed to get over the difficulty.

The ambassadors' answer was conceived in similar terms to their own as to His Imperial Majesty's goodwill towards them and constant wish for peace. On this last point (they added) there was no necessity to insist, since it had been apparent in all the Emperor's doings ever since the victory of Pavia. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza had been despatched to the Duke

* *See* above, No. 254, p. 445.

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of Milan with the announcement of the investiture, and also with full powers to treat. He had, besides, brought with him orders for a good number of the men-at-arms to withdraw at once into the kingdom [of Naples], and for the German and Italian infantry to be paid up and disbanded. All of which were evident signs of the Emperor's ardent love of peace and of his wishing to remove the Imperial arms from Italy." "May God forgive," they added, "those who are the cause of the present disturbance, for certainly what the Emperor is now doing is not without sufficient foundation."

As to the difficulty they saw in the Duke being one of the contracting parties in the former treaty, and their wishing to hear the ambassadors' advice thereupon, they were told that, after mature deliberation, an answer should be returned when the deputies came next, for, surely, since the Signory had been twelve days consulting together before they gave their answer, it was but just that they (the Imperial ambassadors) should also have time for consultation. "Indeed," said we to the deputies, "we have been waiting so long for an answer to our proposals that we thought the Signory intended to reject them altogether."

Upon which the deputies took their leave and went away. What the Imperial ambassadors intend to answer to-morrow or the next day is that when they called on the 30th of last month they were fully aware of the movements and stir of arms to which they allude, for Morono was arrested on the 15th, and they had since been fully informed of all the circumstances of the case. That whereas on that occasion they had expressed a wish to be made acquainted with certain particulars of the negotiation, and had inquired about them, without making the least allusion to that event or to the military precautions consequently adopted by the Marquis, it was but just that they should reply categorically to the proposals tendered by the Imperial ambassadors. When they had done so, any questions they wished to put should be answered, and they would be fully convinced of the Emperor's innate benevolence and justice which are manifest to all the world. This is, in substance, what the ambassadors intend to say when the deputies next come, but His Imperial Majesty will easily understand from the above summary of their conversation with the said deputies, that these people are at present in a bad path. It is much to be feared that they will ultimately join the enemy. Indeed, it is generally believed in this city that war is inevitable. Have been told, as a positive fact, that ammunition in large quantities, and artillery, besides 8,000 or even 12,000 pikes (*picas*), have been sent to Verona. Hear also that they are raising all the money they can, and have just now imposed a new tax on this city, besides the one of last year, which is calculated to yield a sum of . . . .*

* There is a blank in the original, and the sum is not stated.

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All these days the Signory has been making *preghe* and holding meetings, the last of which lasted until six hours of the night. Yesterday morning they sent an express to Rome, and in the evening the deputies came with the answer mentioned above. The ambassadors' belief is that no reliance is to be placed on the words of these people; that the present negotiation will not bear any fruit; and that they will soon be the declared enemies of the Empire, unless future events compel them to make a virtue of necessity. Under such supposition, it is for the Emperor to decide what is best for his service.

His Imperial Majesty has, no doubt, had advices from Rome. The Duke of Sessa writes, in date of the 4th inst., that the intrigues there were brisker than ever. Here at Venice they have not rested for many a day. It is therefore essential for the Emperor to decide quickly, and not keep his ministers in suspense as to the line of conduct to be followed, and allow the plans of the enemies to get to maturity.

(*Common writing:*) Must not forget to say that the ambassador* of the Duke of Milan residing at this Court [Venice] said, three days ago, to me (Alonso Sanchez) that this Signory had sent his master a message through one of their secretaries, reporting the whole of his (Sanchez') conversation with them about Cremona, and assuring him that they had flatly denied the accusation, and taken their solemn oath, as they really did at the time, that no such instigation had come to them on the Duke's part.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter whereby His Imperial Majesty will be duly informed of the invasion and consequent devastation of some of the Archduke's dominions by the Turk. (*Cipher:*) Are in great anxiety from fear that the Venetians have had a hand in it, for, certainly, unless they come to some sort of agreement—which they do not seem inclined to do—they are sure to do all the harm they can, and even bring the Turk to Sicily or Naples. For this reason it would be advisable to have the coasts of Apulia and those of Sicily well provisioned, and placed, as soon as possible, in a state of defence.—Venice, 10 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. From the Ambassadors, 10 of November."

Spanish, mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

* Francesco Taverna.

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10 Nov. **256.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 152.

Wrote on the 1st inst. separately, and also conjointly with his colleague (Alonso Sanchez), all that occurred up to that date. Matters have since come to such a plight that it is most needful to decide upon the course of politics to be pursued. (*Cipher :*) This Signory are so frightened and concerned at the late events in Milan, that, in his (Caracciolo's) opinion, all idea must be abandoned of their ever coming to a settlement, unless the Duke of Milan be included in the proposed treaty. This they openly proclaim, adding that were His Imperial Majesty to become master of that Duchy, as well as of Naples and Germany, there would be no security for the rest of the Italian estates, and they themselves would be reduced to the condition of vassals, and live in constant fear and apprehension. The rest of the Italian potentates are of the same opinion, as His Imperial Majesty has no doubt heard from his ambassadors and ministers at the various courts. As to the Venetians themselves, it is a well-known fact that they are secretly making preparations for war, under the impression that, with the assistance of their Italian neighbours and others who may join in their plans, they will be able to prevent the Emperor from seizing on Milan, that being the thing of all others which they most dread. He (Caracciolo) can hardly believe that the Venetians will ever dare to attempt anything single-handed; but he fears that they will bring down the Turk upon the Emperor's estates, and indeed this commencement made by the Sangiac of Bosnia against the Archduke (Ferdinand) has a very ugly aspect and seems to confirm his apprehensions.

In short, intrigue is hotter than ever. The Pope and the Venetians hate and fear two things above all, namely, the Emperor's arrival in Italy, and his supposed intention of seizing on the duchy of Milan. To prevent which they will do everything in their power, and if they can begin to-day, they certainly will not wait till to-morrow. It therefore behoves His Imperial Majesty to take such a decision in this matter as may utterly defeat the plans of his adversaries. Were it possible to sever this alliance between the Pope and the Venetians, great advantages might ensue. In his (Caracciolo's) opinion, the Pope could be more easily managed than the Venetians, if his own private affairs were attended to, his doings in the last war forgotten, and some demonstration made in favour of his own partisans; and if the Venetians once saw themselves alone, they would, no doubt, grant from fear that which no other consideration would ever induce them to accept.

The Emperor, with his usual prudence and foresight, will, no doubt, weigh these things in his mind, and take such a speedy resolution in the affair as may ensure the future destinies of Italy. If any time is lost, he (Caracciolo) holds it as certain that the arms of France, England, and the rest

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of Italy—perhaps, too, those of the Turk—will be turned against the Empire; Naples and Sicily placed in jeopardy, &c.—Venice, 10 November 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 10th Nov."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

11 Nov. **257.** ALFONSO D'ESTE [Duke of Ferrara] to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 161.

Is unable for the present to go to Spain and kiss the Emperor's hands, as his ambassadors at Court will not fail to represent. He (the Duke) takes this opportunity to offer himself as the most humble servant and vassal of the Empire. Begs to recommend his own suit at Court, and to be considered as one always ready to obey His Imperial Majesty's commands and prove his good intentions, till he can personally, and in the Emperor's presence, make similar protestations.—Sāgiā (San Gian) di Moriana, 11 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Alfonso da Este."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Alfonso d'Este, 11 Nov."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

12 Nov. **258.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 166.

His last letter was dated the 31st of October last. Has not written since, owing to the insecurity of the roads, for those of his despatches which he sends by way of Genoa remain in that port as long as God and man choose, whilst for those he forwards by a land route there is no certainty of their ever reaching their destination. This notwithstanding, he will never fail in his duty, which consists in writing home and reporting on the state of affairs; though he must say that his letters generally remain unanswered, the last he has received from Court bearing date of the 23d Aug.

The Pope, as stated in his last letter of the 31st of October, waiting for the return of his chamberlain,* whom he had sent to the Marquis [de Pescara] concerning Morono's arrest. The chamberlain returned, and has since been sent to Spain on a similar mission with despatches for the Legate. (*Cipher:*) He (Sessa) believes the Pope to be very much frightened at the idea of the Emperor seizing on the duchy of Milan and keeping it for himself. That is an idea to which he will

* Paolo di Rezzo.

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never be reconciled, and he makes no secret of it. He gives as an excuse for his meddling in the last intrigues that he has not been treated by His Imperial Majesty with that kindness and benevolence which he expected at his hands, and especially that his claims against the Duke of Ferrara are still unsettled. He, moreover, declares that even if he were to get full satisfaction on this point, he could not be persuaded to accept the terms offered to him unless he was previously assured that the Emperor had no idea of possessing himself of that estate. For, he says, openly and without reserve, if the Emperor has designs upon Milan it is equivalent to his wishing to become the sole ruler of Italy, and yet one of the conditions of his investiture of Naples is that he is to hold nothing in Lombardy.

He (Sessa) has made no attempt whatever to allay His Holiness' fears on this point. Not knowing the Emperor's intentions, and the matter being of such importance, he has preferred waiting for instructions from Court. Has, however, had ample opportunity to learn what the Pope's sentiments are. He said to him a few days ago: "If His Imperial Majesty, by seizing on the duchy of Milan, or giving it to his own brother, the Archduke, aims at becoming, by open force, the sole master of Italy, he shall certainly not have my consent: I will rather suffer martyrdom, like the rest of the Italian Princes, than give in. But if, on the contrary, the Emperor has no such design he will have me by his side, disposed to help and give him satisfaction." He (the Pope) has lately received intelligence that the Marquis of Pescara had demanded the castle of Cremona as security, and that on the Duke's refusal he had already begun to invest the place, as was done in the late war when in the power of the French, which intelligence has increased tenfold his fears and suspicions.

Since the arrival of the new English ambassadors* nothing has transpired about their commission and instructions. He (Sessa) has, however, heard from a reliable source that Cavalier Casale took to Lyons more than he was asked for; that the Cardinal's principal aim just now is to govern [matters in] France;† and that Madame the Regent wishes this object of the Cardinal to become generally known. He (Casale) is accompanied on his mission by one Lilio Groto (Livio Greto ?), an Italian, who once came to the Pope on a similar errand at the beginning of this present plot, which, as far as he (Sessa) can judge, is conducted, as usual, through Alberto di Carpi and his friends, and has lately thickened considerably, fear making these people intrigue more actively than ever.

About the doings of the Venetians, His Imperial Majesty has, no doubt, received through his ambassadors better and

* Casale and Ghinucci.

† "Y que todo el intento del Alboracense es hoy gobernar á Francia."

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more direct information than he himself can furnish. The Signory had appointed three senators to treat about the convention. He (Sessa) has been consulted as to whether the last treaty was to be confirmed or a new one made in its place, on the same grounds and conditions, only excluding from it the Duke of Milan, and guarding against the event of his guilt being fully proved, and his thereby deserving to be deprived of his estate. Has taken lawyer's opinion on the case; both Miçer Antonio de Benafra and Auditor Cassador are of opinion that whether the said treaty be confirmed or renewed, if the Duke is mentioned in any of its articles it will be understood that the Emperor forgives his guilt and takes no more notice of it. He (Sessa) thinks their doubts will not stop there, and that they are sure to take advice on other points as well, since the whole is a stratagem to ascertain whether the present Duke (Francesco Sforza) is to be considered safe in his estate or not. In fact, on this matter, they (the Venetians) entertain the same opinion as the Pope, and have no idea of yielding. On the contrary, in the four or five *preghe* held immediately after Morono's arrest they resolved to fortify their frontiers and increase their land and sea forces; and he (Sessa) has been advised that they are losing no time in making all manner of preparations for war. Has written to the Imperial ambassadors in that city,* informing them of this fact, and wondering how it can be that they have not discovered the secret of such armaments. It would appear that the Signory have lately got hold of a deed whereby His Imperial Majesty or his grandfather, of glorious memory, the Emperor Maximilian, granted to a certain Lord de Escalas (Scales) the signory of Padua, which has naturally caused great scandal among them, and increased their fears. Has been told by a person of great authority [at Rome] that soon after the battle [of Pavia] and the capture of the French King a man arrived [at Venice], sent by the Turk to inquire about the state of affairs in Europe, fearing lest, through the universal peace likely to ensue, the arms of the whole of Christendom should be turned against his master, and that the Signory had calmed the Turk's apprehensions, and promised him 500,000 ducats and the assistance of their fleet to land on the coast of Apulia or Sicily, in case the Emperor should act in Italy contrary to their views.

The above information he (Sessa) has from a person of quality, but it might be, after all, only a rumour put forward by way of a threat (*torcedor*). However this may be, there can be no doubt that both the Pope and the Venetians are determined not to come to an agreement with, or accept terms from, the Emperor without consulting each other first. They are closely united just now, and their couriers are daily going backwards and forwards. He (Sessa) considers it his

* Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez.

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duty to inform the Emperor of these facts, that he may take proper measures and stop the intrigues of the confederates. Late advices from France state that Madame d'Alençon was about to return, without having concluded anything, owing, they say, to new clauses having been added to the treaty of peace. Busbaca, the Pope's messenger, who came despatched by the Legate [in Spain], had been detained five days [at Lyons], then allowed to proceed on his journey, and at last, soon after his departure, stopped again and secretly arrested, as it is presumed, since, at the date of this letter, he has not yet made his appearance [in Rome]. If the letters he brought for the Pope have been seized there is very little doubt but that they will be sent to him through Alberto [di Carpi]. He (Sessa) and the rest of the Imperial agents and generals in Italy are also sure to lose theirs.

It is asserted that Madame [the Regent of France] is collecting large sums of money towards the ransom of the King [her son], or if that be not obtained, for the prosecution of the war. The advice they give her from hence (Rome), and from England also, is to invest the Dauphin with the same authority, regal state, &c. as his father, but without the title of King, and that she herself administer and govern the kingdom, and undertake the recovery of Milan. Great are the intrigues of the confederates in that direction, much greater since they fear that His Imperial Majesty will take the duchy of Milan for himself. Indeed, these Italian potentates are so frightened at the Emperor's power, that they will never cease plotting against him. Whilst he lavishes his treasures to maintain and keep so large a force in Italy, they amass money and increase their resources, to ensure, as they imagine, their own safety, and to thwart and impede the Emperor's political views. It is for His Imperial Majesty to decide soon which is the best course to follow, whether to secure them as friends, or to punish and humiliate them as enemies. Let not the Emperor be deceived by the Archbishop of Capua's hopeful promises, for, however good his intentions, he knows nothing about these intrigues. The confederates do not trust him, and work with the greatest secrecy, the whole affair passing through the hands of Alberto di Carpi, of the Datary, the Venetian ambassador (Marco Foscari) and Cavalier Casal, without the Archbishop having any cognizance of their doings, as happened in the affair of Morono, whose arrest was made before he knew anything of the plot and conspiracy at Milan.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Ferrara is still in Piedmont, owing to his having been refused the safe-conduct he applied for. The Pope, however, pretends that the whole affair is a stratagem and double-dealing of the Duke.

Things at Sienna are in the same state.

The see of Oviedo has been given to Don Francisco de Mendoza, to whom the briefs for the administration of Zamora

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have been duly forwarded.* The bulls for the bishopric of Cadiz, in favour of a nephew of the Archbishop of Cosenza,† have also been expedited. He is about to start for his diocese, and as he is a good servant of the Empire, he (Sessa) takes leave to commend him to the Emperor's attention.

In consequence of the Duke of Albany's threatened invasion of the kingdom of Naples, certain sums of money were then borrowed, out of which a portion still remain unpaid, such as 3,000 ducats lent by the Bishop of Salamanca, 1,000 by Cardinal Tortosa, and 1,000 more by Cardinal Vique (Vich), deceased. He (Sessa) is bound *in forma camaræ* to the payment of the above and other debts contracted for the Imperial service. The creditors have lately become very pressing, threatening immediate execution upon him (Sessa), upon the Bishop of Gerona, and Secretary Perez, who were joint securities for a portion of that loan.

The advocate, the abbreviator (*abreviador*), and the solicitor to His Imperial Majesty have not been paid their salaries at Naples for some time, owing to their not being included in the general balance. One of them, Micer Marchion Barbadasi, the Imperial advocate, has lately died, and his heirs claim the arrears due to him. He was a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, and, as such, recommends his suit, as well as that of the other two functionaries.

The Pope still insists on his last resolution about the Crusade. All Sessa's efforts to move him have been unavailing. The Montaragon business is being proceeded with, notwithstanding the Royal warrants adduced by Don Alonso de Aragon.—Rome, 12 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Sigismondo, the servant of Alberto di Carpi, who disappeared some time ago whilst journeying to France, has been found dead in Venetian territory. He was murdered on the road by some robbers, but his despatches have been brought here (to Rome), whereby the suspicion and rumour of their having fallen into the hands of the Emperor's ministers [in Italy], as was at first maliciously spread, falls to the ground.—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Duke of Sessa, 12th of November."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

* Don Francisco de Mendoza, Sessa's uncle, was the son of Don Diego Fernandez de Cordoba, second Count of Cabra. During the time that the Bishop of Zamora, Don Antonio de Acuña, was in prison, he was named administrator of that see.

† Probably the same Giovanni Ruffo, who, in 1515, went as ambassador from Pope Leo X. to King Ferdinand of Spain.

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13 Nov. **259.** The Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) to the Marquis of Pescara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 213.

It has come to the knowledge of the most Illustrious and Excellent Lord Francesco Sforza, Viscount and Duke of Milan, that the Illustrious and Excellent Marquis of Pescara has resolved so to proceed against his honour and reputation as to have him closely watched and besieged in his own castle of Milan. Owing to which, he (the Duke) takes this opportunity to protest against such an act of violence, and to remind the Marquis of the constant and inviolable faith with which he has always served the Empire, exposing his own person and that of his subjects and vassals whenever required, and fulfilling other acts of a faithful and devoted servant.

Begs also to remind the Marquis that on his application, and without his having exhibited the Imperial commission to that effect, the Duke granted whatever demands were made upon him, at once placing his estate in the hands of the Imperial generals. That having also been requested to give up the castle of Cremona and to offer competent securities for that of Milan—the only two fortresses remaining in his hands—he preferred the latter method, and engaged to give such security for both as might be required. All of which the Duke did without resistance, in order to show the sincerity of his professions as well as of his devotion to the Imperial service. Nor has the Duke omitted any exertions towards the acquitment of his own debt to the Emperor, having already paid the greater part of the 100,000 crowns named as the price of his investiture, and being well disposed to pay the remainder, when the occupation of his estate by the Imperial army and the appointment of new fiscal officers by the Marquis checked all his efforts.

Notwithstanding the above, and even whilst the Duke was making protest of his fidelity to the Emperor and of his determination to live and die as a true feudatory and vassal of His Imperial Majesty, he has experienced at the hands of the Marquis and of the other Imperial generals and ministers in Italy the treatment of which he now complains, declaring upon oath that he has not deviated, nor ever will deviate, from the path of duty and adherence to the Imperial cause, and that whatever may be the consequence of the rash measures adopted against him, he is in nowise responsible for them, and that he intends to defend himself as best he can against the oppression and violence of his persecutors, addressing, in the meantime, to the Emperor such a justification of his conduct that his present wrongs cannot fail to obtain immediate redress.

Should, however, the Imperial generals persist in their persecution, as well as in not revoking the late oppressive measures taken against his person and estate, he (the Duke) protests with all his might against their acts, and places himself from this moment under the protection of His Imperial

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Majesty, his supreme Lord and master, and the only arbiter in this affair, to whom he has humbly represented his wrongs. —Milan, 13 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Franciscus Sforcia, Vicecomes, Dux Mediolani."

Countersigned: "Riccius."

Addressed: "To the most Excellent Marquis of Pescara, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army in the Estate of Milan."

Indorsed: "Il Duca Francesco to Pescara, 13 Nov."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. $3\frac{3}{4}$.

13 Nov. **260.** The Duke of Sessa to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 176–8.

Was about to send the ordinary courier with the enclosed when the Imperial letter of the 28th October last came to hand. Congratulates the Emperor on his marriage, and hopes he will have a numerous succession.

Immediately on the receipt of such happy intelligence he called at the Palace, and delivered into the Pope's hands the letter addressed to him, calling his attention to the flaws which had been observed in the last brief. (*Cipher:*) The Pope at first was a little staggered by the announcement, things being here [at Rome] in a worse plight than ever they were. The Pope's fears and suspicions having naturally increased, owing to the old and recent practices, he felt it difficult to answer. He owned that the new brief of dispensation was not so full and detailed as the former one, since the Princess to whom the Emperor wished to be married was not named in it. He had done it on purpose, for fear of offending the King of England, with whom he was on good terms just now. It would not do for him to lose all his friends and allies now that the Emperor had withdrawn his confidence from him. Some expedient might be found for his Legate [in Spain] to receive the despatch beforehand, and not put it into the hands of the Emperor until it was known how His Imperial Majesty intended to behave towards him, and whether he was willing or not to grant his requests. He knew well that the first concession was defective, but it was owing merely to the above causes.

After a good deal of argumentation on either side, which lasted four hours, it was decided that the dispensation brief should be made out in the manner and form demanded by the ambassador, and that the brief itself should be sent [to Spain], enclosed in Sessa's despatch, for the Legate himself to place it in the Emperor's hands.

(*Common writing:*) Cardinal Sanctiquatro is of opinion that the brief should be expedited in this form. There are to be two briefs: one literally the same as the one His Imperial Majesty has by him, with the additional clause prepared [in Spain]; the other naming both the contracting parties, and

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the degrees of consanguinity, so that the Emperor may use either of them, according to circumstances, as one cannot proceed with too much caution [in such matters]. Copies of both go with the present courier, and the duplicate shall be sent to-morrow by way of Genoa.

(*Cipher:*) His Imperial Majesty must have seen by Sessa's letters the state of affairs [in Italy]. It is very urgent to come to a determination. For the last two days the confederates are plotting more warmly than ever. The Venetians urge the Pope to decide, assuring him that, if he does, the whole of Italy, with the exception of Genoa, will side with him. If the English pour water on the fire, it is not to extinguish it, but to increase its blaze. The Pope listens to their overtures, but, in the ambassador's opinion, will not decide until he hears from Spain. He was lately somewhat comforted by a paragraph in Chancellor [Gattinara's] letter, which he [Sessa] read to him. The Swiss captains have been paid their arrears from the time of Leo [the Tenth], a very considerable sum, and everything indicates that the Pope wishes to keep them contented.—Rome, 13 Nov. 1525.

P.S.—Encloses the brief applied for by the Bishop of Osma,* for the Emperor to gain the jubilee.

No news have yet been received of Busbaca, the courier, who, it is said, was arrested at the first postal station out of Lyons, whereat the Pope and others are greatly annoyed.—Date *ut supra.*

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, &c., our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Rome. From the Duke of Sessa, 13 Nov."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

13 Nov. **261.** JACOPO DE BANNISSIS to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 181.

His affection for the house of Austria, and particularly for the late Emperor Maximilian, to whom he owed many favours, make him so desirous of the prosperity and welfare of the Empire that if God only enabled him to contribute in any way towards its exaltation he should certainly consider himself the happiest of mortals. His love for the Emperor gives him courage to make the following statement, which he begs may be received as the sincere expression of his mind,

* Fr. Garcia de Loaysa, at this time Confessor of Charles and Councillor of State. He became Inquisitor General in 1545, and died on the 22d of April 1546.

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as well as of his ardent wishes for the Emperor's increase of power :—

Some time ago the Illustrious Marquis of Pescara, in compliance with orders received from Spain, had Hieronymo Morone arrested on the charge of plotting with the French and others against the Imperial service. The said Marquis, moreover, that he might the more effectually preserve the Imperial army against any attack, asked Francesco Sforza to give him possession of all the fortresses and castles in his estate, which the Duke did at once and without resistance, thereby proving his intention and wish to obey the Emperor's orders and live under his protection. True it is that the Duke did reserve for himself the castles of Milan and Cremona, but only to surrender them into the hands of the said Marquis whenever the Emperor's pleasure should be made known to him, as his ambassador at Court and all those who choose to speak the truth in this affair cannot fail to have declared.

His Majesty has no doubt been informed of the answers made by the Duke Francesco to each of the Marquis' interrogatories, a copy of which was duly forwarded to the Duke's orator at the Imperial court; which interrogatories seem to have been principally made with a view to obtain from the Duke the castles of Milan and Cremona—whereof he has still possession—if his complicity in the present intrigues could be legally proved. But Morone's confession and Sauli's letter, far from establishing the Duke's alleged guilt, prove, on the contrary, that he had nothing to do with the conspiracy of which he is accused. For how is it possible that a man confined to his bed for upwards of six months by a long and dangerous illness can have had leisure to attend to anything save the care of his own health, much less to business of this sort, at a time, too, when his death was daily expected? As a sincere and faithful servant of the Empire, the writer does not hesitate to say that the Duke Francesco, from his earliest youth, has always shown himself in public, as well as in private, the most obedient and devoted servant of His Imperial Majesty, having on all occasions sacrificed his person and property, as well as that of his subjects and vassals to the promotion of the Imperial interests. For, notwithstanding the brilliant offers made to him by King Francis and others at the time the French were besieging Pavia, it is well known to the Imperial generals and ministers in Italy that he (the Duke) never would listen to them, preferring to live as a pauper and without any estate rather than deviate from the path of fidelity. If the Duke, therefore, in the midst of such hardships as he was then reduced to, did still persevere in what he considered to be his duty, how can it be supposed that now that his enemy is disabled and almost completely ruined, to the great satisfaction and joy of all the Italian people, and that he himself has received at the Emperor's hands the investiture of his Duchy, he should have thought of joining a conspiracy against the Emperor?

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In his (the writer's) opinion, Morone's confession ought not to be relied upon, since it is quite clear that in order to exculpate himself he has thrown all the blame on his master. The Duke being in bad health might, perhaps, in order to avoid further importunities, have tacitly consented in part to the advice of his secretary, or have allowed some sort of answer to be made to the letters of Domenico Sauli; though, on the other hand, it appears from the enclosed copy of a letter which the said Morone wrote in his own hand to Cavalier Landriano, the Duke's agent in this city, and the original of which may be exhibited when required, that Domenico Sauli had, at the time, no commission whatever from the Duke at Rome. This is fully demonstrated by the answer which the Duke gave to the Marquis of Pescara when interrogated upon this particular point, and therefore his innocence cannot but be satisfactorily established.

Begs His Majesty to take into consideration the above sentiments, which are dictated solely by his zeal and devotion to the Imperial cause, and not to allow so faithful a vassal as the Duke to be subjected to the ignominious and undeserved penalty of having his estate taken from him. By so doing His Majesty will not only gain immortal glory and the reputation of a magnanimous Prince, but will no doubt reassure the minds of people now in suspense, and prepare them for the benefits of a universal and lasting peace.—Rome, 13 of Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Jacopo de Bannissis."*

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Jacobo de Banissi'o, 13th Nov."

Italian. Original. pp. 4¾.

13 Nov. **262.** Clement VII.'s Brief of Dispensation for the Emperor's Marriage.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 176.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Romanorum et Hispaniarum Regi Catholico in Imperatorem electo, etc.

Cum Sciamus Maiestatem tuam propter celsisimum gradum in quo a Deo es collocatus, propterque illustrissime familie tue amplitudinem quando uxorem ducere voluerit, cuius rei iam tempus addesse videtur, non multas tanto coniugio dignas inventuram, cumque ex eo ipso munere fieri possit ut illa quam tu delegeris tecum consanguinitate seu affinitate

* A person of this name was once a secretary to Emperor Maximilian, and several of his Latin letters to Margaret of Austria have been published by Le Glay, *Negociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche.* Paris, 1845. He seems to have been a native of Curzola, in Dalmatia, and born in 1466. He was subsequently appointed Cardinal of Bari. *See* above, pp. 150 and 161.

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coniuncta sit, quod Illustrissimum genus tuum latissime pateat et omnes fere principes aliqua cognatione complexum sit, ne forte hec res tam pium tam salutare Christianis omnibus consilium impediat, motu propio et ex certa sciencia ac de apostolice pietatis plenitudine, tecum ut quocumque consanguinitatis ac etiam affinitatis gradu, excepto tamen primo, matrimonium libere et licite contrahere possis, etiam si pluries sis in dictis gradibus, aut si illa cum qua contraxeris, coniunctus, seu etiam in unoquoque graduum pluries coniugaris, tenore presentium de spetialis dono gracie dispensamus. Non obstantibus quibusvis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, etc.—Datum Rome, die xiii. Novembris 1525. Anno 2°.

Contemporary copy in the hand of Secretary Perez. pp. 2.

13 Nov. **263.** The Pope's Second Brief.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 174.

Charissimo in Christo. filio nostro Carolo Romanorum et Hispaniarum Regi Catholico in Imperatorem electo, ac dilecte in Christo filie nobili mulieri Isabelle Charissimi Emmanuelis Portugalie et Algarbiorum Regis nate, etc.

Exponi nobis nuper fecistis per dilectum filium nobilem virum Ludovicum ducem suejanum (*Suessanum*) tuum, fili charissime Carole, Rex Romanorum et Hispaniarum in Imperatorem electus, apud nos et sedem apostolicam oratorem, quod vos pro conservandis inter vos vestrosque consanguineos et affines, presertim ex sanguine Regio descendentes, pacis et amicitie federibus, sicut et inter vos et predecessores etiam simili modo pro regnorum suorum conservatione servata fuerunt, desideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari. Sed quia secundo, ex eo quod duarum sororum filii estis, ac alias tertio et quarto ex eo quod cla[risi] mus Emanuel Portugalie et Algarbiorum Rex, tuus, in Christo filia Elisabella, genitor, et cla[risi] ma Elisabet Hispaniarum Regina tua, fili Carole, avia filii duarum sororum et sic secundo consanguinitatis, tuque in Christo filia Elisabella et charissima in Christo filia Johanna Hispaniarum Regina Catholica et Mater tua, fili Carole, tertio equali sicque, fili Carole et in Christo filia Joanna, tertio et quarto ut prefertur, ac etiam alio 3° et 4°, ex eo quod prefatus Emanuel Rex genitor tuus, in Christo filia Elisabella, et clarissime memorie Maximilianus Romanorum Rex in Imperatorem electus genitor clarissime memorie Philippi Hispaniarum Regis genitoris tui, fili Carole in 2° equali gradu erant.

Cum essent filii ex fratre et sorore, et prefatus Philippus Rex et tu, in Christo filia Elisabella, in tertio gradu equali sicque vos, fili Carole, et in Christo filia Elisabella, tertio etiam quarto equali, ut prefertur, ac etiam alio quarto consanguinitatis equali, ex eo quod quondam Ferdinandus infans, genitor prefati Emanuelis Regis, et clarissime memorie Ferdinandus Aragonum Rex avus tuus, fili Carole, secundo consanguinitatis,

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cum essent nati ex fratre et sorore. Insuper Rex ipse Emanuel et prefata Johanna regina genitrix tua, fili Carole, in tertio consanguinitatis gradibus respective erant coniuncti, ex quorum personis, vos fili Carole et in Christo filia Elisabella, in quarto consanguinitatis equali gradibus huiusmodi et forsan aliis provenientibus, de quibus notitiam non habetis, infra tamen secundum consanguinitatis gradum gradibus huiusmodi invicem estis coniuncti, vestrum in hac parte desiderium adimplere non potestis (dispensatione appostolica super hoc non obtenta).

Quare idem præfatus dux et orator pro parte vestra nobis humiliter supplicavit ut vobis super hoc de oportune dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate appostolica dignaremur, Nos, igitur, si qua alia impedimenta ratione consanguinitatis vel affinitatis huiusmodi, quorum forsan non recordamini et forsan in notitiam non habetis, dummodo infra 2^{um} gradum consanguinitatis et affinitatis huiusmodi fuerint, presentibus pro expressis habendis ex premissis ac certis aliis causis nobis expositis huiusmodi supplicantibus inclinati vobiscum, dum modo tu, in Christo filia Elisabet, propter hoc rapta non fueris, ut predictis et aliis forsan pro expressis habitis impedimentis consanguinitatis et affinitatis huiusmodi non obstantem matrimonium inter vos contraere, et in eo postquam contractum fuerit remanere libere et licite valeatis, literis nostris aliis per nos super hoc in contrarium editis ac appostolicis necnon in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, ceterisque contrariis, nequaque obstante, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium dispensamus, et prolem ex huiusmodi matrimonio suscipiendam legitimam nunciamus. —Datum, etc., Romæ, 13 Nov. 1525.

Contemporary copy in the hand of Secretary Perez. pp. 3.

14 Nov. **264.** Louis de Praet, Imperial Ambassador in France, to the Emperor.

Arch. de Brux. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 135.

Has received by Antonio de Taxis his letters of the 2d. Madame the Regent [of France], on whom he had called to inform her of the French King's illness, told him (Praet) that she had since heard from Mme. d'Alençon that the King was better, and she hoped that before the Emperor's departure for Seville* something might be proposed for the final conclusion of peace. She (the Regent) alleged many reasons why His Imperial Majesty ought to secure the French King's friendship; firstly, on account of his intended coronation at Rome, and, secondly, from fear of the English, whose King could not fail to take in bad part the rupture of the marriage with the Princess, his daughter. Many other remarks she made to him of the same nature, showing that she confidently relied on the English alliance. He (De Praet) answered her that the Emperor's intentions were, whilst he recovered the

* The Emperor did not reach Seville till the 9th of March 1526.

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duchy of Burgundy and its dependencies—which by right belonged to him—to remain, nevertheless, the friend of France; and, respecting the anger of the English King at his marrying a Portuguese Princess, that there was not the least occasion for it, since he had been informed in time, and His Imperial Majesty was now on as good terms with him as ever. To this the Regent replied that her son, the King, would rather die in prison than consent to the cession of Burgundy; but she hoped some means might still be found for the accommodation of both parties, such as His Imperial Majesty bestowing his sister Eleonor in marriage to her son, and marrying her (Eleonor's) daughter to the Dauphin, by which double alliance the Emperor and the French King might both transfer their respective rights to the children born of the said marriage.

It is rumoured that—what from ordinary taxation, which is said to amount for the present year to five millions of florins, and what from other sources, as well as from leaving all Estate pensions unpaid,—the Regent has amassed a large sum of money, which she keeps, according to report, for a great emergency. On the other hand, great reliance is here placed on the convention entered into with the English, and not without reason, if its articles be as they are represented here. An ambassador from England, the Treasurer of Calais,* is every day expected, and he (De Praet) hears from a good source in England that the King is to do his utmost to procure the deliverance of the prisoner [Francis], and that the Pope, at the instigation of the Cardinal, whom he dares not contradict, will do the same. Perhaps, too, the departure of Sir Gregory Casal from this city (Lyons) has some connexion with this affair, since he is gone to the Pope at Rome, most likely to persuade him to join the League. These people imagine, perhaps not without reason, that whatever show of friendship the Pope may make, there never will be a perfect understanding, owing to His Imperial Majesty's forthcoming coronation and other matters which have always brought on difficulties between former Emperors and the Apostolic See, and perchance they are also in hope of some revolution taking place in Italy, especially after Morone's arrest.

Since he (De Praet) wrote concerning the Duke of Ferrara's business, he has not heard of him; but the other day one of his secretaries residing at this city told him that his master was still in Savoy, waiting for an answer to his letter to the Emperor, asking whether it was the Imperial wish that he (the Duke) should go to Spain by sea, since he had been unable to obtain a safe-conduct to pass through France. The said secretary expatiated at length upon his master's desire to remain in the Emperor's service, and be useful to him, and,

* Sir William Fitzwilliam, Captain of Guisnes, and Treasurer of the Royal Household, was actually sent.

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when interrogated by Praet about Italian news, answered that he knew nothing in particular, but that his impression was that both the Pope and the Venetians were plotting against His Imperial Majesty.*—Lyons, 14 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

French Copy. pp. 3.

15 Nov. **265.** Louise of Savoy to Chancellor d'Alençon and M. de Vaulx, her Ambassadors in England.

Brit. Mus. Add. 28,575, f. 20.

According to her last letters has decided to send to the King of England Sieur Dourty (Perot de Warty) bearer of the present, for the object which he himself will explain. Begs credence for him.—Sainct Just, near Lyons, 15 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Loyse."

Countersigned: "Noblet."

French. Original draft, described by Bergenroth as at Paris, Archives du Royaume. F. 965.

15 Nov. **266.** Count Lodrone to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 184.

He and all his family have always been the faithful servants of the Empire, and especially of Emperor Maximilian, his grandfather, in consequence of which their lands, towns, and castles were burnt and destroyed by the Venetians. During the siege of Pavia he and his relatives did their duty to the cause, as the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva cannot fail to have apprized His Majesty. Indeed, he has had since the pleasure of seeing his services fully acknowledged in the Emperor's letter of the 24th March, written at Madrid and received by him at Pavia. As the said letter conveyed also the promise of a proportionate reward, and the Emperor, by becoming the master of the duchy of Milan, can dispose freely of its many fiefs, he (the Count) humbly beseeches him for the grant of a castle called Rocha de Val Dorba and of certain property besides which once belonged to Aleinsius (*sic*) de la Porta and Cesare de Birago, both citizens of Milan, who have always shown themselves most hostile to the Sacred Roman Empire. —Milan, 15 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Io. Baptista Comes Lodroni."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Charles, Emperor of the Romans, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. The Comte de Lodi, 15 Nov."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

* Published at length in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V.*, vol. I., pp. 180–7, from a copy at Brussels. The original draft is in Praet's own copy-book, in the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

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16 Nov. **267.** The Duke of Sessa to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 186.

Domingo, the courier, arrived on the 12th inst., with despatches, and started on the following day with the requisite answer. He goes by a land route. The duplicate will be sent by a messenger daily expected from Naples.

Nothing worth mentioning [from Milan], except that the Marquis of Pescara was slightly indisposed with his usual complaint, though he saw the Duke (Francesco Sforza) often, and went on with the interrogatory.—Rome, 16 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. The Duke of Sessa, 16th of Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

16 Nov. **268.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 188.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote on the 5th inst. what passed between His Holiness and him, and the information he was able to obtain at Rome. The Marquis' indisposition, and his not having sooner concluded his business with the Duke, have delayed the departure of this courier much longer than he could have wished, as he considers it important that His Imperial Majesty should be informed of all these things before the arrival at Court of the Pope's messenger [Paolo di Rezzo].

The state of the negotiations with the Duke [of Milan] has already been reported upon by the Marquis [of Pescara] and Abbot of Najera. He (Lope Hurtado) has seen the Duke twice during the last few days. He says that he only wishes for the recovery of his health, that he may employ his whole life in the Emperor's service, and that neither the Pope nor the Venetians will ever prevail on him to do anything against the Imperial interests or commands.

(*Common writing:*) It would be highly advantageous for the Emperor, and for the defeat of the present Italian intrigues, that this Duke should be persuaded to give up the castles of Milan and Cremona, which he still holds. Because, were this Estate to be completely under the Imperial sway, neither the Pope nor the Venetians would dare prosecute their present line of policy, and, if they did, would be unable to carry it into effect. He (Lope Hurtado) is of opinion that one of the Duke's orators in Spain—he on whom most reliance could be placed—ought to be sent back with a message to his master, intimating the belief at Court that Morone is the sole culprit in this affair, and requesting him to surrender into the Marquis' hands all the fortresses of this Estate, as this would greatly facilitate the Emperor's visit to Italy and the subsequent negotiations with the Kings of France and England, and also with the Venetians. The said

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orator might also bring the Imperial promise that, immediately on the Emperor's arrival, a legal inquiry shall be instituted on the charges made against him—and of which he believes him to be innocent—and that he shall be rewarded according to his deserts. Letters conceived in similar terms might be addressed to the towns and persons contained in the enclosed memorandum.

Should the Duke give up his castles, there is nothing to be apprehended for the moment on the part of the Pope and the Venetians, especially if they do not prepare larger armaments than they have hitherto done. The Imperial army might thus be diminished in numbers, and the remainder kept at much less expense and with greater ease, the Marquises of Pescara and Guasto, besides Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera, having hitherto made efforts for its support almost incredible, considering the ruinous condition of this Estate.

The Duke of Ferrara writes to the Marquis [of Pescara] to say that Madame the Regent of France had refused him a safe-conduct to pass through France into Spain. He seems disappointed at this. Yet it would be advisable, before he returns home, to commission the Marquis or any other of the Imperial ministers in Italy to treat with him, or else that his own envoy at Court should be empowered to negotiate. For if he goes back to his capital, the Pope and the Venetians are sure to do their utmost to gain him over to their cause, such having been their intention at other times, when they openly said that this Duke [of Milan] failing them, they would try and get hold of him of Ferrara. Now that all of them are more or less hostile to the Imperial cause, there can be no doubt that they will try all they can to attach him to their interests. The Marquis of Pescara has been dangerously ill ever since the 5th inst. He is better now, though not quite out of danger. Were God to remove him, His Imperial Majesty would lose a good servant.—Milan, 16 Nov. 1525.

Signed : "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Lope Hurtado, 16 Nov."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2⅓.

17 Nov. **269.** Secretary Noblet to the French Ambassadors in England.

Brit. Mus. Add. 28,575, f. 23.

Knowing that promises must be kept, and that what the [French] ambassadors have negotiated and concluded in England must of necessity be accomplished, every effort has been

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since made to obtain the ratification of, and the payment of their engagements by, the Princes and towns of France mentioned in the treaty. Owing to the census this operation has been found both difficult and tedious, so much so that hitherto the proclamation and approval of the Courts of Parliament of Paris and Rouen only have been obtained; copies of the treaty have to be sent to Toulouse and Bourdeaux for the same purpose. The amount engaged for by the Princes [of France], by this city of Lyons, and by Toulouse has been received; no time or labour shall be spared in procuring the rest. Paris has not fulfilled its part well;* yet he [Noblet] has no doubt the whole of the engagements will be soon ready and forwarded [to England], as a thing which is indispensable, principally this second instalment [in money], which is the most important of all. Should the ambassadors think it fit that what is already collected should be sent on, they will be pleased to inform Madame the Regent thereof, for certainly she has no other wish than to see the ambassadors perfectly free from their engagements.

The Chancellor [of Alençon] is much wanted here by the Regent and the rest (*la compaignie*), and as to M. de Vaux, the King wishes him to remain for some time longer [in England], and has written to his mother [the Regent] from Spain, begging her to give her orders to that effect. Should another ambassador be required to help him (Vaulx) in his duties, and the Cardinal of York not object, another one shall be appointed, but on no account is Vaulx to leave England, as his services are much wanted in that country.

Monsieur Dovarty (de Warty?) the governor of Clermont, whom both the ambassadors know well, has been lately sent to England to visit the King and Cardinal in the Regent's name and in that of her son the King of France. He will show the ambassadors his instructions and the papers that have lately come from Spain, so that when an opportunity offers itself, they may speak both to the King and Cardinal respecting the overtures made by Madame the Duchess [of Alençon] for the King's liberation, and which, as the ambassadors will learn from the said De Warty, have been rejected. The Emperor's demands were so exorbitant and unreasonable that they could not possibly be accepted, and therefore the Duchess [d'Alençon] had quitted the Emperor's court, and returned to the King, to console and comfort him after his dangerous illness, and take care of him, as she has done hitherto.

The King, we are told, is perfectly recovered in health, though he shows still occasional signs of weakness.—Saint Just, near Lyons, 17 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Noblet."

* "Mais entendez que Paris s'est tres mal acquitté."

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17 Nov. **270.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 192.

Had written on the 4th inst. by a brigantine that took [to Spain] Silvestrin, a servant of the Duke of Milan. The last letter he (Soria) has received bears date of the 23d of August. The courier who takes this has just arrived from Rome, bearing, as he says, important despatches, owing to which circumstance, and not to detain the messenger, he (the ambassador) will not write at any length.

This Doge, after considering the state of affairs in Italy, the plots that are on foot, and the measures recently taken by the Marquis of Pescara for the protection of his army, and against the Duke of Milan, bethought him of sending a person to inquire of the Marquis what His Imperial Majesty's orders are, and whether the Pope and the Venetians are to be trusted at the present stage of affairs, that he may shape his own conduct accordingly. The messenger left for Milan, accompanied, at the Doge's request, by a clerk of this embassy. Both have returned since, bringing the following intelligence, namely: That the Marquis [of Pescara], having summoned the Duke to surrender his castles, and being met only with evasive answers and dilatory measures, had closely invested the castle of Milan with one band of Spaniards and another of Germans. The castle had hoisted the Imperial flag, but nevertheless the people inside kept firing upon the besieging forces, and had slain some of the soldiers. In Milan itself there had been no commotion; the city was quiet. The Marquis had published a manifesto, informing the inhabitants of his reasons for thus proceeding against their Duke. Everyone had approved of his doings, though, perhaps, inwardly they protested against them.

The revenues of the Estate were being collected at Milan in the Emperor's name, and similar orders had been sent throughout the Duchy. Cremona also fired on the Imperial troops. The Marquis was still suffering from his complaint in the stomach.

Some of the Pope's men-at-arms had lately arrived at Parma and Piacenza for the purpose, as it was reported, of garrisoning those places.

The Venetians are still making military preparations, to defend their territory as they say. They have likewise begun arming by sea, and intend to fit out 60 galleys.

The Pope has ordered 1,500 muskets to be made at Lucca.

No news of the Switzers making any stir at present.

The people of this Community have stopped up the harbour of Savona by sinking at its mouth five vessels laden with stones. They are endeavouring now to render the wharfs useless, their object being to destroy completely that port, so that all merchant vessels shall be obliged to come to Genoa. They also want the Savonese to obey them and recognize their supremacy, just as other towns of this coast do; but the

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Savonese refuse, alleging that they are the vassals of His Imperial Majesty, and have privileges and exemptions confirmed by the Emperors, his predecessors.

How far the Genoese may be justified in these violent acts against the people of Savona, he (Lope de Soria) cannot say. He has, in conjunction with the Marquis of Pescara, done all he could to prevent the destruction of that port, and has often spoken to the Doge and Community about it, though in vain, as they pretend that things have now gone so far and such preparations been made that it would be impossible to stop them without giving offence to the people of this city and port, whose hatred and envy of the Savonese know no bounds. To avoid complications of another sort under the present circumstances, and knowing full well the services of this Doge and Community on all occasions, both he (Soria) and the Marquis [of Pescara] have not pressed their remonstrances any further. It will be for the Emperor to decide, in view of the allegations which each party is sure to send to Court, on which side justice is.—Genoa, 17 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 17th Nov."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

17 Nov. **271.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 52.

Wrote on the 27th of Oct. last, announcing Moron's arrest (*la presa del Moron*) and what happened afterwards. Since then Lope Hurtado de Mendoça has been to Rome, and informed the Pope of the cause of his arrest. The Pope sent one of his chamberlains, named Paulo di Rezo (Reggio?), to visit the Marquis of Pescara, and ascertain how far Moron might, by his declarations, have implicated him and the other Italian Princes connected with these intrigues, and what account the Marquis had sent home. Paulo reached Pavia on the 29th, saw the Marquis, and the day after returned to Rome. The substance of what he said on this occasion the Emperor must already have learnt through the Marquis' despatch. He (the Abbot) did not see Paulo, as he was absent [from Pavia] at the time, having come here [to Milan] to procure money for the troops.

Lope Hurtado returned from Rome, and arrived at Pavia on the 31st of October. His despatches, which accompany this, will fully inform His Imperial Majesty of his business with the Pope.

The Marquis [of Pescara] and Antonio de Leyva came on the 2d inst. to Milan with 3,000 Germans and seven companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry. They were quartered

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in two suburbs (*burgos*) of this city, called Porta Tusa and Porta Romana; they are lodging with the inhabitants and paying for their daily food. Up to the present moment his time has been occupied with questions and answers (*preguntas y respuestas*) between the Marquis and the Duke of Milan. Encloses copy of the papers written on both sides.*

Considering that the Duke would on no account surrender the castles of Milan and Cremona; knowing for certain that he had written to the Pope and to the Venetians, asking for their protection, and putting himself entirely in their hands, besides requesting the latter to march on Cremona and defend the castle against the Imperial troops; that the Duke's intention had always been to shut himself up in this castle [of Milan], not indeed to wait, as he pretended, the return of Sylvestrin, who embarked at Genoa on the 1st inst., on a mission to the Emperor, but in reality to allow his friends and allies time to come to his help; that the castle of Cremona had already commenced hostilities, firing upon and killing some Germans, who—by the Marquis' commands, and for fear of the said Venetians, who were shortly expected—had begun to dig trenches and erect parapets in some of the streets leading thereto; considering also the activity and care which the Duke displayed in provisioning this castle of Milan, increasing its defences, pulling down houses, and cutting down trees in its immediate neighbourhood, &c., the Marquis, with the advice of Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, Lope Hurtado, and other Imperial functionaries (*ministros*) there residing, decided to invest (*cerrar*) the castle, and exact from the inhabitants in the Duchy the customary oath of allegiance to His Imperial Majesty. The better to effect this the Marquis sent to Pavia for the German infantry, the same men who were last summer employed in the marquisate of Saluzzo, to the number of upwards of 1,500 men. They came in on the 9th, and were quartered at a place outside this city called Porta Tessinesa. On the same day the Marquis of Pescara, though still suffering, and so weak and thin that he could scarcely stand or speak, addressed the townspeople, and told them his reasons for bringing so many troops into the city [of Milan]. He asked if they knew of any other measure for the protection of the Estate and the security of the Imperial army; if they did, they were to mention it, and it would be adopted.

On the following day (10th Nov.), Lope Hurtado and he (the Abbot) called on the Duke [of Milan] at the castle, and begged him, in the Marquis' name, to pay down the 50,000 ducats, or thereabouts, still owing on account of the investiture, adding that the Marquis was disposed to accept the

* Not in the volume, probably from the cause assigned in p. 307, note.

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hostages offered by him (the Duke) as security for the two castles of Milan and Cremona. On the 11th the Duke gave the answer which His Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed copy. Again, on the same day, the Marquis, wishing to conciliate, sent a verbal message to the Duke, begging him to appoint a trusty person with whom he could communicate certain matters. The Duke sent his own physician, Miçer Cipion, a very honest man, who, no doubt, was chosen among the rest that he might report at the same time on the Marquis' looks and appearances, and say whether he was struck for death (*estaba para morir*). The Marquis said to the physician (Cipion): "If the Duke, your master, promises to pay, within three days, 30,000 ducats, and 20,000 more in a fortnight, as the complement of the investiture's price, I promise, in the Emperor's name, to accept the hostages and securities offered by the Duke, in the manner stipulated by Lope Hurtado and the Abbot of Najera on the 12th." The Duke's answer to the above proposal is also enclosed.*

For the better understanding of this Milanese question, it must be observed that the Duke has been hitherto in the enjoyment of all his rights. Neither have his rents been sequestered, nor his governors and other functionaries of the Estate deprived of their offices. On the contrary, the Marquis punished, the other day, very severely, one Simon de Tarssis (*sic*), because he dared to invest himself with a certain charge (*oficio*) in this city, hoping that when the Marquis, as he imagined, should take possession of the whole estate of Milan, he might be confirmed in it. On the other hand, if the Duke's functionaries and other people have not otherwise resisted the Imperial commands, it is merely owing to their conviction that the Duke, by his guilty conduct, has forfeited his estate, and that the Emperor is their only true lord and master.

That the Duke is really guilty of the charges brought against him, both the Marquis, the Abbot, and all the rest of the Imperial officers [in Italy] have abundantly proved by their letters before and after Morone's arrest. It is said that, the better to establish his innocence, he (the Duke) has had six of his own physicians examined, and also one Poliçiano, once Morone's secretary, to prove that for many months past he has been unable to write, and therefore that if any letters be found bearing his ducal signature, they have all been forged by the said Poliçiano. This evidence he is now about to forward to Spain by Thomas de Almayno or some other messenger, in order that His Imperial Majesty may be convinced of his innocence, maintain him in his estate, and have the Marquis and Antonio de Leyba (*sic*) severely reprimanded.

* Neither of the papers here mentioned is in the volume. The reader, however, may consult Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVII., where these transactions are minutely recorded.

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In consequence of the above and other conciliatory terms having been rejected, the Marquis has actually ordered this castle of Milan to be besieged, and the Imperial troops have already invested it on all sides. The townspeople and other officials have been summoned to the Marquis' quarters, and told that the Emperor counts upon their obedience as natural subjects of the Empire. They have expressed their regret at the Duke not having fulfilled his duty towards the Emperor, so as to have all matters settled peaceably and without scandal, but said that in all other respects they would never be found in fault against the Imperial service. Senators, magistrates and other officials will next receive a similar intimation, warning each of them to administer justice or fulfil his charge in the Emperor's name, after taking from all classes the customary oath of allegiance. As to the rents of this Duchy, a proper estimate and balance is now being drawn up, that His Imperial Majesty may see at once what resources he has at his command. But he (the Abbot) cannot help declaring that the ordinary revenues of the Estate are in the worst possible condition, and that the greater part of next year's rents is mortgaged. As to the late extraordinary taxes (*tallones*) they cannot be increased under the present circumstances, the Marquis having promised as much to the people.

The Marquis and all the rest of the Imperial officers in this city are of one opinion, namely, that the Duke ought to be written to through Sylvestrin, if already at Court, or through any other messenger equally in his confidence, to surrender himself, his person and castles, into the hands of the Marquis of Pescara, or, failing him, into those of Antonio de Leyva, and to surrender also the persons of his secretaries Angelo Riçio and Poliçiano, until they be properly tried and it be ascertained who are the culprits. For as the Duke persists in his refusal to give up the castles of Milan and Cremona without an express order from the Emperor, if the Imperial orders come, there will then be no excuse for the Duke; and thus it will be soon seen whether he is in earnest or not. If this be quickly done, and the Duke consents to give up his castles, His Imperial Majesty will be sole master of this Estate, and his enemies will abandon all idea of invading it under the plea of assisting the present Duke. Besides which, the agreement (*concierto*) which the Emperor is about to make with the French King and other potentates will rest upon a more solid foundation.

As the preservation of this Estate and the goodwill of its citizens depend in a great measure upon the treatment they receive, no more taxes ought to be imposed upon them than those which are absolutely necessary. The troops ought to live at their own expense, which cannot be accomplished unless they are regularly paid. Large sums are therefore required, not only for the arrears due to the

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men, but to provision (*avituallar*) and strengthen certain towns of this Duchy, wherein, in the event of a war, the Imperial troops may shut themselves up, and await such reinforcements as His Imperial Majesty or his brother, the Archduke, may send from Germany or Spain.

His Imperial Majesty might also, for the gratification of the people of this Duchy and for the increase of the love and devotion which they profess, write a letter to this city of Milan, thanking them for their devotion, and promising justice and good government. Similar letters might be sent to Pavia, Cremona, Como, Alessandria, Asti, Lodi, Novara and other cities in the Estate.

After expending the 80,000 ducats which the Emperor sent last September in bills on Genoa, 20,000 more borrowed in this city [of Milan], 6,000 in Venice, and 6,500 in Genoa have been consumed. These last were borrowed on bills drawn by the Marquis of Pescara, payable at Rome and Naples at 40 days' date. With these various sums, amounting altogether to 32,500 ducats, the Germans and some of the Spanish infantry now at Milan have been paid part of their arrears. These last have been—some for two, others for three, months—without pay of any sort, foraging on the inhabitants, and scattered in small detachments throughout the Duchy, from fear of mutiny. Now that their wants have been remedied to a certain extent, they will pay for what they eat. In three or four days 40,000 ducats will be required for the pay of this infantry and of a still larger detachment now at Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda), and in the keeping of other towns and castles in this Estate. As it is neither just nor convenient that they should continue living upon, and exasperating, the country people, funds must be provided forthwith.

To meet the above sum the Imperial generals have no resources left except 20,000 ducats which Cremona, Pavia and other towns and districts have offered to advance on the revenue of this Estate, and of which a portion might already have come in had not the Duke [of Milan] written to the parties not to make any loan even if we asked for it, on account of the investiture money, because, if they did, they would never get paid. It is therefore most important that His Imperial Majesty quickly provide funds for this army, for it is quite evident that his enemies do not so much rely on their own forces as they do eventually on the failure of resources of the Empire.

The news we have of the Venetians is that the Duke of Urbino is at Verona with the greater part of his men-at-arms, and that he is now levying between 6,000 and 7,000 foot for the garrison of Bressa (Brescia) and other strong places. It is even added that the Duke and his men utter many bravadoes (*bravean*), and say they will hold the land against any invader. Instead of returning an

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answer to the proposals which Prothonotary Caracciolo took from hence, they (the Venetians) are continually making *preghe* and holding meetings, with a view, no doubt, to discuss the articles of the new league which the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Ghinucci) and Gregorio Casal are said to have recently brought from England. Both of these ambassadors are now with the Pope at Rome, and the couriers pass between that city and Venice more frequently than ever.

On the Pope's side we hear that preparations of the same sort are being made. He has lately sent for some men-at-arms and infantry, and is carefully providing for the defence of Parma and Placencia (Piacenza), whether from fear of this Imperial army or from some other motive we cannot positively say. Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis is in Romania, and some add that he is levying troops there.

No further news respecting the Switzers. Their 15 ambassadors, now at Rome, are represented as having gone thither for the purpose of claiming certain sums owing to them since Pope Leo's time.

Four thousand Grisons are actually besieging Chiavena and battering its walls with two guns, but have hitherto achieved nothing, nor is it likely they will unless the place surrenders for want of provisions, which, they say, are not very abundant. Should the affairs at Milan admit of it, the Marquis intends sending some forces to the succour of the castle, and also to occupy the Baltolina (Val Telline), a narrow valley stretching out towards Germany, which, they say, belongs also to this Duchy, and is a convenient pass for troops coming down to Italy.

For many years past Genoa has been insisting upon the Savonese closing their port, on the plea that their trade was injured by it. Notwithstanding the remonstrances which the Imperial ambassador (Soria) has addressed to the Doge on this subject, besides pressing letters from the Marquis, the Genoese have lately sent thither four vessels laden with stones, and actually sunk them at the harbour's mouth. There is reason to believe that this has been done at the instigation of the Datary (Giovanni Matheo) and of some of the chief inhabitants, his friends, with the idea that should Genoa happen to change its present form of government, and no longer admit the Imperial fleet into its harbour, neither should the port of Savona afford shelter to the Spanish galleys. These are very delicate matters, and it may perhaps be advisable not to take any notice of the affair just now. Of the Doge, there is no reason to harbour any suspicion, but the city is full of the Datary's friends, who have purposely brought about this Savona business in order to annoy the Emperor, and, if possible, prevent his visit to Italy. As far as he (the Abbot) can judge, justice is on the side of the Savonese, and the aggressors deserve punishment, though it may be prudent to

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dissemble for the present, and not alienate the affections of the Genoese. At any rate, the Imperial fleet ought to be sent back [to Genoa], for certainly without it the city is by no means safe.

The Italian potentates persevere in their plots and warlike preparations. They would already have declared themselves openly were it not that they wait to see what sort of agreement is made with the French King. The general opinion here [at Milan] is that His Imperial Majesty ought to come to terms (*concertarse*) anyhow with France, and that as soon as possible, that he may come to Italy to be crowned, and take possession of what belongs to him by right.

The Duke of Ferrara is still at San Juan de Moriliana* in Savoy. He wrote to the Marquis on the 4th inst., informing him that the Queen Regent [of France] had positively refused him a safe-conduct by sea or land, either for himself or any gentleman of his household about to go to the Emperor [in Spain]. The message was brought to him by Count Ugo Pepoli. This had been done at the instigation and with the advice of the King of England, who had written expressly to the Regent (Louise of Savoy). The Duke further said in his letter that he was in despair, and did not know what to do, whether to return at once to Italy, or wait where he was for an answer from his ambassadors at the Imperial court. His case seemed to him hopeless, for, among other things which Count Pepoli told him, one was that the Queen Regent was determined not to grant the safe-conduct, whatever instances might be made by the Emperor or by her son (King Francis). The Marquis advised him to return to Italy, as he was not safe where he was. The Duke is a very important man in Italy, and ought to be retained in the Imperial service. Once back in his estate, there will not be wanting people to tempt him over to their side.

Ever since the 5th inst., when he went out with Antonio de Leyva to inspect the works round the city, till the 10th, the Marquis of Pescara has been so dangerously ill that we thought it was all over with him. He is now better, but so exceedingly weak that we fear a relapse. Arrangements should be made for Antonio de Leyva, in case of the Marquis' demise, to take the command of this army until His Imperial Majesty or the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) come to Italy, which ought to be as soon as possible, and certainly before these people have time to concoct any plan to the Emperor's detriment in Naples, Sicily, or Genoa, or even with the Turk's assistance, if they cannot otherwise. The latter, in the end, will be their counsellor and abettor,† whilst

* Probably San Giovanni or San Gian di Moriana, the usual residence of the Duke of Savoy. *See* p. 451.

† "Encomendandose quando mas no pudiessen al Turco, el qual al fin será con ellos y Dios con V. Mag."

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His Imperial Majesty will have God on his side.—Milan, 17 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Post scripta.—The warder of Gaeta arrived here post-haste, and is now going to Spain. Does not know what his business is, nor when he will leave [Milan].

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. The Abbot of Najera, 17 Nov."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

18 Nov. **272.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 196.

On the 13th inst. Domingo, the courier, left this with the new dispensation brief. Copies of both are now sent.* Hopes to God they will reach Spain in safety! Wishing this present courier to take also the duplicate [of brief], he (the Duke) has done all he could to get it drawn out, but in vain, the Pope (*cipher*) having declared that it would be a great pity, and also very detrimental to his interests, if the briefs were to fall into the hands of the French. He (the Duke) has not ceased applying for their despatch, but to no purpose, no doubt because the Pope thinks they may arrive at a time when present matters are being discussed with his Legate, and if so, that negotiations may turn to his disadvantage. Will not desist from the application, and, when obtained, will forward the said duplicate by the shortest possible route.

Intelligence has reached Rome that the Marquis [of Pescara] has closely invested the castle of Milan. The garrison had protested against, and were firing upon the besieging troops. People here are much concerned at this event; in fact, it may be confidently asserted that the tighter the rein is drawn in Lombardy, the warmer grow the plots of the confederates, for they cannot bear the idea of His Imperial Majesty wishing to take the Duchy [of Milan] for himself. No more news worth reporting.—Rome, 18 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Cesar, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Duke of Sessa, 18 Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

* *See* above, Nos. 262 and 263.

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20 Nov. **273.** The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in France.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 157.

Has received his two letters of the 4th and 9th inst., with the account of his conference with the Queen Regent of France.

In order that you (De Praet) may be advised of the state of the negotiations with the King of France, We have caused the present despatch to be addressed to you.

The French ambassadors returned here [to Toledo]. Their first overture was: That the King, their master, consented to pay a ransom of three millions [of ducats]. A marriage to be concluded between the said King and our sister, Madame Eleonor, having as a dowry that portion of the duchy of Burgundy and its dependencies which We claim as our own. The remaining articles of the treaty to be equitably adjusted between us.

Our answer was that We never intended taking money from their master or demanding a ransom from him; that the only thing We wanted of him was restitution of territory, as specified in the draft of the treaty, principally of the duchy of Burgundy, and therefore that We demanded a direct answer on this point, as, without it, We were determined not to go on with the negotiations; nor need they (the ambassadors) come to our Court unless they were previously agreed upon the said restitution in principle. The ambassadors again came to us some days since, alleging that it was quite impossible for their King to make the restitution demanded unless he were set free and on the spot, for otherwise (they said) his orders would not be obeyed. Their King once at liberty within his kingdom, means might perhaps be devised of accomplishing the said restitution, the French giving proper hostages on their side, whilst We might give equal securities that, in the event of the arbitrators deciding against us, We should give back the said Duchy.

To this We answered that their King was not to be set at liberty unless We had first the possession of Burgundy, with formal ratification of the whole treaty. That our right being so clear and manifest, no arbitration was needed nor were any hostages required on our part. The ambassadors then inquired what hostages We were prepared to offer for the security of their King in case of France consenting to give up the Duchy previous to the prisoner's release. We told them that they might begin to consult upon the matter; We would do the same on our side; and when they and our deputies met they could discuss the best means of effecting the said restitution and deciding what sort of hostages were to be delivered as security [for their King]. To-morrow the communication on the remaining articles is to be made. We shall take care

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that you are promptly advised of the result, that you may know what language to hold there.*—Toledo, 20 Nov. 1525.

French. Copy. p. 1¼.

20 Nov. **274.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 200.

Their last letter was of the 10th inst., containing a full and detailed account of what the deputies said to them on that occasion and the answer they (the ambassadors) intended to give on the ensuing day.

Accordingly, on the 11th inst., both (Caracciolo and Sanchez) sent notice that they were quite ready to receive the deputies† at the embassy, when they would return an answer to their proposals. That and the next being feast days, the deputies did not call until the 13th, when, in conformity with their common letter of the 10th, a suitable answer was given to their objections and counter propositions. (*In cipher:*) But in so doing, they insisted upon knowing what was the deputies' opinion upon the subject, as it was neither just nor convenient that they should try to elicit the ambassadors' views whilst they kept their own intentions and thoughts a secret, that being a style of negotiation which, if persevered in, would unavoidably bring upon them His Majesty's displeasure. To which they replied that the pivot on which the confederation turned being the Duke of Milan and the actual movements of the troops, it was but natural that it should be made the principal topic of conversation. But they (the ambassadors) objected, on the plea that if the confederation entitled the deputies to treat of several points in common, and of this one in particular, the Imperial ministers and agents were equally justified in asking their opinion on the general bearing of the negotiations. The deputies, however, went away soon after without saying one word more on the subject. It is very doubtful whether they will ever return to it. The impression of the ambassadors is that they never will, and will let matters stand as they are until it is convenient for them to decide, and that they will then follow that line of conduct which may suit them best.

The Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux) went away many days since to Verona, of which place he is a native, there to attend the marriage of one of his nephews, as they say. At the time of his departure, the report was that he would not return to Venice, except upon business of the greatest importance. He came back on the 13th, and on the next day both he and the other French ambassador‡, who resides here, spent nearly

* Published in Lanz *Correspondenz*, p. 188.

† The deputies were three: one of the Signory's Councillors, a Sage of the Council, and a Sage of the main land, with a customary, the same who called on the Imperial ambassador on the 10th. *See* above, No. 255, and Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Papers*, &c., vol. iii., p. 500.

‡ Ambrosio or Ambrogio da Fiorenza.

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two hours at the Senate, in public audience, the negotiations being no longer secret, since they have been committed to the Council of the *Pregadi*. What the object of the interview was the ambassadors do not know for certain; but what they have heard from different sources is this: That the said Bishop of Bayeux had brought full powers from Madame the Regent and from the whole kingdom of France to conclude a treaty of alliance with this Republic, some going as far as to say that the said Bishop has with him a draft of the articles. This report the ambassadors believe to be true, and also that the Venetians will have no difficulty in signing it, as they cannot conceal their disappointment and rage at the idea of His Imperial Majesty taking the duchy of Milan for himself, which they have no doubt he intends to do. If, therefore, the Republic finds people to assist them in their plans, they are sure to do all the harm they can, especially as it is well known that they have never borne goodwill to the Emperor. The general report is that there will be war, and that 13,000 Switzers are coming down into Italy.

(*Common writing:*) Advices from Lyons state that, according to letters dated from Court on the 17th of October last, the treaty between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France was not in a fair way of being concluded; that Madame d'Alençon was on the eve of returning to France; and that the Emperor was shortly to go to Seville for the Portuguese marriage. But perhaps this is only a rumour artfully spread by the French in order to induce the Venetians and others to treat with them.

(*Cipher:*) The ambassadors have heard that the courier which this Republic despatched some days to Rome, after so many *preghe*, was for the purpose of informing the Pope, by means of their ambassador, that much time had been lost in words and negotiations, and that the hour had come for striking a blow, as the Imperialists had lately done at Milan.

They have also heard that in case of attempting an attack it is the intention of the confederates to begin by Genoa, because by doing so they may stop the supplies of food and money for the Imperial army, as well as cut the communications with Spain by sea. Though this last intelligence comes to them (the ambassadors) from a person of no great standing or rank, the news is of such importance that they consider it their duty to acquaint His Majesty with it. They have likewise written to the Marquis of Pescara, whom they daily inform of everything they hear concerning the future plans of the confederates.

This Republic is continually increasing its army; and the report is that infantry is secretly pouring in by small platoons from Romania (Romagna).

(*Common writing:*) On the 13th inst. the ambassadors received a visit from the agent of the Duke of Milan, who resides

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in Venice (Taverna.) He came to tell them how, only a few hours before, a man called Joan Antonio de Preda, who professes to be the Duke's messenger, had entered his dwelling, and told him, in secret, that he had come to Venice to ascertain from the Republic how soon they would be ready to come to his help, and with what forces. The Duke's agent added that as the man had brought no letters of credence for him, and was, besides, a notorious rascal, and considered as such by the Duke himself, he had placed no faith in his words, believing him to be a sort of spy or informer, sent to ascertain what his opinion was in the matter, since the Duke, he knew, would never apply for help save to the Emperor. He, moreover, begged the ambassadors to take note of his words, that they might attest, in case of need, to his having been the first to inform them of the fact, adding: "The man is still at my house, and I am going to try to have him arrested and properly punished by the Republic."

The ambassadors had written thus far when letters came from the Marquis of Pescara, of the 15th inst., informing them that the castle of Milan was completely invested, and that other measures had been taken against the Duke, in consequence of the discovery lately made that he was inciting the Milanese to rebellion, and obstinately refusing to grant any of the securities demanded. As the Marquis requested the ambassadors to inform the Republic of this determination, one of them (Alonso Sanchez)—his colleague, Caracciolo, being unable to attend on account of his bad health and the inclemency of the weather—went and communicated to them the substance of the Marquis' letter, adding that he had gone thither with reluctance, and rather to fulfil a duty and obey orders than otherwise.

The deputies' answer was that they felt very grateful for the information received, and had to thank the Marquis and the ambassadors for it, but they did regret that matters should have come to such a point as to render such measures and precautions against the Duke necessary. They could not conceive how the Duke had been led to expect help and protection from any other quarter than the natural and ordinary one of the Emperor, his master, for, said they: "What can a man, shut up in a castle by himself, do, especially after four months' illness?" To this last sentence, delivered, no doubt, merely with a view to suggest the improbability of the Duke having ever plotted against His Imperial Majesty, the ambassador (Sanchez) replied that the military precautions the Marquis had taken for the security and preservation of the Imperial army had a sufficient foundation and were dictated by prudence. They themselves, who proceed so cautiously in all their affairs, would scarcely have acted otherwise.

After which, the deputies having expressed their sorrow that such an event should have happened at a time when

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Italy had every reason to expect the blessings of peace, as well as their confidence that the Emperor, by his well-known prudence and discretion, would remove all such obstacles as should arise in the way of it, he (Sanchez) considered it his duty to observe that the Emperor's views and intentions were too well known to them to require further explanation. That their ambassador just returned from Spain, and who was there present,* could bear witness how and on what conditions and nvestiture had been granted to the Duke [of Milan], and that Lope Hurtado had brought [to Italy] orders for the disbanding of the Imperial army. If such peaceful intentions on the Emperor's part could not be realised it was no fault of his, but of others. May God forgive them for the trouble and anxiety they have caused !

The ambassadors of France had upwards of one hour's audience on the 17th inst., when an answer was given to their propositions of the 13th. It is rumoured that they offer to furnish 10,000 Switzers paid by them, besides 5,000 lances under Maximiano (Maximiliano Sforza), who is also to lead into Italy a large number of emigrants (*fuorusciti*).

(*Cipher:*) With such forces, and with the help of the Venetians, who are to join them by sea and land, the confederates flatter themselves that they will easily expel the Imperial army from the estate of Milan. What these people have replied to such offers, they (the ambassadors) cannot say for certain. Some imagine that this Republic has resolved to make a league with France, and that negotiations have actually begun to that effect. Others assert that the powers of the French ambassadors not having been deemed sufficient, and the Republic not being yet ready to enter into an agreement with France, a dilatory and evasive answer has been returned. Cannot vouch for the truth of either report, but think that the former of the two is more likely to be true.

There is still another report worth mentioning, *i.e.*, that this Signory intends to arm 40 galleys next spring. The ambassadors have not yet had the means of ascertaining whether this is true or not, but they are of opinion that the coasts of Apulia and even those of Sicily ought, at all events, to be fortified, not so much on account of the Venetians as of the Turk, whom these people are daily inciting to come over, as their recent embassy to that Infidel with a rich present in brocades and silks would seem to indicate.

In this city resides a Spanish merchant by whose means they (the ambassadors) obtain from time to time valuable intelligence. He is a very honest man, and shows much devotion to the Imperial service. He wants the appointment

* Contarini or Priuli, both of whom left Spain in August, Andrea Navagiero remaining in charge of the Venetian embassy. At their passage through Lyons they held a conference with Praet. *See* above, p. 363.

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of President of the Sumaria at Naples, and has begged them to recommend his suit. As his services are valuable and he promises to continue them, he deserves encouragement.

Concerning the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) and his confidential advices, he (Sanchez) expects instructions, that he may know what sort of engagement he is to take with him.—Venice, 20 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice, 20 Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

22 Nov. **275.** LOUIS DE PRAET, Imperial Ambassador in France, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224, f. .

Since his last letter by a gentleman of the Prince of Orange nothing important has occurred, except that the President of Paris (Jean Selve) and the Bishop of Embrun (François de Tournon) have lately returned to Toledo. Has no hope whatever of the French King consenting to the cession of Burgundy. They (the French) persist in using nothing but the same sort of general language. One thing, however, is certain, that M. de Guise is gone to the Swiss, to persuade them to invade the duchy of Milan, in pursuance of a treaty said to have been entered into with the knowledge and by the advice of the Pope and the Venetians.

The *fuorusciti* of that Duchy, most of whom reside in this city (Lyons), are expected to make some stir, now that the Marquis of Pescara is lying ill. He (Praet) sees certain signs which seem to indicate that something is about to be undertaken against the Low Countries. All the captains on that frontier, with the exception of M. de Vendome, set off the other day. St. Pol and Vaudemont leave in two days for Picardy. Has written to Madame, informing her of this fact, that she may be on the alert. Expects an answer from her in two or three days by Guillaume des Barres. Will not fail to inform the Emperor of what may occur in the meantime, as likewise of the arrival of Commander Herrera whom he expects to-morrow, though he (Praet) hears that he has been detained by illness at Montpellier.

The English ambassadors are expected here to-morrow, the 23d. One of them is the Captain of Guisnes; the other a doctor in Wolsey's service.* They come with a train of about 60 horse, and their principal charge is said to be to receive the Regent's oath and the ratification of the peace

* Sir William Fitzwilliam and Dr. John Taylor. This letter was translated at full by Bradford, p. 190.

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lately concluded between France and England.—Lyons, 22 of Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

22 Nov. **276.** The Marquis of Pescara to Francesco Sforza [Duke of Milan].

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 215.

If the most Illustrious Francesco Sforza cared as much for the service and interests of His Imperial Majesty as he does to appear by many a protest and offer in the light of a faithful servant, there would be no necessity for the Illustrious Marquis of Pescara, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies in Italy, to spend his time in writing or verbally disputing with the aforesaid Sforza, a sort of occupation more suitable to litigants than to people of their rank and condition.

The grievances whereof Signor Francesco complains he has brought on himself by refusing to grant the securities demanded. But whereas the said Signor Francesco, in his last protest, dated the 13th inst., strives to throw all the blame of this affair on the Marquis, making him responsible for future consequences, his Lordship—always anxious to promote the Imperial service, and at the same time to offer such vindication of his own acts as may be deemed compatible with his honour and reputation—takes this opportunity of answering the said protest by adhering entirely to the proposals and answers heretofore made on either side, declaring the said proposals and answers as made and inserted in every deed and public act that has been or may be drawn up hereafter respecting this matter, for the Marquis does not intend to be either part or judge in the present suit, but merely the executor of the Imperial orders, as befits the Commander-in-Chief of his army, without, however, deviating from justice, but, on the contrary, following it strictly.

Respecting the affair itself, it is the Marquis' intention to proceed as behoves a captain-general, and one upon whom the important duty of preserving the Imperial army and securing the estate of Milan devolves, which duties can only be fulfilled by military measures and precautions, not by judicial proceedings. But in so doing, the Marquis never thought of inflicting on the said Signor Francesco more injury or damage than what his own acts—so different from his words and promises—and the coercive measures necessary to be adopted by the Emperor's generals are likely to bring on him. For if reduced to such an extremity, the Marquis will rather seek to ward off the injuries, dangers and damages threatening His Imperial Majesty than to retaliate and inflict the same treatment upon others.

Signor Francesco ought not to exaggerate his own merits and services to the Emperor, when certainly they are nothing but a just return of the many favours conferred on him

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by the Emperor; such as making him Duke of Milan, through his own graciousness and benevolence, not in any way compelled by circumstances; maintaining him in his Estate, and helping him with his armies and generals, his friends and his money, against all those who wanted to do him injury; often hazarding for his sake a good portion of his own dominions and hereditary kingdoms; which benefits and graces on the part of the Emperor no services however signal or great, such as those alleged by Signor Francesco, could in any way counterbalance. It would have been more to his credit had he modestly refrained from making any allusion at all to the said services, since it is evident that whatever he did in favour of the Imperial cause was equally calculated to promote his own interests and maintain himself in his Estate. God alone knows, had things gone otherwise, or had the Emperor's fortunes and interests been at stake, whether Signor Francesco would have shown such alacrity and devotion to the Imperial service.

However this may be, no induction can be drawn from the services thus alleged by Signor Francesco whereupon to establish his own innocence of the charges now brought against him. Time and new interests may have brought on a change of ideas. His Lordship may have co-operated in the defence of the estate of Milan, as far as he himself was concerned, but may since have formed designs and entered into plans calculated to promote his own personal aggrandisement, such as liberating his Estate from the ties of vassalage, securing it against the French, and ultimately expelling the ultramontanes from Italy, which seems to be one of his favourite projects, and also the principal charge brought against him.

Such being the case—as may be clearly proved and demonstrated—all presumption of innocence must be put aside, Signor Francesco being fully aware that the Marquis is well acquainted with his doings and practices, as well as his secret negotiations, from beginning to end; and that what he knows is either from his own mouth or in virtue of declarations made by his authority and consent. In matters, therefore, so clearly demonstrated as the present one is, it is not for the Marquis to waver in his determination and wait for further proofs, especially when he sees Signor Francesco as obstinate as ever in refusing to grant the securities demanded for the Imperial army under his command being neither molested nor attacked.

Were Signor Francesco's professed innocence to be satisfactorily established, he may be sure that His Imperial Majesty will not take away that which was so graciously bestowed upon him, and that no dishonour or injury will fall upon him. The Marquis knows full well the dangers of procrastination; otherwise he would have had no difficulty in granting the prorogation applied for, which, as long as

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the principal fortresses of the Estate remained in our hands, might have been indefinitely prolonged. Indeed, had the Marquis acceded to Signor Francesco's request, the Imperial army and the many interests attached to it would have been entirely at the mercy of Signor Francesco, who, from the fact of his ruling in Milan, and having close at hand and beyond the Alps friends on whom he could rely, and with whom he was in secret negotiation, might have thus become the arbiter of its fortunes. The Marquis, moreover, would have incurred the Emperor's censure by acting contrary to his instructions and to the express orders received [from Court], since being acquainted, as he is, with Signor Francesco's secret dealings and aspirations, though the latter is not yet convicted of them, he would, by trusting to him, have endangered the Imperial cause.

As Signor Francesco, therefore, still persists in his refusal to grant the required securities, which, after all, are by no means so important or considerable as might be required under the present circumstances, he has no reason whatever to complain if the Marquis does not leave the welfare of the army and the interests of the Empire at his mercy. By refusing to comply with the Emperor's just demands and by making an armed resistance, Signor Francesco renders himself more and more open to suspicion from the Marquis, who, having regard to his Ducal dignity, never intended, at first, to attack him in his castle of Milan, but only to keep him closely besieged and surrounded, so that he might not at any time, and on the war breaking out, do injury to the Imperial armies. Such, however, was his audacity that, without the least provocation on the part of the Imperial troops, he caused the artillery of the castle to fire upon them, and ordered other hostile acts, through which many soldiers have been killed or wounded; thus failing in his obedience to His Imperial Majesty and to his ministers and delegates in Italy.

But as, notwithstanding his ingratitude and rebellion, Signor Francesco still complains of certain wrongs and acts of violence which he wantonly imputes to the Marquis, it behoves him to declare that the measures complained of have been taken with reluctance in strict obedience to the Emperor's orders, and with a view to save the Imperial army from disaster, promising again that if Signor Francesco will give the securities demanded, no injury shall be done to the castle or to those inside, provided, however, all hostilities cease on their part.

And whereas the said Signor Francesco has, by his obstinacy, rebellion and frequent hostilities, shown himself to be adverse to the Emperor's interests, notwithstanding all his professions of fidelity and affection, the said Marquis, in virtue of his office and as Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies in Italy, summons him, under pain of being

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deprived of his fief and tried for rebellion, to abstain himself, and make his people in the castles of Milan and Cremona abstain, from any hostilities against the Imperial troops, who will then in like manner cease from the same; to furnish immediately the securities demanded, and give positive orders for all the governors and wardens in the Estate to come and take at the Imperial quarters the unconditional oath of allegiance to the Emperor, according to, and in the form of, the last warrants issued for that purpose. Signor Francesco is, moreover, summoned to deliver into the hands of the said Marquis the persons of Giovanni Angelo Riccio* and Policiano, that the truth may be investigated and the guilty parties discovered, since Signor Francesco pretending, as he does, to be innocent of the charges brought against him, he can only prove his allegation by means of the said witnesses. In short, he is summoned to comply immediately with all demands contained in the said mandate and warrant, under pain of deprivation of his Estate and any other penalties that his disobedience and rebellion may bring upon him.

As to his request that a safe-conduct may be furnished to the man he intends to send to the Emperor, the Marquis can only repeat what he has said on previous occasions; he praises Signor Francesco's determination, and shall be happy to give the safe-conduct when required.—Milan, 22 Nov. 1525.

Addressed: "To Signor Francesco Sforza."

Indorsed: "The Marquis of Pescara's answer to Francesco Sforza, 22 Nov. 1525."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 6.

22 Nov. **277.** BECHARIA BROTHERS to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 226.

Giovani Georgio and Matheo Becharia, citizens of Pavia, humbly represent to the Emperor their long services to the Imperial cause, and the total ruin of their fortune during the Italian wars in Maximilian's time, as His Majesty has no doubt been informed by the late Cardinal Sedunensis and others. Owing to which services His Imperial Majesty, in the year 1521, and whilst at the Diet of Worms, had the kindness to promise Matheo some compensation for their losses. Since then both brothers have served with equal devotion, both at Pavia and elsewhere, as the Illustrious Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) and Fernando de Alarcon cannot fail to testify.

The above promise of reward having remained without effect, the undersigned have again applied through the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva—to both of whom their merits and devotion are known—for a compensation of

* The name of this secretary, of whom mention is made in the Abbot's letter of the 17th (No. 271), is wrongly spelt here: Gioan Angulo Ritio.

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the losses by them sustained in the Imperial service. Begging, &c.—Pavia, 22 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Fidelissimi Servitores Johannes Georgius et Mattheus Fratres de Becharia, papienses."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ et Invictissimæ Sacræ Cæsaris et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the brothers Becharia, decimo Kal. Decembris 1525."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

23 Nov. **278.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 220.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 17th, which Domingo de Aguirre, the Duke of Sessa's messenger, took. Has since had letters from Milan, of the 18th, stating that the Marquis of Pescara was better; that the castle was being more closely invested, and that the garrison fired continually on the besiegers. The Marquis had changed all the public officers at Milan, and appointed new magistrates to administer justice in the Emperor's name, but had not yet changed the Senators, who alleged that they could not meet and transact business for any other but the Duke (Francesco Sforza) unless he had been first deprived of his Ducal dignity. All the revenue was being collected in the Emperor's name, and Hieronymo de Vercelli had been appointed chief magistrate (*capitan de justizia*) of the city.

(*Cipher:*) His Majesty's good servants in Italy wish to call his attention to two things, firstly, the necessity of appointing a general to take the command-in-chief of the Imperial army, because the Marquis' illness, though not mortal, is of such gravity as often to prevent him from attending to business and being present at the engagements which may take place any day; secondly, the facts that money is wanted more than ever, and that under the present circumstances it certainly is not advisable to leave an army without proper provision.

(*Common writing:*) Nothing new to advise from Genoa. The Doge and Community persevere in their devotion to the Imperial cause, and are very anxious for the return of their galleys [from Spain], as the time for the expiration of the truce is fast approaching. The harbour of Savona has been completed blocked up; they are now destroying the wharfs. Several attempts have been made to stop the Genoese in their work of destruction, but to no purpose.

(*Cipher;*) Letters from Lyons, of the 16th inst., have been received, stating that the French had so little hope of peace being made that they thought of nothing else but collecting money for the ensuing war, and that M. de Brion

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was to leave soon for Spain, to bring back Madame d'Alençon to France.

(*Common writing:*) The warder (*alcayde*) of Gaeta was to have left Milan post-haste on the 20th inst., on his way to Spain. By him His Imperial Majesty will be fully informed of the state of affairs in Naples, Rome and Milan.—Genoa, 23 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Post data.—After writing the above, intelligence has been received in this city that the galleys of Andrea Doria were at Noli, three leagues from Savona; their destination is unknown. Doria may, perhaps, be in connivance with the Fregosi, some of whom have lately joined the Papal galleys and those of the Order of St. John.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 23 Nov."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2⅓.

23 Nov. **279.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 228.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote on the 13th, 16th and 18th inst. what had occurred up to that date; but so brisk have been the practices of the confederates ever since, that he (Sessa) has determined to send the present letter by all possible routes, sea as well as land.

His Imperial Majesty may be assured that the negotiations are as active as ever, and these people on the eve of throwing off the mask, being much excited by the late occurrences at Milan, as well as by the news they receive [from that Court] almost daily. Had he (Sessa) not stayed the Pope with the hope that His Imperial Majesty was shortly to send his last decision with regard to pending matters, the whole thing would have exploded, and the plans of the confederates been made known. But the Pope is losing his confidence in him, saying that he (Sessa) is only lulling him with vain hopes and giving time for the Imperialists to get possession of the estate of Milan. Has often heard the Pope say that, in his opinion, this next messenger will not bring any answer respecting this particular case [of Milan], but only with regard to his own claims about Modena and Rezo (Reggio), which he considers, as far as he himself is concerned, the less important part of the negotiation. He had always looked upon the Emperor as on a favoured son of the Church, wishing him all prosperity and good fortune, so that he might become in time—everyone willing and helping—the sole arbiter and master in Italy. This, however (he added), was not to be accomplished by sheer

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force, and against the will of the Italian powers, but by their own express consent and with their co-operation. He cannot, therefore, bear the idea of His Imperial Majesty keeping the duchy of Milan for himself, or giving it away to the Archduke (Infante Don Fernando), for such, he maintains, has always been the Emperor's aim and object, and that the delay in granting the investiture of the Duchy to Francesco Sforza had no other origin. The Morono affair (he says) was got up for no other purpose than to have the Duke of Milan condemned, and make all other Italian potentates participators in his guilt. Which last design (he added) was made patent from the circumstance of the Imperial generals and ministers in Italy having tried all means in their power to produce discontent and drive the said Princes to extremity, which aim (he said) they had attained at last, since he (the Pope), the Venetians, and the rest of Italy were in constant fear and mistrust of the Emperor's movements.

Such is the substance of the conference which His Holiness held with him (Sessa) a few days ago. There can be no doubt that he is at the present moment greatly solicited by the Venetians, who, considering themselves already bound by treaty with France, urge him to declare himself. The Pope, as far as he (Sessa) can make out, hesitates to resolve upon any decided measure, for whilst disliking war and its expenses, he is nevertheless continually urged on by the confederates,* and yet knows how much may be lost by irresolution, which seems to be part of his nature. Is very much afraid that, in the end, the Pope will yield to the solicitations of the Venetians, and openly declare against the Emperor, unless something is done in the meantime to appease him and calm his fears. With all this, it must be said that the Pope professes that he would rather accept one favour from the Emperor than a hundred from the rest† of the Princes by whom his alliance is solicited.

If he (Sessa) be rightly informed, the plans of the confederates consist in obtaining from France 500 lances and 6,000 infantry, besides taking into their pay a large number of Switzers. With these forces, added to those of Venice and other powers, they expect united Italy to rise at the cry of Liberty, and expel the ultramontanes. Whilst the Imperial army concentrates in the Estate, so as to defend Pavia, Lodi Alessandria, Trezzo and other fortresses, the enemy's forces, are to invade the kingdom of Naples by sea and land, where the defences are so few, and the fidelity of the people so wavering—if we are to judge by the past—that they imagine its conquest achievable.

This last being their principal object, he (Sessa) has written to the Marquis of Pescara, recommending that a body of

* "Y por otra parte le astringe lo que le parece que le vañen (bañan?) el fuego."
† "Que continuo muestra querer mas uno de V. Mag. que ciento del resto."

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1,500 Germans and 500 Spaniards be sent thither. With these forces serving as a nucleus for fresh levies, a small army might be formed, wherewith to resist the attacks of the enemy, who, finding the enterprise more difficult than they at first imagined, would perhaps desist from their plans.

Humbly beseeches the Emperor to come to a determination in this affair, for the confederates so dread his aggrandisement and increase of power in Italy that no consideration will stop them in their career; besides which, they openly declare that His Imperial Majesty has no allies now to come to his assistance and no money with which to support his armies, whilst they boast of possessing the two elements of war, *i.e.*, plenty of resources and numerous friends.

Of the late events at Milan and Naples, His Imperial Majesty is no doubt fully informed, and therefore there is no need for him (Sessa) to say more about it. His reports are limited to what he hears and sees at Rome. Has reason, however, to fear that no credit is given to his remarks, and that this despatch will remain unanswered, as others have been. Will, nevertheless, persevere in what he considers to be his duty, namely, to state his opinion and tender his advice upon matters so important to the Imperial service and reputation. Begs again to remind the Emperor of his wish to retire from public life, for, certainly, to oblige him to reside at Rome as his ambassador and representative, without either authority or credit, is a very dangerous experiment for His Imperial Majesty to try under the present circumstances, notwithstanding that he (Sessa) may serve his office with loyalty and honour, the only two qualities at his disposal.—Rome, 23 Nov. 1525. "El Duque de Sessa."

Feels sure that His Majesty has already been informed of the Marquis of Pescara's precarious state of health, whose illness, though not yet declared mortal, gives still much cause for anxiety, as, in case of war, it will prevent his attending to any military business at all. It behoves His Imperial Majesty well to consider the possibility of such an event, and provide for a successor to the Marquis in case of need.

The English ambassadors solicit the Pope to enter into this league, being, as it would appear, closely united to France and to the Venetians. These last have formed the design of calling the Turk to their aid, as he (Sessa) has advised in former despatches.

The Pope is now in a worse predicament than ever he was. People utter the most terrible threats and blasphemies, openly accusing him of having, by his indecision and parsimony, brought Italy to the point at which it is. The Pope knows this well, and dissembles; but it is to be feared that, having so many people round him who are hostile to the Imperial cause, he may, one of these days, be induced to join the confederates, especially if no further provision be made at Court about his own personal matters and claims.

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Post data.—This letter goes under cover to Secretary Soria by a messenger of the Marquis of Pescara. Nothing new except that the plot thickens, and that the confederates make use of the late events at Milan to excite the passions of the people against His Imperial Majesty and his supposed designs of universal monarchy. So ripe are things getting that it becomes imperative to provide for an emergency.—Rome, 25 Nov.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 23d of November."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

25 Nov. **280.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 242.

His letter of the 17th instant was to announce how, on the 13th, the Duke of Milan had shut himself up in his castle, and how, notwithstanding that, the inhabitants of this city and Estate continued faithful and devoted to the Imperial service. The present despatch, by express, has two principal objects; namely, to ask for speedy remittances for the maintenance and support of this Imperial army, and the appointment of a general to command it in case of the Marquis of Pescara being disabled by disease.

He (the Abbot) has frequently alluded in his despatches to the total want of resources. The revenues of the Estate are mortgaged for this year and the greater part of the next, and the merchants and bankers of this place refuse to advance more money until they know for certain in whose hands the Duchy is to remain. There is nothing left to pawn or pledge, and the army is so exasperated that a mutiny is daily apprehended. Yesterday (the 24th) one month's pay, amounting to 19,000 ducats, became due to the Germans; 4,000 have been paid to-day on account, but whence the remaining 15,000 are to come, nobody can guess. By dint of promises and caresses, and by inviting the captains to his table, Antonio de Leyva has hitherto succeeded in calming down the tumultuous clamours of these soldiers, whom nothing can satisfy short of their full pay, provisions being now so scarce and dear at Milan that they can with difficulty be procured even for ready money.

His Imperial Majesty is humbly requested by all his faithful servants in these parts to apply prompt redress to the sufferings of this army, and to issue orders for the Marquis of Pescara and the other generals to be written to oftener than they are, and informed of what passes at Court, that they may contradict the various rumours in circulation, all more or less unfavourable to the Imperial interests, and which are, no doubt,

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artfully spread by the enemy in order to keep up the present agitation. Among other news said to have been received from Spain is that of the negotiations for peace being broken off, and of there being no chance now of a settlement between the Emperor and the King of France. Owing to which rumour and others adroitly circulated in Italy, the plots of the Pope and Venetians with France and England are thicker than ever. The Bishop of Bayeux is now at Venice, with full powers to treat from the Regent of France, as the Imperial ambassadors in that Republic, Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, cannot fail to have announced ere this. The Venetians, moreover, are gradually increasing their army. Their ambassador in this Estate (Marco Antonio Venier) left, four days ago, for Bergamo, thence to proceed to Venice; the Marquis of Pescara having appointed two gentlemen of his suite to accompany him as far as the frontiers of this Duchy, and Leyva given him several horses and beasts of burden to carry his luggage.

There is a report that the Pope has sent to the Marquis of Mantua for 300 light horse, wherewith to garrison the city of Parma. They are at present at their quarters in Romania, and their commander, Count Guido Rangone, has lately been distributing money among certain captains and friends of his at Modena, to make levies in those parts. He (the Abbot) cannot say whether these military preparations of the Pope and the Venetians are only intended, as they state publicly, to guard their own frontiers, or to come to the assistance of this Duke.

The Swiss envoys who were at Rome have for the most part left that city very well satisfied, as they say, with the Pope's reception. The envoy of Surico (Zurich) only has remained behind, but he will shortly leave also as much pleased with his visit as the rest of his colleagues.

The Grisons took, some time ago, the castle of Chiavenna, its garrison having surrendered for want of firewood, wine and even water. This happened on the 21st instant. Soon after the Grisons demolished the castle, and marched away. No more has been heard of them since.

There is one thing above all others to which the Marquis of Pescara and the rest of the generals and functionaries in this place humbly beseech His Imperial Majesty to attend, namely, this business of the peace with France. The Emperor must, as soon as possible, either come to an agreement with the French King—after taking proper securities and hostages from him—or else make alliance with the Pope and the Venetians, after granting some of their demands, so as not to give them time to plot and arm themselves.

The Duke of Ferrara has returned home very much disgusted at his not being allowed to pass through France into Spain to kiss the Imperial hands.

The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva are doing their best to surround this castle of Milan on all sides. It

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is already almost completely invested, notwithstanding the artillery fire of the garrison. On the 13th instant the Duke sent a sort of protest to the Marquis of Pescara, to which a suitable answer was returned on the 22d. The day after, the Duke sent back the Marquis' letter, pretending it could not be meant for him, as he was not named therein. The fact is that the Marquis, following the opinion of lawyers consulted upon this particular, did not address him as *Duke of Milan*, but merely as *Signor Francesco Sforza*, which circumstance, joined to the many disagreeable truths contained in the Marquis' paper, was, no doubt, the real cause of the Duke's refusing to reply. Copies of both papers—the Duke's protest and the Marquis' answer—are here enclosed,* whereby His Imperial Majesty will learn what has been done since. After the departure of the courier, on the 17th, the governor of Gaeta arrived. He is to leave for Spain in a few days, and will bear despatches up to the present hour.

Hieronymo Moron is drawing up his own plea, which, when completed, will be forwarded to Court, that justice may be done and the Duke punished as he deserves. It is for His Imperial Majesty to decide how and in whose name this Duchy is to be administered, because for the present and until a declaratory sentence be issued for or against this Duke, his Estate can only be governed by the Marquis as Captain-General of the Emperor and Governor of the Estate of Milan.

The second and perhaps also the principal reason for this despatch, conveyed as it is by special messenger, is the precarious state of the Marquis' health, for he is so weak and prostrated by disease that no reasonable hope of his recovery can be entertained. Should God bring his life to an end, it would be necessary at once to appoint to the command of this army some person of military reputation, who might keep this army together and baffle the plans of the enemy until the arrival of the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), or the Emperor's expected visit to Italy. Either Antonio de Leyva, whose experience and military qualities are well known, or the Marquis del Guasto, who, though young, is much beloved by the army, or any other of the captains and faithful servants of the Emperor now residing in Italy might easily take charge of it, provided there was money for its maintenance.—Milan, 25 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 25 Nov."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3¼.

* They may be found respectively under Nos. 259 and 276.

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26 Nov. **281.** Louise of Savoy to the Chancellor of Alençon and M. de Vaux, French Ambassadors in England.

Arch. Nat. Paris. J. 965.

Notwithstanding the pains taken since the conclusion of the treaties made in England to obtain from the Courts of Parliament of this kingdom, from the Princes as well as from the towns and Estates of Normandy and Languedoc, the requisite ratifications and engagements, as stipulated in the said treaties, several are still wanting, owing to the great distance of some places and to other causes. Will not rest until everything is done. The ambassadors are to request the Cardinal of York to get the term prolonged until the 15th of January, or at any rate till the 1st. As a proof of her good intentions, encloses the amount engaged for by the Princes of the Realm, by the towns of Toulouse, Lyons and Amiens, and what the estates of Languedoc have hitherto done in this particular. The money for this month's payment is ready. Should any difficulty be made about the prolongation of the term, which she (the Regent) cannot believe, considering her readiness to pay, it will proceed from ill-will, and show that the English are looking out for a cause for rupture, in which case she leaves it to the prudence and high discretion of her ambassadors to see that the money already paid be not lost.

Has despatched Charpaignes to Toulouse and Bourdeaux to publish the treaties there, and have them properly registered in the Courts of Parliament, as those of Paris and Rouen have already done. When ready, will send them to the ambassadors to give to the King, and obtain his in return.

Has news from Spain that the King, her son, has recovered his appetite and strength, and is now quite out of danger. The Bishop d'Ambrun (Embrun) and the First President (Selve) have been recalled to renew the overtures which had been made for the King's delivery. Meanwhile his sister, the Duchess of Alençon, remains with him to console and comfort him, as she has done hitherto.

Has news from Italy, stating that the Emperor's affairs did not prosper at all in that quarter, owing to which he was doing all he could to gain over to his side the Pope and the Venetians, who, however, remain firm in their purpose of joining the present Italian league against him. As to herself, following in this respect the advice of the King of England and of the Cardinal of York, she has sent her full powers to adhere to it. All Italy has the greatest confidence in the King of England and in the Cardinal of York, knowing well how much they desire the liberty and preservation of that country. Wishes the King would send powers to his ambassador at Rome, and write as often as possible to the Pope and to the Signory. The Emperor is doubtless aiming not only at being crowned but at becoming the supreme monarch of Christendom. The ambassadors are to inform the

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Cardinal of the Emperor's marriage to the sister of the King of Portugal (Infanta Isabel), chiefly to obtain with her a sufficient sum of money for his journey to Rome.

The English ambassadors arrived this afternoon. Has caused them to be received as coming from her son's best friend.—St. Just sur Lyons, 26 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Loyse."

Countersigned: "Noblet."

27 Nov. **282.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 244.

Since their letter of the 20th inst. nothing new has occurred. They are anxiously waiting for instructions, since for want of them and from the apparent unwillingness of the deputies to treat, the negotiations are entirely suspended.

(*Cipher:*) The proposals made to this Signory by the French ambassadors are reduced to this: France offers to furnish 500 lances, besides 40,000 crowns every month for the pay of 10,000 Switzers. The King of England is to contribute monthly 25,000 cr.; and it is reported that letters have come from France and from England confirming the said offers. To ensure the payment of his monthly contribution for the expenses of the war, the King of England offers to deposit here [at Venice] 100,000 crowns. The Imperial ambassadors have reason to think that the Venetians have not yet accepted the above proposals. They are no doubt waiting for the issue of the affairs now pending between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. Their intentions, however, are far from being good, and if they find help in their plans, they are sure to do mischief. They are known to be making all manner of preparations to defend, as they say, their frontiers, but they keep their doings so secret that it is almost impossible to obtain any intelligence about them.

Latterly, in consequence of letters received from their ambassador at the Imperial court,* announcing that the Emperor had made an agreement with the Pope, the Signory has suddenly become mistrustful of His Holiness, to whom they no longer despatch messengers, as they used to do, every three days. Since the 16th, which was the date of their last courier, no letters have been sent to Rome or have come from that city. It would be a blessing if these suspicions of the Venetians increased, and the Pope really took the Emperor's side.

* Andrea Navagiero.

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Respecting the Duke of Ferrara's return there is nothing to say, since it must be known at Court through the Marquis of Pescara.—Venice, 27 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. From the Imperial Ambassadors, Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

28 Nov. **283.** LOUISE OF SAVOY to her Ambassadors* in ENGLAND.

Arch. Imp. Paris, J. 965.

Has since her last (of the 26th Nov.) held communications with the English ambassadors, and granted their demands, having agreed before the ecclesiastical judge to the engagements for the money, according to treaty, and having afterwards taken the oath at the Church of St. John of Lyons with all solemnity. As the said ambassadors are despatching a courier home with this intelligence, she (the Regent) loses no time in informing them of that circumstance, that they may announce the same to the King and Cardinal.

The ambassadors are to ask the King [of England] to prolong the term for the ratifications not yet obtained to the 15th Feb., if possible, or at least till the 15th Jan. The English ambassadors are also writing home about this, for difficulties have been raised about the said ratification, especially by the inhabitants of Paris, not, indeed, by respectable citizens or high personages, but by tradesmen and low people, all for want of understanding what is asked of them.

Hears from Spain that the King (Francis) makes good progress, and is getting every day stronger, as well as more firm in his resolution not to give up a foot of land, though he offers an honourable ransom, according the advice given him by the Cardinal of York.—Saint Just, over Lyon, 28 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Loyse."

Countersigned: "Noblet."

Addressed: "A Monsieur le Chancellier [d'Alençon] and Monsieur de Vaulx, Ambassadeurs en Angleterre."

French. Original. p. 1½.

29 Nov. **284.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 250–3.

After their joint letter of the 27th inst. a courier arrived from Rome with the following intelligence:—

* Jean Brinon, President of Rouen and Chancellor of the duchy of Alençon, and Gioachino di Passano, Sieur de Vaulx.

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(*Cipher:*) The Duke of Sessa writes, in date of the 23d, that the practices of the confederates have lately become more active and eager than ever. In his opinion the only thing that could prevent an explosion was the hope the Pope had of the proposed agreement being favourable to him. His Holiness, however, showed no disposition to consent to His Imperial Majesty s becoming sole master of the duchy of Milan.

What the Imperial ambassadors have heard respecting the said particulars is this, that on the 23d the Signory had letters from their ambassador* at Rome, informing them that although the Pope had declared on the 17th that he could not persuade the Florentines to join the league—which declaration, added to the fact of the Emperor having lately entered into an agreement with His Holiness, had naturally aroused the suspicions of the Signory—he had suddenly changed his mind, and prevailed upon the said Florentines to make common cause with him and the rest of the confederates.

The decision of the Pope has calmed the fears of these people, who are more disposed than ever to do all the harm they can to the Imperial cause. The plans of the confederates seem to be as follows: France to furnish 500 lances and 40,000 cr. every month. The King of England 25,000 cr., paid monthly. The Pope and Florentines some little money, the amount of which is not stated. The French, it is said, ask as a condition that the Duke Maximiano (Maximiliano Sforza) be put in possession of the estate of Milan, and this Republic bound to maintain him in it. Another condition is for Venice to furnish a certain contingent of troops wherewith to invade the kingdom of Naples. This last, however, the Republic does not feel inclined to grant, believing that the French ask too much in order to get what they want. The ambassadors cannot answer for the truth of these reports, though the intelligence comes from a person well versed in government affairs and who is in the habit of giving them true and valuable information.

On the 28th of October last, the ambassadors of France had a secret audience, which lasted one hour and a half, the subject of which is yet unknown, though it may be confidently asserted that it was not to the Emperor's profit or advantage.

This Republic is putting her arsenal in order, so as to be ready to arm her fleet on the return of fine weather. The coasts of Apulia and Sicily ought, therefore, to be placed in a state of defence, not so much on account of these people as on account of the Turk, perhaps, however, of both. The best remedy, however, would be a letter from His Imperial Majesty,

* Domenico or Domenego Venier, who seems to have replaced Marco Foscari about this time in the Roman embassy.

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announcing the settlement of the present difficulties, or else provision to carry on the war, if necessary.—Venice, 29 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 29 Nov."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

30 Nov. **285.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 257.

Recommends a petition of Clemente Albané's, postmaster of this city (Rome), whose son wishes to be naturalized in Spain. His father has served the Empire for upwards of 40 years, and well deserves this favour.

Prothonotary De Gambara* is likewise a devoted servant of the Emperor. He and the Count, his brother, have served faithfully on every occasion. He (Sessa) warmly commends them both to the Imperial notice for posts in the army or elsewhere, as they are anxious to show their devotion.—Rome, 30th of Nov. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 30th of Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

30 Nov. **286.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 261–5.

Has done all he could to acquaint the Emperor with the state of affairs up to the 25th inst. Since then, perceiving that the intrigues of the confederated powers grew warmer every day, and that, instead of their plans being secretly conducted, as before, they were publicly discussed, he (Sessa) determined to call upon the Pope, to inform him of what he had heard, and complain, in the strongest terms he could, of the projected league against the Emperor.

This the Pope admitted at once, adding that he could not help listening to the proposals of the Italian and other Princes. He had been waiting in vain for His Imperial Majesty's decision about his own private affairs, and although

* "El Prothonotario de Gambara es de la qualidad que V. Mag. debe haber entendido." Uberto di Gambara, Apostolic Prothonotary, must be meant in this passage. He was sent as Papal Nuncio to England in April 1526, instead of Marchione Langus, recalled.

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the Chancellor (Gattinara) had lately written to say that a gentleman* of the Emperor's bedchamber would shortly bring his final resolution, the messenger had not yet made his appearance. Meanwhile the Imperial generals and ministers in Italy were seizing estates and lands without consideration of or respect to anyone. He did not choose to be at their mercy, but would protect himself as best he could. God was witness of his natural aversion from war; but rather than submit to an indignity, he would advise that course, as the surest means of obtaining universal peace. Nobody knew better than he did the dangers and inconveniences of such a step, but he much preferred running any risk to being dependent upon another man's will. The Emperor's last acts were not in harmony with his professions at other times. He had always declared it to be his intention to promote the welfare of Italy, to maintain every Prince on his own estate, and defend them against any attacks whatsoever, and yet he had begun by seizing and appropriating to himself one of the finest estates in Italy, and there was reason to believe that he would, in the end, take possession of all the rest.

Many other things did the Pope say to the same purpose, which he (Sessa) need not repeat. After making a suitable answer to each of his objections, he concluded by begging the Pope not to take part with the confederates until he heard the Emperor's decision, as he had no doubt that by writing to Spain and explaining his position and views, everything would be settled to his satisfaction. He (Sessa) meant thereby to gain time, but the Pope would not consent to it, saying that he (Sessa) might, if he chose, write home and report his conversation, but that he could not promise to wait for any period of time however short, because were he to take such an engagement, the chances were that at the expiration of the term fixed he would be placed in a most awkward position, the Emperor being able to follow whichever course of politics suited him best, whilst he (the Pope) would be bound, as it were, by the stipulations of the league which he had promised to join without having had time to discuss his own terms first.

Sends this messenger to inform His Imperial Majesty of the Pope's present sentiments and feelings. As far as he can gather from his conversation and from what other influential people tell him, the Pope's wishes and aspirations are that His Imperial Majesty fulfil his promise of maintaining each Italian Prince in his own estate. That if the Duke of Milan be guilty of the charges brought against him, so as to deserve being deprived of his estate, the Emperor name some one else to fill his place, so as to remove all cause of fear and apprehension of his greatness and increasing

* Knight Commander Miguel de Herrera, warder (*alcayde*) of Pamplona and gentleman-in-waiting to the Emperor.

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power. In fact, so far has this last idea gained possession of Italian minds, that they openly declare the late Milan affair to have been got up on purpose, with the Emperor's consent and approval, merely to find a plea for the Duke's supposed guilt and consequent deprivation of his estate, he (Morono) having dexterously dragged the Duke into the conspiracy.

As to his own overtures to the Marquis of Pescara, the Pope pretends not only to have a just plea for what he did, but to be able to prove, if necessary, that, far from being the instigator and promoter of that idea, he accepted it from others.*

Being asked whether he felt disposed to enter into a separate league with the Emperor, he declared that he could not, since, were he to do so, all other Princes would thereby be compelled to accept the terms offered by His Imperial Majesty. He might, perhaps, persuade each of the confederates to abandon some of their pretensions, as his only wish was—and had always been—to maintain them in their possessions, and save them from utter ruin. If a plan could be hit upon to quiet the world at large and remove all cause of anxiety and danger, he (the Pope) would be the first to forward it, with all his might, since he wished to be the Emperor's kind father and friend.

From the above declaration it is evident that His Holiness' mind is in a state of suspense; and that, notwithstanding the pressing demands of the French and Venetians—in which England also joins—he is still wavering and uncertain. The following are said to be the plans of the confederates: France proposes to contribute with 1,000 men-at-arms and 40,000 ducats every month, besides their usual sea forces. They renounce also their rights to the estate of Milan in favour of the present Duke, and make other considerable offers. Alberto del Carpio (Carpi) has ample powers from the kingdom and Regent [of France] to conclude the league. There seem to have been several difficulties at first, as he (Sessa) has been informed. It was objected that the money offered by England was not near at hand; that the articles proposed by France were not much to the Venetians' taste; and that the Republic itself had no great confidence in the Pope, believing that—the money once paid and the expense met—he might forsake the league and make his peace with the Emperor. But it is asserted that all these difficulties have now disappeared, and that everything is settled between them.

He (Sessa) has reason to believe that the Venetians have their eye on Carmona (Cremona) and la Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda), though they keep their designs as secret as possible. On the whole, the plots of the confederates are more active

* "Y para lo que Su Santidad ha passado con el Marques de Pescara cerca destas platicas dice que tiene sus justas disculpas, y que hara tocar con la mano á V. Mag. que fue requerido y no requeridor, y que se gobernó con la templanza debida."

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than ever; and the general belief is that the league is altogether concluded, though the Pope has often declared, upon oath, that he has not yet taken any engagement with them.

One of the things to which these people seem to have made up their mind is the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, which, from its almost defenceless state and from the little confidence to be placed in its inhabitants—who are generally considered inclined to this Italian league against the Emperor—offers the confederates no small chance of success.

He (Sessa) would not insist upon this and other matters were it not that the intentions of the league are avowedly to do all possible harm to the Emperor, and oblige him to abandon Italy altogether. They openly declare their wish to be that the Emperor come to some agreement with the King of France and set him at liberty, whatever may be the securities and pledges demanded; and they would consider themselves highly favoured if, by means of the aforesaid league, they ensured the success of their plans.

Should war be decided upon, it is imperative for His Imperial Majesty to provide means for his army, and look to the defence of that kingdom (Naples), which, as before stated, is threatened with invasion.

The gentleman (Miguel de Herrera) who is to bring us the Emperor's resolution on this material point not being yet arrived, it is very difficult for him (Sessa) to know what to say or how to act. He will do all he can to persuade the Pope to wait, but is not sure of success, for those who surround His Holiness are for the most part enemies to the Empire, and the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) has not so much authority or influence as could be desired.

Has been told that a servant of the Duke of Milan, called Juan Antonio Petra,* had been arrested at Venice; according to his own confession, this servant had been sent thither by the Marquis of Pescara for the purpose of inducing the Milanese ambassador in that city to declare what he knew of the Duke's plans and intrigues, so that his testimony should coincide with that of Morono. The ambassador had him arrested, and he has since divulged the whole thing, to weaken, as it is believed, the charges brought against his master.—Rome, 29 Nov. 1525.

Post data.—Since the above was written, he (Sessa) has had the following intelligence from a most reliable source. It appears that the plans of the confederates have been lately modified in this manner: The Pope to furnish 800 lances and 10,000 infantry of any nation that he pleases. The Venetians an equal number, besides certain light cavalry and artillery in proportion. France, 500 lances and 40,000 ducats monthly, for the pay of 10,000 Switzers. With these forces, amounting altogether to 30,000 infantry and upwards

* Called elsewhere Giovan Antonio di Preda. *See* p. 479.

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of 2,000 men-at-arms, besides light cavalry and artillery, they expect to free Italy from the Imperial yoke, by defeating our armies, or at least shutting them up within the duchy of Milan. That being done, they propose invading the kingdom of Naples, which, as has been above said, appears to them a very easy enterprise. The principal difficulty—which has for some time delayed the conclusion of the league—lies in the sea forces to be furnished by the Venetians, as the French wish the fleet to be composed of 30 galleys, including their own and those of the Pope, which would give the Venetians a much larger share in the expense and equipment than they actually choose to have.

Another of the French requirements was, that after Italy had been liberated from the Imperial rule, the Italian Princes should be obliged to assist them with their respective contingents of troops, so as to invade Flanders and Spain at once, and oblige the Emperor to set his prisoner at liberty. This last difficulty has, it would appear, lately been disposed of, the Italian Princes having agreed to assist France with one half of their respective armies, which is exactly the number promised by them. The sea forces have likewise been altered as to their respective proportions, so that the confederates are only waiting now for the Pope to give in his adhesion; but he, as before stated, still wavers in his determination.

To guard against the probable event of the King of France making peace with the Emperor in the meantime, and placing them, as it were, in jeopardy, it has been stipulated that he (the King) give at once sufficient guarantee in merchants' bills for the payment of four monthly instalments, at the rate of 40,000 ducats each. The King of England contributes, besides, a large sum of money, which the rest of the confederates engage to repay him hereafter.

Such is the actual state of things. The Pope has not yet taken any final engagement, and wishes to come to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, but the confederates so urge him to decide in their favour that unless a speedy settlement of the whole question come from Spain, it is to be feared that he will ultimately yield to their pressing solicitations. In the meantime, he (Sessa) will do his utmost to prevent this, although ignorant of the Imperial wishes and intentions on this point, and not knowing whether he is to give the Pope hopes or take them away entirely, he is quite in the dark, and knows not which system to adopt as the best. He will, however, follow that which appears to him most advantageous under the present circumstances, namely, to maintain the Pope in his irresolution and waverings.

It must not, however, be believed at home that by the Emperor making peace with the King of France and restoring him to his liberty, all these Italian troubles and dissensions will be ended. On the contrary, he (Sessa)

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is of opinion that the very moment that is done, the war will again be kindled with greater fury than ever in Italy; for no sooner will the French King recover his freedom than the Italians will send for him, gain his affections, and make him master of the duchy of Milan. Such are the plans of the confederates, who make no mystery of them.

The last letters received from Milan, in date of the 23d inst., represent the Marquis of Pescara's health as very low. He was daily losing strength, and his life was almost despaired of. It behoves His Imperial Majesty to decide who is to take command of the Imperial army, in the not improbable case of God's calling him hence speedily.

The Pope has lately shown some discontent at the news that a detachment of the Imperial army had been quartered upon the lands of the Church. That, however, is of very little consequence in comparison with his other subjects of complaint.—30th Nov.

The garrison of this castle of Milan make frequent sallies to skirmish with the besieging forces, rather, as is generally believed, to give and receive information of what is going on than for any hostile purpose, since the said sallies and skirmishes have no result whatever. The inhabitants of the city and the country people generally are discontented, for violence is at all times odious, and the great injuries inflicted by the soldiery in their respective quarters, besides other extortions, tend to alienate the people's affections from them.

The Duke of Ferrara has come back. What the real cause of his return may be God only knows.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 30 Nov."

Spanish. Original entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

30 Nov. **287.** COMMANDER HERRERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 269.

Yesterday, on St. Andrew's eve, he (Herrera) arrived at Milan, where he found the Marquis of Pescara so reduced by illness that he had scarcely power even to listen to the verbal message whereof he was bearer. His Imperial Majesty should immediately appoint some person of repute to succeed him, for, on the death of the Marquis, this army must not be left without a commander.

Many other things could he (Herrera) say to this purpose, but having no secretary by him to write in cipher, he will postpone his report until he reaches Rome. Has met Lope Hurtado [at Milan], and conferred with him on matters im-

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portant to the Imperial service, as he will, no doubt, advise by his ciphered despatch. Begs that full credence be given to him on whatever he reports.

The Marquis and Antonio de Leyva having heard that he (Herrera) was the bearer of certain powers from His Imperial Majesty, wherein the generals of this army are alluded to, applied for a copy, that they might act accordingly. But as his commission was not to leave the said powers in their hands, he (Herrera) resolved to intrust them to Lope Hurtado, who will keep them secret and closed until written to from Rome. Indeed, were his negotiations at that place to fail entirely, and the Pope to refuse coming to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, it would be necessary for the generals of the army to take cognizance of the said powers, in which case the transmission of the parcel would be very difficult, if not impossible, from Rome. All this considered he (Herrera) has intrusted them to Hurtado's keeping.—Milan, 30 Nov. 1525.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Commander Herrera, 30 Nov."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1 Dec. **288.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 288.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 31st October last, by which, as well as by those addressed to the Marquis of Pescara and brought by Herrera and Juan Bautista [Castaldo], he has heard of the ample provision in money and supplies made for this Imperial army. The Marquis was so pleased to hear the news brought by these two gentlemen, and likewise the marks of Imperial favour to his nephew, the Marquis del Guasto,* that it was thought at one time he would improve in health. Unfortunately, it has not been so, and the physicians now quite despair of his life. Sends the present messenger post-haste to inquire who is to assume the command of the army after the Marquis' decease and to take charge of Herrera's commission. The last-named gentleman left this for Rome only the other day, when he (Hurtado) took good care to inform him of what he had seen and observed during his stay in that city, for things have come to such a plight there that he (Herrera) will require all his prudence, ability and discretion to execute the difficult commission he bears, as His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to have seen by his report of the 5th Oct. last.

(*Cipher:*) The said Herrera was much pressed by the generals to leave behind him the instructions and other

* Alfonso Davalos, nephew and heir of Ferrante, or Hernando, Marquis of Pescara (Peschiera).

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papers he had brought; but perceiving that this was contrary to orders, and that the Marquis was sinking, he refused to do so and intrusted them to his (Hurtado's) care, with the express injunction that he was not to communicate their contents to anyone until he heard from him. Expects the Emperor's orders and instructions thereupon, in case the affairs at Rome do not turn out well.

This courier will be soon followed by another, named Juan Bautista, who is to take home the legal proceedings instituted at Pavia against Hieronimo Morono, as conducted by the Abbot of Najera.

(*Common writing:*) The Emperor's original orders were for him (Hurtado) to return to Piedmont as soon as the generals and other functionaries here no longer required his services, there to proceed to the investigation of the damages caused by the Imperial troops. Since his arrival at Milan, he has been employed in various ways; his last act has been to send to Rome for the purpose of ascertaining the Pope's present views and politics. He can no longer be of use in that way, and therefore intends to return to his original commission in Piedmont, the more so that he has lately received a message from Madame de Savoy requesting him to begin at once the legal inquiry ordered by His Imperial Majesty.

On this point, however, he (Hurtado) begs leave to submit the following considerations: Were it possible to satisfy the Duke and Duchess of Savoy without the said inquiry, and leave matters as they were at the time when the Imperial troops evacuated Piedmont, he (Hurtado) is of opinion that all further proceedings ought to be laid aside. He has often written to the Duke that the intrigues of the confederated powers were the only cause of the Imperial troops having been quartered in those districts, and that no very severe punishment could be inflicted upon the delinquent soldiers, for fear of their rising in mutiny. On the other hand, the proposed inquiry can only serve for the Duke and his subjects to establish a real claim against the Emperor. The expenses and ravages of the troops in Piedmont are indeed incalculable, but most of the damage was done by the Italian infantry and by the light horse, to whom no pay was issued at the time from the Emperor's treasury. What the men-at-arms have consumed it would be folly to oblige them to refund, for they have no money, and any severity under the present circumstances might alienate their affections. If, therefore, the Duke and his subjects are not likely to be indemnified for their losses, what satisfaction can it be to them if, after a legal inquiry most minutely conducted, it come to be proved that the Imperial troops quartered in Piedmont have actually committed ravages and made exactions to the amount of 500,000 ducats? If the object of the inquiry be that some of the delinquents be convicted and duly punished, it must still be borne in mind that these are not times at which such misdemeanors can be

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corrected, for the men being without pay and on the eve of being called out for active service, would feel it more than ever, would importune the Emperor for their arrears, and, perhaps, too, go over to his enemies.

The only reparation that, in his (Hurtado's) opinion, can be offered at present is in good words; stringent orders should also be given to the Marquis [del Guasto] not to allow, in future, any reprisals against the Duke's vassals, and if any such have been made to have the money and property restored to the owners. That such excesses have been committed by the Imperial troops in recent times cannot be doubted, for, even after the evacuation of Piedmont, bands of unruly soldiers entered the territory, sacked the villages, took away the cattle, and led the chief inhabitants into captivity until a sufficient ransom was paid down; an example soon likely to be followed by others if proper measures are not adopted. Whence it has followed that what with the plunder made at the time the Duke of Bourbon went through Piedmont into France, and that of the Italian bands and men-at-arms since quartered upon them, there is scarcely one Piedmontese who has not a claim of some sort to bring against the Emperor. For whoever lost then 10 ducats claims now 1,000, and those who had, perhaps, a relative slain or wounded ask for a heavy compensation.

He (Hurtado) is doing all he can to have these excesses of the troops restrained, and has frequently spoken to the Marquis del Guasto about it; but unless positive orders and instructions come from Spain, it is to be feared that the evil, instead of abating, will increase, as the said Marquis dares not show much rigour with the culprits, for fear of discontenting the army. Much good might be done by His Imperial Majesty sending the plaintiffs before the Duke's council, and if their wrongs were not properly redressed there, making such provision as would satisfy them. If, moreover, the 15,000 ducats which Madame borrowed upon her own jewels to give to the men-at-arms by way of composition were paid back to her, it might also go far towards settling the present difficulties.

From the above statement it is quite plain that the proposed inquiry can be of no avail; and since he can be of no earthly use in Piedmont, he (Hurtado) begs to be relieved from his commission and permitted to return to Spain.

The bearer of this, Bartholome de Tassis, is the person before alluded to in a former despatch as having procured valuable information. He and his uncle Simon are good servants of the Empire. If the latter could return before the expiration of the truce and bring with him the Imperial answer to the above particulars, much good might be done.

Encloses a memorandum of the Duchess [of Savoy] with advices up to this date. His Imperial Majesty might write to her in his credence and thank her for her gracious inter-

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ference in the affairs of Piedmont and in the matter of the compensation claimed by the Duke, her husband.

Commends to the Emperor's notice the person of Juan de Urbina, whose services ought to be rewarded, as those of a brave and accomplished officer. Since the Marquis' death the various divisions of this Imperial army feel the want of good commanding officers, for he was, without dispute, the ablest general they ever had, and knew how to keep everything in perfect order.—Milan, 1st Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, 1st December."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

3 Dec. **289.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

Arch. Hist. Cent. Madrid. *Priv. y Car. Re. de Najera,* f 381.

The King, Abbot of Najera, &c.—Having written to you on the 5th Nov. last by Juan Babtista Castaldo and Commander Herrera what had occurred up to that date, We shall only inform you now that We have given orders for certain bills of exchange on Genoa to be drawn and forwarded to you, to the amount of 60,000 ducats. On the receipt of the said bills you will have them cashed, and apply the money to the wants of that our most victorious army, and according to the orders of our Captain-General, the Marquis of Pescara, using in this, as well as in all matters appertaining to it, all possible diligence, as you have done on other similar occasions.—Toledo, 3d of December 1525. "Yo el Rey. By His Majesty's command. Pedro Garcia."

Addressed: "From the Imperial and Catholic Majesty. To the Abbot of Najera, Commissary-General of his most Victorious Army in Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1¼.

3 Dec. **290.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar,* A. 36, ff. 294–9.

His last despatch, in date of the 22d November, went by land by a courier from Naples. On the 2d instant the Imperial letter of the 31st of October came to hand. It was brought and forwarded by Commander Herrera the day before he left Milan for Rome.

This Doge and Community humbly beseech His Imperial Majesty that, in case of the present truce with France being extended, they may be expressly named and included in it, so as to remove all doubt concerning their position and put an end to the piratical incursions of Andrea Doria. They also commend to the Imperial notice the person and estate of the

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Lord of Monago (Monaco), who has been on all occasions a most faithful servant of the Empire.

According to intelligence received by this Doge from his agents at Milan on the evening of the 1st instant, God had been pleased to bring to an end the life of the Marquis of Pescara. May God be merciful to him, for he certainly was a perfect gentleman and a good servant of the Emperor!

(*Cipher:*) They also write to the Doge that the Imperial army appeared not very much pleased with the appointment of the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva to command them, a piece of intelligence much to be wondered at, considering that both are men of great military talents and repute as well as good servants of the Emperor. He (Soria) doubts not they will agree in all matters relating to the Imperial service. Most of the captains in command of the men-at-arms happened, at the time, to be absent from the camp.

(*Common writing:*) Only a few days ago he (Soria) remitted to the Marquis of Pescara and Abbot of Najera a sum of 6,500 ducats, borrowed here (at Genoa). He was about procuring 12,000 more on the same terms when the news came of the Marquis' death, besides vague rumours of changes and troubles likely to arise in consequence. The merchants who were to lend the money having heard, also, that some bills drawn at Milan upon Naples had not been accepted, suddenly withdrew their offers. This notwithstanding, he (Soria) hopes to prevail on the said merchants to grant the proposedloan, as they have positive intelligence from Spain that remittances both in specie and bills have already been made. Joan Baptista and Thomas de Ferrariis have lent the sum sent to Milan in the first instance; of the second and larger loan the same parties take a good portion, the remainder to be furnished by Nicolao and Stefano de Grimaldo.

This very day news has been received of certain Turkish vessels having made their appearance in the Channel of Pomblin (Piombino) and taken possession of Elba. It will be discussed to-morrow whether the Imperial galleys and those of this Community shall go to the Strait and give them chase.

The courier who takes this [despatch] comes from Rome, sent by the Duke of Sessa. He goes by land. A second one is to go to-morrow by sea with duplicate despatches from Alonso Sanchez. The latter writes to say that the Venetians are very backward (*andaban muy perezosas*) in their negotiations with the confederates.

The Duke of Ferrara has given up his projected journey [to Spain], and returned to his capital, alleging that the French have refused him a safe-conduct.—Genoa, 3 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 3 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

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5 Dec. **291.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 303.

Wrote, the day before yesterday, as by duplicate enclosed. Has since received letters from Milan, stating that the Marquis of Pescara died on the morning of the 3d, not on the 1st, as the Doge was incorrectly advised. (*Cipher:*) Besides which, there is no ground for the report that the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva did not agree; on the contrary, there was perfect conformity of ideas and sentiments between them, and they were sure to work in common for the welfare of the army intrusted to their care. This notwithstanding, it behoves His Imperial Majesty to appoint, as soon as possible, a commander-in-chief, as the confederated Princes persevere in their secret plots, and the death of the Marquis might give them courage to declare themselves openly.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis died as a Christian, having previously disposed of his worldly affairs, and intrusted the command of the army to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva conjointly, until such time as the Emperor should be pleased to appoint his successor. He also begged the Senate and citizens of Milan to obey all orders of those generals.

The Marquis [del Guasto] has since written for money, of which the Imperial army stands in great need. Has already remitted to Milan 6,500 ducats, and hopes, in a couple of days more, to make another remittance of 12,000.—Genoa, 5 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 5 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. p. 1⅓.

6 Dec. **292.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 308-9.

By Bartholome de Tassis, the courier, who left this on the 1st instant, His Imperial Majesty was informed of the Marquis' approaching death. He ended his days on the 3d, and no slight suspicions are entertained of his having been poisoned, for when the physicians made the post-mortem examination, it was found that the lower end of his heart was completely gone and in a state of corruption. Up to a very few minutes before his death he preserved his senses, when, sending for the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, he begged them to take charge of the army, and live on friendly terms with each other, so as to forward the Emperor's best interests. He did the same with the captains of the lansquenets, making them promise fidelity to the Emperor, by which acts the Marquis has proved to the last his stanch devotion to the Imperial cause.

The Marquis has made certain provisions in his will, to be attended to by his nephew and heir, the Marquis del Guasto.

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Besides the dower to be handed over to the Marchioness,* his widow, there are debts to be paid upon his estate, amounting altogether to 200,000 ducats. His nephew is more likely to spend his revenue in the Emperor's service than to discharge the late Marquis' debts, and therefore he (Lope Hurtado) and all the ministers and functionaries [at Milan] humbly beseech His Imperial Majesty to have the said will executed, so that those who may come after him may be encouraged to serve as faithfully and truly as Pescara himself did.

The Marquis [del Guasto] and Leyva live like brothers, and are very anxious to show their fidelity and devotion to the Emperor. The better to acquaint him with the state of things here, they have decided upon despatching Juan Bautista Castaldo [to Spain], who is to report verbally on certain matters that could not be safely committed to paper, and which the poor Marquis, before he died, secretly communicated to him.

On his return from Rome he (Lope Hurtado) wrote to say what the opinion of the Emperor's good servants there as well as here was respecting the present state of affairs. (*Cipher:*) All think that Italians in general being people on whom no reliance can be placed, as appears from past events, it would be now more expedient than ever to enter into some sort of agreement with the King of France. For the loss of the Marquis is very much felt. Large sums are owing to the army, as may be seen by the enclosed memorandum,† and the daily expenditure is also very considerable. Were this to be reduced, badly-intentioned people might take advantage of it to unite and encourage the confederates, and—war breaking out—this army could not easily hold its ground against so powerful an enemy by sea and land, unless the Emperor came to Italy in person. Without the assistance of France the confederates would not dare undertake anything; perhaps, too, they would come with their hands tied to receive the Emperor's decision. As it is, they will not come to terms. The Pope said to him (Hurtado) the other day that the Venetians would never consent to the payment of the 80,000 ducats indemnity, much less to the Duke of Milan being deprived of his estate. He (Lope Hurtado) believes the Pope to be of the same opinion, and that unless His Imperial Majesty arrive shortly in Italy the confederates will not give in respecting these two radical points. We shall soon see whether Commander Herrera's commission and the instructions lately sent to the Imperial ambassadors at Venice will have the effect of obliging the confederates to declare their intentions and wishes.

Has heard from the agent of the Duke of Ferrara residing at Milan that his master felt some uneasiness about this mission of Commander Herrera. He (the agent) has been told

* Vittoria Colonna, much celebrated by the poets of the time.

† The same mentioned in Hurtado's letter of the 1st, at p. 506.

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that in case of the Pope not accepting the conditions proposed to him, the Duke will have no reason to complain of His Imperial Majesty. His own opinion is that the Duke's co-operation ought to be secured before the confederates get hold of him.

(*Common writing:*) The Dowager Marchioness of Pescara had arrived at Marino on the frontier of Naples. She was coming to see her husband when the news of his death reached her. As she is now so close to Rome, His Imperial Majesty might give orders to Commander Herrera or to Secretary Perez* to visit her in his name, she being the widow of such a man and the daughter of another† whose services to the Empire were most signal.—Milan, 6 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Lope Hurtado de Mendoça, 6 Dec."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

7 Dec. **293.** The Abbot of Najera, Imperial Commissioner in Italy, to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 53.

On his return from Pavia, whither he went for the purpose of taking Hieronymo Morono's confession on the 26th ult, he (the Abbot) found that Juan Batista Castaldo and Arana had arrived in Milan. Three days after, on the 29th, came Commander Herrera, who, without leaving behind the letters and powers he had for the Marquis [of Pescara], started the next day for Rome.

The Marquis, after setting in order the affairs of his soul and making his notable will, and appointing the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva his successors in the command of this army till His Imperial Majesty's pleasure should be known, died on Saturday, the 2d instant, between 9 and 10 at night. He was buried at a Benedictine monastery, in one of the suburbs of Milan, called Sant Pedro Inyessa.

It is generally believed that his death was caused by slow poison, for when his body was examined, the physicians found the heart full of holes, and somewhat decayed towards the extremity.‡ Whoever gave it him has greatly sinned against

* Juan Perez, Sessa's secretary in Rome.

† She was the daughter of Fabricio Colonna, Grand Constable of the kingdom of Naples.

‡ "Tienese por cierto que el mal del Marques fue tosigo porque se le halló el corazon agujerado y algo gastado en la punta dél; quien quiera que gelo dió tiene gran pecado ante Dios y de V. Mag. porque la ha privado del mejor servidor y vasallo que ningun principe en el mundo tenia."

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God and also against His Imperial Majesty by depriving him of the best servant and most faithful vassal that Prince ever had.

On the day after (3d of December) the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva wrote to the Pope and to the Infante (Archduke), as well as to the Venetians and to the rest of the Italian potentates, advising them of the Marquis' death, and offering to treat, serve and respect them in the same manner that the deceased general had done. Similar letters were sent to the towns of this Estate, to the governors of castles and officers in command of this army.

No change whatever has been made with regard to this city and Estate, nor respecting the Imperial army, which continues to occupy the same quarters. It is impossible to say whether our neighbours, who are ill disposed, will undertake anything against us or not; but if so, it is to be hoped that those who have succeeded to the command of this army will behave as its late commander would have done.

In order that the Emperor's service in these parts may be done as effectually as possible, he (the Abbot) thinks that five points ought to be attended to:—1st. To provide money for this army, several months' pay being now owing to the men.

2d. (*Cipher:*) To come to terms with the King of France, because in doing so His Imperial Majesty will be able, with his assistance, to take and retain what belongs to him in these parts, and will, besides, have money and power enough to become universal ruler; otherwise we are certain that the Pope, the Venetians, England and France will declare themselves, as soon as the present truce is over, and do their utmost to prevent His Imperial Majesty from taking possession of this Estate and coming over to Italy, two things to which the Pope and the Venetians will never consent except by force. Should His Imperial Majesty decide on taking this Duchy for himself, some use could be made of the Duke of Ferrara, who, besides being a good servant of the Emperor and a very important man, is in a position where, in case of war, he may greatly contribute to its success.

3d. It will be advisable for His Imperial Majesty to keep Naples, Sicily, and Genoa in a state of defence, and send his orders (*cipher*) to Commander Ycarte not to take to Naples the two or three old galleys that require refitting, but to keep them at Genoa, where they are most wanted at present, as the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and he (the Abbot) wrote on the 4th instant, intelligence having been brought here that 20 Moorish *fustas* had lately taken possession of the island of Planosa, in the Pumblin (Piombino) Channel, against which force all the Imperial galleys in Italy have received orders to sail.

4th. That His Imperial Majesty appoint at once the person or persons who are to have the command of this army and

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Estate, to be governed, as heretofore, in his name, under the title of Emperor, without adding "Duke of Milan," in order not to give occasion for people to say that His Majesty takes the Duchy to himself before pronouncing sentence against the Duke.

Neither this city nor the Estate have yet tendered the customary oath of allegiance to His Imperial Majesty, but they will do so in three or four days at the latest, and when the city has, all the other towns in the Estate will, follow the example, as well as several noblemen whose names Antonio de Leyva sends in a memorandum. Among them is one Luis Galara, a citizen of this place and a good servant of the Emperor, who, owing to his well-known fidelity to the Imperial cause, was not very well treated by Hieronymo Morone, and has, since the latter's arrest, done several signal services. He is the brother of Juan Francisco Galara, a rich and influential citizen, residing at Niça de Villafranca, who, at the time this army crossed over to France, did much service, as the Duke of Bourbon can testify. The said Luis (Luigi) and Juan Francisco (Giovanni Francesco), his brother, wish to obtain the fief and capitanata of Galara, which is here close to Milan, and whence they take their name; also to be allowed to take some water from a *navilio* called Martesana, with which to irrigate certain lands of their own. Any of the above grants will be an honourable distinction to confer upon these two good servants of the Empire, and be an encouragement to others.

Encloses Morone's confession, and also a memorandum of what, according to jurisprudence (*a judiciaro y autentico*), is wanting to follow up the case. It is required (*cipher*) that the Milanese gentleman* to whom the Duke declared the whole of the intrigue be examined at once, because, if interrogated, he will not be able to deny how the Duke sent Domenicho Sauli to Rome, with letters for the Pope and Datary in the Duke's own hand, and how he (Sauli), on his journey through Lyons, en route to His Imperial Majesty's court, had charge to speak, as he actually did, to Madame the Regent, to Roberteto (Robertet), and to the Duke Maximilian (Massimiliano Sforza) concerning certain matters. Secretary Juan Angelo Riccio is another who can, if he chooses, give evidence, for, according to Morone's confession, he can prove that the Duke was the soul of those secret intrigues. His person ought to be secured, for Domenicho Sauli has fled, and is now supposed to be at Venice.

His Imperial Majesty ought to send orders to this Duke to give up the castles of Milan and Cremona, and appear before him in Spain, there to vindicate himself from the accusations brought against him. Also to give up the persons

* "Y pues por la dichá confession verá como el caballero Milanes, una de las personas a quien el Duque de Milan confessó y dió parte de las praticas que hacia, convendrá le mande V. Mag. examinar luego porque no podrá negar," &c.

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of the said Angelo Ricio and Policiano, his secretaries, as he has already been summoned to do. He (the Abbot) thinks, however, that the Duke will obey none of the above orders, because he expects assistance from all quarters, and specially from France, whence, as the report goes, the Duke Maximilian is to come to his help with 500 lances and 10,000 Switzers whom he has engaged, though it must be observed that until now no certain intelligence has been received of such levies, and that, on the contrary, the Infante (Archduke) writes that there is no stir among the Switzers.

He (the Abbot) begs His Imperial Majesty to send orders to Naples for the payment there of the men-at-arms in the Duchy, to whom is owed, to some two, and to others four months' pay. As the men are poor and have no means of procuring food, they naturally take it wherever it is to be had, and in so doing lay the land waste, thereby causing the ruin of the inhabitants.

Recommends to the Emperor's notice Antonio de Leyva, the Marquis del Guasto, and Juan Bautista Castaldo. The former has served so much and so well that he fully deserves to have his company of men-at-arms increased.* All the Emperor's officers and ministers [in Italy] would be gratified by his promotion. The same might be said respecting the Marquis del Guasto. As to Castaldo, who has volunteered to be the bearer of the present despatch, he was an intimate friend of the late Marquis [of Pescara], and deserves also, like Lope Hurtado de Mendoça, to be amply remunerated for his services in the castle of Pavia, which would ensure the greater security of the prisoners Monsieur de Labrit and Hieronymo Moron. His Imperial Majesty will decide what is to be done with the one and with the other.

Begs His Majesty for a speedy answer to this present despatch, that the next courier may still pass through France before the expiration of the truce. After that it will be requisite to have a number of caravels always ready at sea to send and bring back the couriers, because brigantines at this season are not at all safe.—Milan, 7 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Abbot of Najera, 7 Dec. 1525."

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 9.

7 Dec. **294.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 312–17.

Yesterday, on the receipt of the Imperial letter of the 31st of October last, the ambassadors called upon the Signory, and

* It consisted at this time of 100 men.

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asked them what was their resolution in the pending negotiations. The situation of affairs (they said) was anything but pleasant, and a decision urgently called for. The Emperor's intentions were good for the welfare of Christianity at large, and of Italy in particular. He could no longer be kept in suspense as to those of the Signory, and therefore had ordered them (the ambassadors) to ascertain, so far as they could, what course they (the Signory) meant to pursue. In the last conference held with their deputies, far from answering categorically certain questions of the ambassadors, they had attempted to draw them out and discover their views, a manner of negotiation which did not suit them at all.

It was further mentioned to them by the ambassadors that the Emperor was well informed of their secret dealings and negotiations, as well as of the offers that had been made to them; and that although he (the Emperor) had also been warmly solicited in another direction, and tempted by the most brilliant offers, owing, no doubt, to the valuable pledge in his hands, he had always declined them for the sake of universal peace and the tranquillity and welfare of Italy.

To the above remarks of the ambassadors, the Councillors replied in their usual polite words that although they considered themselves bound by the terms of the late treaty they were still glad to hear the Imperial message, and would meet and deliberate so as to return a speedy answer.

(*Cipher :*) The ambassadors imagine that the deputies' principal argument, when they meet next, will be the future destiny of the duchy of Milan, and, if so, it is their intention to declare that in the event of the Duke (Francesco Sforza) being able to prove his innocence, the confederation is to remain as it is; but should the Duke be found guilty, or come to die, in that case the name of his successor is to be substituted for his, as there can be no doubt that the person appointed will be properly qualified to inspire them with confidence and promote the welfare of Italy, that being the Emperor's principal object. They (the ambassadors) have written to Milan to inquire whether they are justified in saying thus much. As in the last letters received from Court, no mention whatever is made of this late Milan affair, but merely of the probable event of the Duke's death, the ambassadors find themselves in the dark respecting these particulars, which they have sent to consult, for fear the answer expected from Spain should not arrive in time.

The French ambassadors* are more pressing than ever, and had, the other day, an audience at the College Hall, which lasted nearly an hour. They propose to join the league on the terms specified in their former despatch; besides which, the King of England offers to deposit at Venice 100,000 crowns,

* The Bishop of Bayeux (Lodovico, Count of Canossa) and Ambrosio di Fiorenzá.

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wherewith to meet the expenses of the war for four months, and also to give hostages for the security of a whole year's pay.

It is, moreover, added that the French offer to give securities for their 80,000 crowns and to fit out 13 galleys, the crews to be paid out of the 40,000 crowns which they have engaged to contribute monthly.

This Republic is still somewhat in suspense about the Pope and mistrustful of his acts, having heard that the treaty between His Imperial Majesty and Cardinal de Salviatis has at last been signed.

Respecting the outlaws (*fuorusciti*) and other particulars, everything shall be done according to the Emperor's instructions. The ambassadors beg for a speedy reply to their letters concerning the person to whom they are indebted for most of their information.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Ferrara has returned to the capital of his estates.

Having written thus far, the ambassadors received letters from Milan announcing the demise of the Marquis of Pescara and the delegation made by him of all his powers and offices to the persons of the Marquis del Guasto, his nephew and heir, and of Antonio de Leyva. Having been requested to apprize the Signory of that lamentable event, and to assure them at the same time of the goodwill and respect of his successors in command, the ambassadors applied for an audience, and were received at the College Hall, when they again requested an answer to their proposals, which was promised them for the next day or after.

The ambassadors have reason to believe that the Signory have had news from England of the 17th November by special messenger. The letter is from their ambassador* at that Court, and although the contents have not yet been divulged, surely they are not favourable to the Imperial cause in Italy.—Venice, 7 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. From the Imperial Ambassadors, 7th Dec."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

7 Dec. **295.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 322-4.

(*Cipher:*) To the contents of the Imperial letter of the 31st of October last, he (Sanchez) has nothing to answer, except

* Lorenzo Orio. His letter to the Doge and Signory is in Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Papers*, vol. III., p. 504.

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that it is by no means easy to maintain secret intelligence with the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) unless what he proposes in his last despatch be accepted. About other matters, he (Sanchez) refers to the contents of his despatch of the 29th Nov., written conjointly with his colleague (Caracciolo). Is very anxious to know whether his last letter and the copy of those intercepted from the Milanese ambassador have been received at Court. His suspicions have since been confirmed; the intrigues of the confederates grow warmer every day; the Duke's ambassador (Taverna) keeps aloof, and is in close communication with our enemies.

(*Common writing:*) His letters will show how, on the 4th of November last, at the express request of the late Marquis of Pescara, he (Sanchez) remitted to Milan 6,000 ducats borrowed upon his own personal security. Although there can be no doubt that the generals who have succeeded the Marquis in command of the army will attend to the reimbursement of this sum, when due, he (Sanchez) humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to give orders to the Council of Naples that, in case of their engagement not being fulfilled, the said sum be paid out of the first funds in the Royal treasury. In this manner, and his credit not being impaired, he (Sanchez) shall be able, in case of need, to borrow much larger sums for the use of the army, as he has done on other occasions.—Venice, 7th Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 7th Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **296.** Louise of Savoy to her Ambassadors in England.

Arch. Imp. Paris, J. 965.

Sends them the "obligations" of Amyens in Picardy and Rhems (Rems) to deliver into the hands of the Cardinal, and take receipt thereof, as customary in such cases. The remainder she will send as soon as they come in, for she wishes to comply with the treaty in all its parts.—Sainct Just, on Lyons, 13 of December 1525.

Signed: "Loyse."

Countersigned: "Noblet."

Addressed: "A Monsieur le Chancellier et Mons. de Vaulx, Ambassadeurs en Angleterre."

French. Original. p. 1.

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15 Dec. **297.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 55.

On the 7th inst., by Giovanni Battista Castaldo, the Abbot announced the death of the Marquis [of Pescara]. On the day of Santa Lucia, the 13th inst., Mons. de Labret took his flight from the castle of Pavia, with all his servants, amounting to 20 in number, besides two out of the six halberdiers appointed by the late Marquis for his special guard. His escape, which took place during the night, was not discovered until late the ensuing morning, at the usual hour of the prisoner's rising. Immediately upon which, Nofre del Monte, the governor, sent an express to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva, informing them of the event. Messengers have been sent in all directions to Asti and Piedmont, on the side of Vercelli, with orders to the Imperial troops quartered in those districts, as well as to the frontiers of this Duchy, to stop the passes, &c. A man named Loaysa, formerly a servant of the late Marquis, and sent by him to take special care of the prisoner, has been arrested on strong suspicion of having assisted him in his escape, though he denies the charge altogether. An inquiry has been set on foot at Pavia, and the whole affair is being investigated. Captain Nofre del Monte, arrived last night in order to establish his innocence, after ordering the arrest of the soldiers who had the prisoner in their custody. We expect to hear what route Mons. de Labret has taken, in order to have him followed and retaken, if possible. Meantime the bearer of this letter is sent post-haste to Lyons to inform Mons. de la Prata (Praet?) of the occurrence, that he may with all possible speed inform His Imperial Majesty thereof. Should the inquiry now being made here and at Pavia bring any facts to light, we shall despatch Captain Nofre del Monte to Spain, that he may verbally relate what commission the Marquis gave him two days before his death. The Captain is an honest man and hitherto no criminality can be attached to him, not even negligence in the discharge of his duty as governor

No news from this place, except those that Castaldo took lately [to Spain]. The wants of this Imperial army are always on the increase. The sums borrowed we shall not be able to pay when due; all credit is lost, and nobody will lend us a farthing.

This castle [of Milan] is now completely invested. The Duke is sending to the Emperor a gentleman of his chamber named Cipion de la Tela, who will, this very day, leave this castle and go by sea, owing to Thomas del Mayno (Almayno) having refused to embark on a similar errand.

Is expecting news from Rome respecting the resolution taken by His Holiness, to whom the governor of Pamplona [Commander Miguel de Herrera] had presented his credentials eight days ago, and with whom he expected a long audience for the ensuing day.—Milan, 15 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

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Antonio de Leyva does not write by this post owing to a touch of sciatica in his right hip and to a tumour in one of his hands, both of which evils have been caused by excessive night work round this castle and in the trenches.—Date *ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 15 December."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

16 Dec. **298.** The Duke of Sessa and Miguel de Herrera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 334.

The present despatch being of such importance they have decided to send it by three different routes. The bearer of one is a gentleman-in-waiting to the Grand Steward (*Mayordomo Mayor*) of the Emperor, named Paquilon, who takes the road of Lyons, passing through Lombardy. The other has been intrusted to a servant of the Duke's, whose name is Pero Hernandez; he is a man of trust, and is to go to Genoa, and thence to Lyons. The third goes straight to Genoa, addressed to Lope de Soria, who will forward it to Spain by sea. If not received within 20 or 25 days at the most from the date of this letter, it may be inferred that all of them have been intercepted, and the bearers detained in France. In such an event it would be advisable to have a certain number of Frenchmen arrested in Spain and detained until our messengers are allowed to proceed unmolested on their journey.

Have borrowed 280 gold ducats for the expenses of the couriers, and drawn bills on the Chancellor.—Rome, 16 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa," "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. From the Duke of Sessa and Herrera, 16th of December."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

16 Dec. **299.** Commander Herrera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 352.

Arrived at Rome on Wednesday the 6th inst., at the hour of Vespers. The cause of the delay was a fall from his horse. The next day he and the Duke of Sessa waited on His Holiness, by whom they were well received.

(*Cipher:*) Having read the Emperor's letter, the Pope showed much satisfaction at its contents, saying that if he had listened to certain overtures of the confederates it was only owing to the Emperor's answer being so unusually

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delayed. On that occasion and in consequence of his cipher not having yet been made out, he (Herrera) did not fully explain his commission or exhibit the draft of the proposed treaty, but on the next day he did so, when the Pope, finding many objectionable points in it, refused to sign, promising, however, to have a memorandum drawn out of the articles from which he dissented. His principal objection is respecting the Milan article. He says that the Duke being still alive, ought to be peaceably maintained in his estate; whilst he (Herrera) and the Duke both allege that the Duke being guilty of the charge brought against him, is civilly dead, and the Emperor at liberty to appoint anyone he pleases in his place.

His next objection is the article about Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubbiera. "The Emperor" he says, "promises fair, but I want something more solid and substantial than a mere promise. I want him to fix a time for the giving up of those fiefs which belong to the Church."

A few more objections did His Holiness offer, which are contained in the enclosed memorandum.

When he (Herrera) came to Rome things were in such a state that had he tarried a few days longer, the Pope would infallibly have made a league with the French. Meanwhile His Imperial Majesty is much indebted to the Duke of Sessa for having prevailed upon the Pope not to take a final decision in this affair, for, surrounded as the latter is by more enemies than friends to the Imperial cause, he might long ago have yielded to the solicitations of the confederates. The Archbishop of Capua is working hard in our favour, but he is alone, and the enemies are many and possess greater influence.

Agustin Folleta (Foglieta) is not in favour now, that being the reason why the Emperor's general affairs have not made any progress for some time.

Such being the state of things at Rome, he (Herrera) and the Duke have thought that the only means of bettering their position was to ask for a suspension of the negotiations in the form specified in the enclosed memorandum.* After some slight discussion, the Pope granted it for two months, thus giving the ambassadors time to send home for advice. He

* A copy of the deed itself, signed by the Pope and by the Duke, is to be found annexed, under fol. 368, entirely written in cipher, and with the deciphering on separate sheet at fol. 370. The deed is in Italian. It stipulates that the negotiations are to be suspended for a term of two months, to begin on the 16th of December and to end on the 16th of February 1526, any agreement entered into with the rest of the Italian powers by the Pope, the Emperor, or the Florentines being considered as null and void. During the said time no armaments to be raised by sea or land, and no direct or indirect assistance to be given by any of the parties to those whom they might consider as their friends and allies. The Venetians to be also comprised in the said convention, unless they gave notice to the contrary within 20 days' time. The garrisons of Milan and Cremona to be also included, provided they ceased firing on the besiegers, who would likewise abstain from further hostilities. The force to be raised conjointly by His Holiness and His Imperial Majesty to consist of 400 lances and 4,000 foot, each to be paid for the said two months, &c.—12 Dec. 1525.

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on one occasion addressed them in the following words: "I am aware that in granting this suspension I am acting against my own interests, for the danger lies in the delay; but still I prefer placing my trust in the Emperor to losing his friendship and alliance altogether."

The Pope's intentions seem to be good, and yet he is so terribly frightened at His Majesty's greatness that he would rather see him less powerful in Italy. The French, the Venetians and the rest of the Italian confederates have so worked upon his mind and exaggerated the danger, that had it not been for the Duke of Sessa, he would already have joined the confederates. The plans of the leaguers are substantially these: The Pope, Florentines, French, English, Venetians and Switzers to contribute men, money, or ships as follows:—The French are to furnish 800 lances and 40,000 or 50,000 cr. every month, wherewith to pay 10,000 Switzers; Venetians, 600 lances and 10,000 infantry; the Pope and Florentines an equal number; the King of England to contribute 25,000 cr., paid monthly. The confederates to furnish, besides, a considerable naval armament. With these forces they intend to oblige the Imperial army to concentrate in the duchy of Milan, thus giving them the opportunity of falling upon the kingdom of Naples. Unless the Emperor make up his mind to leave the Duke of Milan at his place, or, in case of deprivation of his estate, appoint a successor agreeable to these people, there is every probability of the Pope still joining the Italian league and of war breaking out. In that case there will be much need of money for the Imperial army and reinforcements wherewith to defend that kingdom. Sienna also wants a strong garrison of Imperial troops, as it will, in time of war, become a most important post to hold. The galleys are now at Genoa, and will be of great use for sending succours to Sienna and Naples when required.

No objection was made by the Pope to the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lanoy) being appointed Captain-General of the projected league. Respecting the Cruzade and the Cardinal's hats, he has promised to give the Emperor full satisfaction. As far as he (Herrera) can judge from appearances and words, the Pope is well disposed to enter into this treaty, though he would much prefer for the duchy of Milan the Marquis of Mantua (Frederigo Gonzaga) to M. de Bourbon. This last (he says) might receive in fief the estates of the former. Of all these transactions due advice has been sent to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva, as well as to the Imperial ambassadors in Venice, that they may be acquainted with the state of affairs and shape their conduct accordingly.

(*Common writing:*) His Holiness has taken into consideration the Emperor's request concerning the Archbishop

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of Barri (Bari),* and Secretary Soria, both of whom have had their own private affairs settled much to their satisfaction. A few days after he (Herrera) left Milan the Marquis of Pescara died. His widow [Vittoria Colonna] has felt his death so much that she has shut herself up in the nunnery of Santa Chiara, there to remain, as it is said, to the end of her life. The Emperor ought to write to console her for the great loss she has sustained.

(*Cipher :*) After finishing the business he has in hand, he (Herrera) intends to go to Sienna for the purpose of inquiring into late events, as well as into those of older date. There is certainly need of much reform at that place, but His Imperial Majesty ought to consider that the Community of Sienna is, under the present circumstances, the most important auxiliary he can have, as the citizens are strongly inclined to the Imperial service and great enemies both of Florentines and Romans.

(*Common writing :*) Writes by the Pope's desire in favour and commendation of the Bishop of Salamanca,† whose claims (he says) are conducted in Spain‡ with too much rigour. His case being purely ecclesiastic ought to be referred to his own court.

(*Cipher :*) The French and Venetian ambassadors having heard of the suspension agreed to with the Pope cannot conceal their disappointment and rage. The Venetians called the other day on the Pope and threatened to treat with His Imperial Majesty, whose goodwill, he asserted, the Signory might easily gain by offering him the duchy of Milan, to dispose of at pleasure, whilst the French ambassador is evidently doing all he can for the projected league to fall to pieces. So the Pope told him (Herrera) and the Duke [of Sessa] the other day.

The Legate's father (Jacopo Salviati) has been very serviceable of late. His Imperial Majesty ought to thank the Legate himself, and write to the father in his (Herrera's) credence, for certainly he has done such service to the Imperial cause as to bring on himself the animosity and hatred of both French and Venetians at Rome.

His Imperial Majesty is no doubt aware that Cardinal Columna (Colonna) is not in Rome, having left this city some time ago on the plea that, being on bad terms with the Pope just now, he could not forward the Emperor's interests as he might have wished. He did not intend returning until he was able to do something for the Imperial service. That the Cardinal may have an honourable pretext for coming back, it would be advisable that if the articles of the con-

* Estevan Gabriel Merino.

† Don Francisco de Bobadilla, from 1511 to 1529.

‡ "Que las cosas del Obispo no sean tan crudamente tratadas, pues lo que pide es justicia."

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vention are to be discussed here [at Rome], he should be appointed to conduct the negotiations in union with the Duke of Sessa.

The Pope has again told him (Herrera) that on no account should he like to see M. de Bourbon in Italy, and that in case of the duchy of Milan being given away by the Emperor, he would very much prefer the Marquis of Mantua, whose brother, now in Spain, might be appointed to succeed him in the marquisate.

(*Common writing:*) Has found at Rome such an account of Secretary Perez' talent and abilities in everything relating to his office that he (Herrera) cannot help commending him to the Emperor's notice. Some time ago his services were rewarded with the priory of Osma [in Castille], but an annual pension of 500 ducats having since being assigned upon its revenue, he (Perez) has scarcely anything left for his own support. The Emperor might easily relieve him from that burden on the provision of the first vacant see, or by granting him a second benefice, which would be a great boon for one who, like Secretary Perez, has no fortune of his own and is entirely devoted to the Imperial service. A large sum is now due to him for arrears of pay and gratuity ever since he took charge of his office, as Secretary Soria, at home, will testify.—Rome, 16 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Commander Herrera, 16 Dec. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5½.

16 Dec. **300.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 337.

On the 6th inst. Commander Herrera arrived here. (*Cipher:*) He came at a time when the plots of the confederates were very active, and when the Pope, despairing of getting an answer to his letters, had almost decided to join them. The French and the Venetians were soliciting his co-operation harder than ever; the former to improve thereby their own affairs and obtain better terms from the Emperor; the latter to engage in a war away from their own territory, which has always been the chief aim of their policy. It must be said however, that the Pope, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the confederates, has hitherto been very well inclined.

He (the Pope) was much pleased with the arrival of Commander Herrera, whose prudence, tact and discretion he

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has singularly praised ever since. The negotiations have been conducted in the most business-like manner. The principal difficulty lies in the article relating to Milan, because what His Imperial Majesty therein promises to do in case of the Duke's natural demise, the Pope would like to have extended to his civil death, imagining, no doubt, that when the present instructions (to Herrera) were drawn up, the Emperor, if not fully acquainted with the Duke's guilt, must at least have had notice of his doings and have prepared the punishment beforehand. In vain did he (Sessa) and Commander Herrera try to persuade the Pope that the Emperor had then no knowledge of the Duke's intrigues, offering to prove the fact by comparing dates, &c.; he would not hear of it.

Although a memorandum on this head is soon to be forwarded to the Pope's Legate at the Imperial court, he (Sessa) considers it his duty to state his own opinion on the subject. There can be no doubt that His Holiness sincerely wishes for the Duke to remain in office, declaring that his guilt—which he tries to diminish as much as he can—is not of a nature to deserve such punishment. He was evidently dragged into the conspiracy by Hieronymo Moron, who, enjoying great authority near his person and knowing the precarious state of his health, easily worked on his mind and awoke his fears for the insecurity of Italy in the event of his dying or being dispossessed. Even in the case of the Duke deserving such a severe punishment as the total deprivation of his dignity and estates, the Pope asks that an Italian Duke be put in his place. He (Sessa) thinks that if the Pope and the rest of the Italian powers could be certified that the Emperor did not intend to keep the Duchy for himself, they would not object to his appointing any other Prince—though not an Italian—provided, however, the negotiation was properly conducted. Knows for certain that were M. de Bourbon to be chosen, they would accept him without difficulty, for when they heard that the Emperor was likely to appoint him after the Duke's demise, they offered no opposition.

Were the Emperor's choice to fall upon his most Serene Highness the Archduke (Ferdinand), the affair would offer great difficulties. Still, such is their actual fear of the Emperor taking the Duchy for himself that, in his opinion, they will accede to anything short of that. Indeed, they publicly declare that until a formal declaration in that sense be made, they do not intend to treat, but will rather wait and face the approaching danger.

They likewise complain of the exorbitant character of the proceedings against the Duke, who, they say, has not been allowed proper means of defence. On the whole, both he (Sessa) and his colleague, the Commander, were, and are still, of opinion that since the article relating to Milan could not be adjusted according to the Emperor's instructions and orders,

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the best thing they could do was to leave the negotiation in suspense and refer the matter home, that being a more expedient and a wiser course to follow under the present circumstances than to accept of the proposed modification. For there can be no doubt that the wording of the said article is ambiguous and subject to misinterpretation, as people might very well conclude from it that the Emperor, though thoroughly convinced of the Duke's guilt, chose still to indulge and forgive him. Such, at least, was the Imperial lawyers' opinion when consulted at the time that the league with the Venetians was talked of.

His Holiness solemnly protests that the only wish of his life has been to be so closely united to His Imperial Majesty that nobody may hereafter dissolve their union; to obtain which, though the article in question might be differently construed, so as to give rise to much scruple and doubt, he (the Pope) has no objection to sanction and sign the whole treaty, provided matters are made quite clear between him and the Emperor, as between father and son, without the interference and mediation of doctors-at-law and others consulted for that express purpose.

Such being the Pope's views and intentions, as well as his aim in the present negotiation, it is to be considered which is best for the Imperial service. If, according to the opinion and wishes of most of his servants and ministers in Italy, the Emperor decide upon keeping the duchy of Milan to himself, the Imperial army must be immediately reinforced and provided with money, its present numbers and means being insufficient to occupy the whole country and also to defend the kingdom of Naples, which would otherwise remain at the enemy's mercy. It would be necessary to make such a provision that everywhere and at any time there should be a considerable standing army. At Sienna an armed force ought to be fostered and kept up, ready to forward the Imperial interests, and wholly devoted to the Emperor. A sufficient force might also, in case of need, be detached to the support of the Siennese, who are naturally inclined to change, when insufficiently protected.

The ambassadors have likewise considered it of the highest importance for the Imperial service to obtain some sort of security from the Pope that, whilst they referred home, no change should be made in their actual relations, and that all negotiations should be suspended for a time; not so much as regards the conclusion of the present treaty as to prevent his treating with the confederates and ultimately joining the league, no small an achievement indeed, considering the pressing solicitations of both French and Venetians, who might ultimately have persuaded His Holiness to take their part, specially as there is a clause [in their projected treaty] compelling him to take up arms against any innovator in Italy.

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Three objects are, in the opinion of the ambassadors, to be gained by leaving matters as they are at present and waiting for the Emperor's final resolution. The first is that this suspension of the present negotiations is almost equivalent to the Pope's declaration in favour of His Imperial Majesty, since he will thereby be obliged to defend his rights, and in the estate of Milan all that could be done has already been accomplished. The castles are not to be taken by assault, but reduced by blockade, and all the rest of the Duchy is held by the Imperial troops.

The second object gained is time to make a peaceful arrangement or prepare for war, as it may be deemed more advantageous. Meanwhile these Italian potentates—who are at present plentifully provided with men and money—may be prevented from undertaking anything against His Imperial Majesty. For there is in this country a common saying full of wisdom, namely: "The door of a house is not to be given up for the hope of entering it at the windows."

The third and last, and, in his (Sessa's) opinion, the most substantial and profitable of all, is that the Pope will thereby become suspected by the rest of Italy; the confederates will lose the confidence they had in him, and it might also happen that—through mistrust of the Pope and through fear of not finding help and assistance in the quarter they most expected it,—the French would be induced to accept the conditions imposed by Emperor. Even if His Holiness were to give them his word and most solemn promise the French would not believe in him now that they have been again deceived when they were almost certain of gaining their object. Alberto di Carpi himself publicly shows his discontent at what he calls the Pope's indecision. May he and those who detest His Imperial Majesty's aggrandisement long continue in that state of mind!

Encloses copy of the memorandum, as well as an abstract of the objections made by the Pope to various other articles. Compared with the above most important one, they are of little or no consequence. Everything has been done by the advice of Commander Herrera, whose prudence, activity and zeal he (Sessa) cannot sufficiently commend.

With regard to the contribution in money, the Pope refers entirely to his Legate at Court. He consents to pay 150,000 ducats, and in his (Sessa's) opinion no great effort will be required to make him increase that sum to 200,000. Each article of the memorandum has the Pope's own observations and notes on the margin. They are substantially the same as those which he (Sessa) announced before the arrival of Commander Herrera, in his despatch of the 30th November last, and which the Pope also communicated to his Legate. It now remains for His Imperial Majesty to have them well considered, and to decide which are to be accepted and which are not. The Legate, however, has been instructed to make all manner

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of concessions, provided the article about Milan be modified in the manner he (the Pope) has pointed out.

(*Common writing:*) Has felt the loss of the Marquis [of Pescara] more than he can describe, not only on account of his stanch fidelity to and love of the Imperial service, but from the particular friendship and love they bore each other.

(*Cipher:*) Respecting the Duke of Ferrara it is worth observing that His Holiness does not appear quite satisfied with the articles relating to the restitution of Rezzo and Rubbiera. Instead of the words *Promittit sua Maiestas se operam daturum cum effectu*, &c., he (the Pope) proposes an alteration in those words so as to make the sentence less vague and open to misinterpretation than it is now, because, he says, *operam daturum* does not sufficiently bind the Emperor. Also, in the eleventh article, where mention is made of an expedition against Turks and Lutherans to be undertaken with the aid and assistance of the Switzers, he objects to the following words: *Non solum hii sed etiam dominium Venetorum ut Duces Sabaudie et Ferrarie*, &c., because he says that having, as he has, other claims against the said Duke, such as the investiture of Ferrara and the restitution of certain castles which he took during Leo's [the Tenth's] vacancy, it is not proper that the Duke, his feudatory, join the confederation of his own free will, without first obtaining his permission and the Emperor's.

If the Pope's objections on this point are to be attended to, the article should be modified so as to give the Duke no offence, for if means can be found for keeping him quiet and contented it is but just that they should be employed.

The negotiations, in short, have been suspended for two months, during which His Imperial Majesty will have time to decide on the best course to follow. The Pope has since told him (Sessa) more than once: "I am perfectly aware that if the Emperor makes an agreement with the French, my ruin is certain; but the more I see that danger, the more glad I am of being able to show to the world that I have always been, and am still, desirous of the Emperor's friendship and alliance, without any regard to my own private interest. I know that by doing so I place my sword in his hands for him to cut my throat with, but I trust entirely in his magnanimity and innate kindness."

There can be no doubt that the Pope's intentions are good. What Jacopo de Salviatis—who is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty—has been able to accomplish during this arduous negotiation is looked upon as a sort of miracle; so much so, that Alberto di Carpi and the Venetian ambassador speak of him and of the Pope in the most abusive terms openly accusing them of being the ruin of Italy and of having placed it at the Emperor's mercy, to be sacked by his troops. The Legate's good offices cannot be improved upon. He has

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done all he could to forward the negotiations, and is sincerely attached to the Imperial cause.

His Holiness has lately written to the Emperor in his own hand respecting the above and other particulars. With regard to the captain-generalship [of the Imperial troops in Italy], he will not object to a clause being introduced appointing the Viceroy [of Naples] to that post. As to the indulgences of the Crusade, he fully promises to grant them immediately after the signature of the treaty, though with some modification and reform as to the manner of their publication in Spain, about which he (the Pope) seems to have been strangely misinformed. With respect to the Cardinal's hats he says that whatever turn affairs may take he shall not fail in his promises to the Emperor.

(*Common writing:*) In the affairs of private individuals, he (Sessa) has not been able to make much progress, his time being entirely taken up with matters of much greater importance.—Rome, 16 Dec. 1525.

Post data (in cipher).—The Archbishop of Toledo's solicitor has already begun to negotiate indirectly for a Cardinal's hat. He has brought large credits from Spain, which fact being generally understood, the Cardinals give him hopes of success, that the Archbishop may not oppose the College in the affair of the 10,000 ducats annual pension on that see. He (the ambassador) has this intelligence from a trustworthy source, and knows also that unless the Archbishop is strongly supported both here and at Court, he has very little chance of gaining his object.

Encloses the Pope's holograph letter and answer to the Emperor.

(*Common writing:*) On the death of the Archbishop of Taranto, chief chaplain at Naples, the Pope immediately granted that ecclesiastic dignity to Cardinal Armelino, who, it appears, had in his possession a letter from the Emperor to His Holiness, begging his promotion to the first vacant benefice in the kingdom of the two Sicilies.—Date *ut supra.*

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. From the Duke, 16 Dec. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

16 Dec. **301.** Pope Clement VII. to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1174. Has received with great pleasure the Emperor's holograph letter brought by Commander Herrera, who appears to be a

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good and discreet person (*huomo bono et prudente*). Protests that his love of peace is great. Just when his object was about to be gained with the Emperor's assistance and exertions, this unfortunate Milan affair has come to damp his hopes. Hears that the Emperor's generals in Italy have seized on the duchy of Milan, besieged the Duke (Francesco Sforza) in his castle, and compelled the Milanese to take the oath of allegiance to the Empire. Such proceedings have naturally alienated the Emperor's friends, and given a pretext to his enemies to league themselves together for common defence. As Pope, and as one of the Italian Princes, he is bound to use every endeavour to save Italy from servitude and oppression. Though his prayers have been disregarded, he would still have listened to the Emperor's professions if his just claims had been recognised and admitted; but, far from it, he and his vassals have received all manner of injuries at the hands of the Imperial generals. Has, therefore, decided to take part with the confederates, who, in his opinion, are perfectly justified in their acts, rather than follow his own inclination and believe in words and promises that might not be fulfilled. Wishing, however, to do everything in his power to ensure peace and promote the welfare of the Christian world, he has made an agreement with the Duke of Sessa and Knight Commander Herrera, and will wait two months for the Emperor's answer to his proposals. This he (the Pope) has done against the advice of the rest of the confederates, who are of one opinion, viz., that no time is to be lost in saving Italy from its present dangerous position.*—Dal nostro Palazo à di xvi. di Dicembre MDXXV.

Addressed: "Car^{mo} in Christo filio nostro Carolo Imperatori, Hispaniarum &c. Regi Catholico."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 8.

19 Dec. **302.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 380.

By their joint letter [of the 20th Dec.] His Imperial Majesty must have understood the state of ambiguity and doubt in which all matters concerning this Signory are at present. The ambassadors have often alluded in their despatches to intelligence received from reliable sources and yet so startling in their nature as to make them waver in their acceptance of them.

(*Cipher:*) Their usual informers generally tell the truth, but sometimes they are themselves deceived, and lead [the ambassadors] into error, that being the reason why the sentiments and intentions of these people [the Venetians] cannot be distinctly stated. On thing, however, is certain; nothing can be more disagreeable to them than to see the Emperor

* A copy of this letter is in Bergenroth's collection, vol. iv., ff. 41–4. It is he same alluded to in Sessa's despatch of the 16th, p. 527.

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master of Milan. They will do anything to prevent this, imagining that the very moment that happens they will lose their importance as an independent state, and perhaps, too, become vassals of the Empire. In his (Caracciolo's) opinion, the Venetians will never consent to the Emperor getting possession of Milan.

It is therefore very needful to come to a final resolution on these matters. The ambassadors should receive such instructions as may guide them in the present negotiation, Spain being too far off for them to refer there for every little detail, and the negotiations being often influenced by events at Rome and Milan.

(*Common writing:*) Cannot but commend to the Emperor's notice the petition of his colleague (Alonso Sanchez), who has served with great zeal and untiring activity for many years.—Venice, 19 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 19 Dec."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

19 Dec. **303.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. Madrid, *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 377.

(*Cipher:*) His letter of the 7th, in common with Prothonotary Caracciolo, contained the news up to that date. The Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) has since written to say that the Duke of Milan had lately sent two messengers to France, another to the Switzers, and a fourth to his own ambassador residing in this city, all of them to ask for help and assistance. Whether this report be true or not, he (Sanchez) cannot say, but he has received the same intelligence from another quarter.

(*Common writing:*) He (Sanchez) is engaged to be married to the daughter of Simon Roiz, of Naples. As the expenses attending the ceremony must be great, begs the Emperor to grant him what is usual in similar cases when his servants are to be married.—Venice, 19 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 19 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1⅛.

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20 Dec. **304.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 56.

The Marquis del Guasto has already advised through the Imperial ambassador at the court of France the escape of Enrique de Labrid (Henri d'Albret) from prison on the 14th instant. A valet de chambre and a page of his, both arrested at Pavia, have declared that one of the halberdiers of his guard, named Coymbra, a Portuguese, helped his escape in the following manner: He made three large holes to get out of the prison chamber and ascend to the top of the castle, and provided, besides, a rope ladder to descend into the moat, where four of the prisoner's servants were waiting. The Prince left the castle accompanied by Coymbra and another man, leaving his valet de chambre behind to prevent anyone from approaching his master's bed until he should be at some distance from the town. It is not known yet what route he has taken. Three days before the death of Pescara the governor of the castle, named Clavero, had been removed and replaced by Nofre del Monte. For greater security the person of the Prince had been intrusted to one Loaysa, a servant of Pescara's, who having repaired thither with the Marquis del Guasto's permission, happened to be within the castle when the Prince effected his escape. He has been arrested, as well as the governor (Nofre del Monte) and the Prince's valet. All three are about to be sent to Genoa and embarked for Spain, to be examined on their arrival and brought to justice. In his (Hurtado's) opinion, the Portuguese halberdier, for his treason, and the governor for his negligence, are equally responsible; but great blame is also to be attached to the late Marquis [of Pescara] for allowing the prisoner so much liberty, and not placing him under the guard of people of higher rank in the army. The loss sustained by the Prince's escape is so great that all are in despair, and the Marquis has felt the blow almost as much as he did his uncle's death.

He (Hurtado) was on the point of leaving for Piedmont—as announced in his despatch by Giovanni Battista Castaldo—there to execute the Imperial commands, when he received a letter from Commander Herrera bidding him not to move, as he might be more useful here [at Milan] than in that country. The Marquis and Leyva being of the same opinion—as well as one of the Duke's agents who happens to reside in this town—he (Hurtado) has decided to stay, and written to the Duke and Duchess [of Savoy] informing them that owing to the above reasons and to the greater facility of attending to the settlement of their claims here than there, he will postpone his journey until further orders.

(*Cipher:*) The wants of this Imperial army are increasing at such a ratio that when the 60,000 ducats announced in bills of exchange come to hand every farthing will be spent in advance, and the army as much in debt as before. Whilst His Imperial Majesty is lavishing his treasures to keep up this army, the Italian Princes are saving their money and making

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friends. The disorderly habits of the soldiers, quartered as they are among the inhabitants, daily robbing them of their property and committing all manner of excesses, have reached such a pitch that it is really wonderful how the people of this country, poor and exhausted as it is, can bear it any longer. Has been told that out of the 10,000 cavalry in this army not 300 pay for what they eat. Formerly, when money was plentiful and the men got their regular pay, they paid for their food honourably; now they say provisions cannot be obtained at any price, and as they have no pay, that they must rob the inhabitants or starve. The men-at-arms are naturally those who clamour most for their wages, and they must be paid anyhow, if called upon to do service in the next campaign; as to the light horse and Italians, they are of less consequence. Most will go away and leave the service with only a small portion of their arrears paid.

If money for these people cannot be procured immediately, it is quite plain that matters cannot go on much longer in this way. There is no difficulty at all about the Germans, since they are paid almost up to the day; it is with the Spaniards and the men-at-arms that the difficulty lies. It would be far better for His Imperial Majesty to order that these men receive part of their stipend from the countries where they are quartered, and perhaps, too, from the very hosts themselves with whom they are lodged, than to allow them to search the houses and plunder the inhabitants in quest of food, for though a man-at-arms is not satisfied with half a denier (*dinero*) per day, as long as he receives that he will not complain of his host and rob the country.

His Imperial Majesty has no overseers (*veedores*) in this army. The whole business of provisioning goes through field-masters and commissaries, who are suspected not to have very clean hands. In his opinion such offices ought to be filled by people having great reputation for honesty. The country would thereby be relieved and the Imperial service much better done.

After Pescara's death the Marquis del Guasto sent a message to Frederigo di Bozano (Bozzolo), a prisoner under parole, summoning him to appear at this camp. He has refused to do so, alleging that by the death of the Marquis he considers himself free from his engagement. The Duke of Bourbon ought to be asked how this matter stands, since the affair went through his hands, and he must know what sort of a compromise was made at the time. It is reported that the Venetians have appointed the said Bozano to be general of their infantry.

Captain Nofre (Onofre) and the rest are being conveyed to Genoa to be embarked.—Milan, 20 Dec. 1525.

Post data.—Antonio de Leyva has been lying in bed for the last ten days ill with fever. The physicians attach no importance to his illness, but nevertheless his services are very much wanted at the present moment.

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(*Cipher :*) Don Ugo's man arrived yesterday. Out of the 60,000 ducats in bills which he brings with him 58,000 are already spent. Further remittances are required. Captain Nofre leaves to-morrow or later for Spain by way of Genoa. Most of the Imperial generals and agents write by him. This duplicate goes by a sea route, addressed to the Duke of Savoy, who will take care that it reaches Mons. de Prat's (Praet) hands before the expiration of the truce.—Date *ut supra.*

Signed : "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1525. From Milan. Lope Hurtado, 20th of December."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

20 Dec. **305.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, ff. 386–94.

Wrote on the 7th inst., detailing in full the proposals made by them to the Signory in consequence of the receipt of the Imperial letters of the 31st of October last. (*Cipher :*) On the 9th, having previously received a message that an answer was prepared, the ambassadors called at the College Hall and were informed :—

That the Signory were very desirous of confirming their last treaty with the Emperor, but the Duke of Milan and his Estate being, as it were, the basis of that confederation, they could not move one step in the affair until they knew the Emperor's intentions towards him. To which they (the ambassadors) replied that although it was but just that the College should answer first certain questions and particulars mentioned at their last interview with the deputies, they had no objection to state their view of the affair. If the Duke (they said) was innocent of the charges brought against him, the confederation might stand good and remain as it is, wholly in his favour. If, on the contrary, the Duke was found guilty or were to die a natural death, in that case the appointment of a successor belonged by right to His Imperial Majesty, as sovereign Lord of that Estate, who could not fail to make such a nomination as would ensure the peace and tranquillity of Italy, which had always been his constant and chief aim. Whilst explaining their views on this particular subject, the ambassadors did not forget to record the many benefits conferred on the Duke of Milan by the Emperor, who, among other signal favours, had not hesitated to put his own dominions at stake for the preservation of the Duke's estate.

The College having taken time to deliberate and make a suitable answer, the ambassadors were yesterday invited to hear it read. The substance of which, after their usual

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complimentary addresses and many protestations of their affection to the Emperor, was this: They were greatly in suspense and doubt at hearing the ambassadors' representations, for notwithstanding their wish to make a suitable answer to the Emperor's proposals, they really could not do so unless they first knew who was to become Duke of Milan, and with whom the confederacy was to be made. They were aware that the affair had lately been discussed at Rome, and doubted not but the Pope would soon make some agreement with the Emperor equally suited to all parties. They, moreover, begged the ambassadors to render all the good offices they could in favour of the Duke, since they knew what interest the Italian Princes felt in his behalf.

The ambassadors' reply was: That they had fully declared, as they thought, the Emperor's views and intentions without any circumlocution or ambiguity, his only wish being either to enter into a fresh league with them or to renew the old one, which, as they might recollect, had been made for the Duke's protection and advantage at the Emperor's own request.

Notwithstanding these and similar arguments adduced by the ambassadors, the Councillors insisted upon knowing who was to be Duke of Milan in the event of the present one dying or being deprived of his estates; and as the ambassadors could not tell, they absolutely declined giving an answer.

To judge from certain expressions uttered during the conference, the Signory are not so dissatisfied with the Pope just now as they seemed to be some time ago; but as respecting the Pope's real sentiments and views His Imperial Majesty is no doubt well informed through the Duke of Sessa, they (the ambassadors) need not offer here any conjectures of their own.

A person from whom they (the ambassadors) get now and then most valuable intelligence, has just informed them that this Signory have lately received letters from the Duke of Milan—the date of which is not stated—announcing that he is in better health than he was three years ago, and that he has within the castle numerous adherents ready to defend his person and rights, besides provisions for one whole year. Trusting that neither the Pope nor the Venetians will fail in their engagements when required, he (the Duke) is ready to prolong the defence and give them time to mature their plans. He, moreover, offers to give up Cremona and the Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda) to this Republic, provided they help him in his present difficulty.

This last piece of intelligence, the truth of which the ambassadors cannot warrant, was communicated immediately to the generals at Milan, to put them on their guard against any designs of the Duke, although, on the other hand, it is very improbable that this Republic would dare to assist him single-handed and without allies.

(*Common writing:*) Juan Antonio de Preda, whom the Milanese ambassador residing in this city caused to be arrested

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the other day, has been set free, and, as it would appear, dined at the said ambassador's on Friday last. Concerning this man and his doings the Imperial ambassadors are unable to give more information than that contained in their despatch of the 7th. The whole affair is a mystery to them. The said Juan Antonio called at the Embassy and voluntarily declared that before leaving Milan he had tried, though in vain, to see the Duke, but that one of Sforza's relatives had told him he would greatly serve his country and the Duke also by taking charge of the commission which he had brought to Venice.

(*Cipher:*) The intelligence respecting Cremona and the Geradada (Ghiara d'Adda) having been offered to this Republic by the Duke of Milan has since been confirmed by the same person who gave it at first. He says that the Duke of Urbino, the Venetian Proveditor, and one Guido Bayno by name—who is said to make common cause with our enemies—are now making great offers to this Republic, pretending that they can at any moment create a revolution in Milan and have the Imperial army cut to pieces in the said Geradada. Although this news, as stated above, seems very improbable, and there is little fear of these people undertaking such a thing—at a time, too, when the Emperor is about to make his peace with France, and the Pope is negotiating—the ambassadors have considered it their duty again to write to the generals at Milan, that they may take what military precautions their prudence shall dictate. Having also heard from the same source that on the following day the Council was to meet and discuss these very particulars, the ambassadors applied for an audience, and being admitted, proceeded to say: That they had received letters from the Imperial generals at Milan announcing the discovery in that city of a certain conspiracy in which the Republic was concerned, a sort of behaviour which did not tally at all with their constant protestations of friendship and wish for universal peace.

(*Cipher:*) The ambassadors thought that as the Republic was on the eve of deliberating on the affairs of Milan no better opportunity could offer itself to let them see that their secret negotiations and dealings against the Emperor's interests were perfectly known to them (the ambassadors). Upon which, and after many thanks for the sincerity and frankness of the above declaration, the Councillors denied the fact altogether, adding that no minister or ambassador of their own would ever dare to entertain practices without their express consent, and that the Imperial generals had, no doubt, been deceived on this occasion, as their sentiments towards the Emperor had always been—and were still—the same, namely, those of a faithful and well-meaning ally.

Received from Rome on the 13th inst. a copy of the agreement made between the Pope and the Duke of Sessa to suspend all negotiations for a term of *three** months, in order

* Thus in the original, but it must be a mistake of the ambassadors, for the term appointed was *two* months

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to consult His Imperial Majesty. His Holiness, besides, is to ask this Republic whether they wish to be included in the projected league or not. In the opinion of the ambassadors it would be far preferable that the Venetians should not be comprised in the new treaty with the Pope, but allowed to remain as they are, bound by their own special league with the Emperor. In this manner were some of the Italian powers to fall off from the projected league,—as there is every reason to fear,—the Venetians would not be able to plead that excuse, and say they were not obliged to keep their word; besides which, in the event of the Pope's death, they might no longer consider themselves bound by treaty. But as His Imperial Majesty must already have been made acquainted with all this through the Duke of Sessa and the warder of Pamplona,* the ambassadors need not say anything more about it.

The Republic held their *prega* as announced. According to information derived from the same quarter mention was made of certain projects of the Duke of Urbino concerning the estate of Milan, the details of which, however, have not transpired. The motion, it is said, was not taken into consideration, and, in the opinion of the ambassadors, will never be discussed. During the *pregha* letters came from Rome announcing that the deed of suspension had been actually signed by the Pope and Duke of Sessa, and it is added that the Senators were anything but pleased at the intelligence.

Yesterday the ambassadors of France were closeted for upwards of one hour and a half in the Council Chamber, for what purpose is yet unknown.—Venice, 20 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Venice. The Ambassadors, 20 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

22 Dec. **306.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 56.

Wrote on the 20th inst. through the Imperial ambassador at Lyons,† explaining the cause of his not going to Turin, as previously arranged, and announcing that the Marquis del Guasto was sending to Spain Captain Nofre del Monte and the rest of those implicated in Mons. de Labret's flight from prison. Since then the Marquis, perceiving how awkward it would be if the prisoners were taken [by the enemy] at sea, has changed his mind, and keeps them here at the camp until His Majesty's pleasure be known. But he now forwards by post a copy of the proceedings, that the criminality of

* Commander Herrera, who was alcayde or warder of the castle of Pamplona, the capital of Navarre.

† Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praet.

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his accomplices, if he has any, or his own innocence (*limpieza*) may be fully appreciated at Court. The Marquis is in despair at what has happened and at the pecuniary damage sustained thereby. Antonio de Leyva's convalescence has likewise been retarded through it.

Some time before the death of the late Marquis [of Pescara], in the presence of his nephew the Marquis del Guasto, of the Abbot of Najera, of Juan de Urbina, and himself [Lope Hurtado], Leyva called his attention to the necessity of keeping a vigilant guard over the prisoner. To that end Nofre del Monte had been sent to Pavia with a larger force, and the former governor, Clavero, removed from his office. But when treason is at work there is but little remedy against it. —Milan, 22 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Lope Hurtado, 22 Dec."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

22 Dec. **307.** Don Fadrique, Bishop of Siguença,* to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 395.

Madame d'Alençon arrived here last Saturday, and on Sunday next, after dinner, left for . . . . . .† She was received with all the honours due to her rank and in obedience to the Emperor's commands. As she expected hourly a courier from Court announcing the conclusion of the treaty between His Imperial Majesty and the King, her brother, she told the Bishop, on her departure, that if the messenger met her on the road she would let him know what news he brought from Court. At Sant Saloni, seven leagues from this city, Madame d'Alençon wrote to say that the messenger had arrived and delivered into her hands a letter from the King, her brother, announcing that peace had been concluded.‡

The Consuls of Perpignan had written to him (the Bishop) the enclosed letter, whereby it appears they had very different news.—Barcelona, 22d of December 1525.

Signed: "Don Fadrique, Bishop of Siguença."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible, Catholic Cesar and most Powerful Lord, the Emperor and King, our Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From the Bishop of Siguença, 22d Dec."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

* At this time Viceroy of Catalonia. He was of Portuguese birth, son of D. Alonso de Portugal, Count of Faro and Doña Maria Norenha. He had been formerly Bishop of Calahorra, and in 1532 became Archbishop of Saragossa. He died at Barcelona, the 6th Jan. 1539.

† The paper torn. Probably Salses or Perpignan, both of which were on her road to Lyons.

‡ The Duchess left Toledo at the end of November. After a short visit to her brother Francis she undertook her journey to Lyons through Barcelona. The peace was not concluded and signed until the 14th of January 1526.

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23 Dec. **308.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. P'a. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 58.

Wrote on the 15th inst. announcing M. de Labret's flight from Pavia. From the inquiry instituted since it would appear that the prisoner let himself down by a rope ladder prepared by one of the halberdiers of his guard, who went off with him. He took the road of Laco Maggiore, Arona, and through the country of the Switzers to France. Two men have been taken up at Pavia as implicated in the prisoner's escape, his own valet de chambre and his barber, whom the Marquis of Pescara and Antonio de Leyva were thinking of sending [to Spain] with Captain Nofre del Monte, that they might all be examined there; but the insecurity of the journey by land or sea, now that the truce is about to expire, has made them change their mind, and they will be kept here under arrest until the Emperor's pleasure be known. A copy of the evidence is forwarded. No culpability is attached to the Captain, except excessive confidence in the person of one Loyasa, much trusted by the late Marquis of Pescara, and against whom Antonio de Leyva had frequently warned him, declaring in his (the Abbot's) presence that the charge of a prisoner of the condition and class of Mons. de Labret could not be safely intrusted to a youth (*mancebo*) like Loyasa, known to be a gambler and a man of immoral habits. The Marquis confessed the truth of the observation, but, out of kindness and unwillingness to show suspicion of the man, maintained him in his charge. Two days before the Marquis' death, by order of Guasto and Leyva, a guard, picked out of the best men in this camp, was sent to Pavia, though too late to prevent the prisoner's escape. Nobody can describe the sorrow of those generals and of the rest of the Imperial functionaries when they heard of it.

On the 20th inst. Hernançis* arrived with the Imperial letters of the 3rd and the bills of exchange for 60,000 ducats, which were sent forthwith to Genoa for acceptance. The sum, however, is insufficient to pay the money borrowed by the late Marquis, as well as by Guasto and Antonio de Leyva.

Encloses estimate of expenses and amount of debt up to this day, that His Imperial Majesty may judge of the wants of this army. Has written to Soria to procure in the shortest possible time 6,000 ducats, which he (the Abbot) has negotiated with a view to appease the clamouring demands of the Spanish infantry; for yesterday morning upwards of 200 of them rose in mutiny, saying they were dying of hunger, and demanding, if not all the arrears due to them, at least enough for their daily support. In the absence of Leyva, still confined to his bed by disease, the Marquis del Guasto went up to a monastery out of this city where the mutineers had assem-

* Called elsewhere Hernando Çis, a steward of D. Ugo de Moncada.

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bled, and with no small difficulty and on promise of one month's pay, persuaded them to return to their banners. These are bad beginnings indeed, and unless the Council of Naples remits us funds to pay the men-at-arms the residue of their debt from August last up to this month of December, he (the Abbot) cannot see what is to prevent the most lamentable excesses on the part of the soldiers.

The rents of this Estate for the ensuing year are now being farmed out to the highest bidder, with a stipulated subvention.* Hitherto no offers have been made, owing to merchants and bankers not knowing whether there will be war or peace, and whether the Emperor intends to keep this Duchy or give it to the Duke,† as is rumoured, or to some other Prince. Should we succeed in farming out the said rents the Emperor can calculate on receiving monthly from the taxation (*daçios*) of this city and others in the Duchy a sum equal to about 10,000 ducats, which will be reduced to one half if this Imperial army is to continue quartered in the Duchy, which is, to speak the plain truth, a most insufferable burden for the inhabitants of this Estate. They feel it the more that they see no signs of His Imperial Majesty coming to a decision. The Duke's party in particular, and those who would help him if they could, are daily showing letters [from Spain], stating that the Emperor wishes the Estate to be for the Duke (Sforza), and have told the Pope's Legate that, innocent or guilty, the Duchy would be adjudicated to him (Francesco Sforza) at the Pope's will. And although this may have been said merely with a view to gain time and not to exasperate those who wish for a similar result, it is nevertheless true that they are much encouraged by the said promise, whereas those who sincerely wish the Emperor to be their supreme Lord are hesitating in their manifestations. This, besides Madame d'Alençon's return [from Spain] without being able to conclude a peace, is the reason why the above-named contractors are so very slow in making reasonable offers, and why the oath of allegiance now being taken in some of the parishes (*perroquias*) proceeds so slowly. It is to be hoped, however, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of their deputies, who would willingly postpone the said oath, all the parishes will comply with it, thereby escaping the dangers and miseries of war, to which they have been subjected for so many years past, when they may rightly say: *Noli me tangere quia Cæsaris sum.*

The Duke of Milan, perceiving that Thomas del Mayno could not obtain a safe-conduct to go to Spain by land, and dared not go by sea, decided on sending another gentleman-

* "Se van encantando para el año que viene, y asta ora no hallamos quien las quiera tomar con subençion, a causa de que no saben si ha de ser guerra ó paz."

† "Si este estado lo ha de tener V. Mag., ó darlo, como se dice, al Duque ó á otra persona." By "al Duque" Bourbon is meant.

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in-waiting, named Cipion de [la] Tela, who was permitted to leave the castle a few days ago on condition of not returning thither. After holding a conference with the Marquis [del Guasto] and with Antonio de Leyva, he (Cipion) asked permission to return to the castle and see the Duke, his master, which was granted on condition of his not coming out again, since it was evident that the Duke's intention was to obtain information by his means rather than to send him [to Spain]. No other application of the sort has been made since.

The work at the trenches will soon be finished and the castle so completely surrounded that nobody will be able to go in or out. This might have been accomplished long ago had not Leyva, who took the works under his care, been seized with tertian fever, from which he has not yet completely recovered. Guasto, Lope Hurtado—who, at the express request of the Marquis, has delayed his intended journey to Turin—Juan de Urbina, and the rest of the Emperor's servants and officials have done all they could to supply that general's deficiency.

Among the captains of this Imperial army who, by their excesses, have made themselves amenable to military law, one is Frederico di Capua, brother-in-law of the much lamented Marquis de Civita Santangelo, and himself in command of 100 light horse. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him, which will be forwarded to Spain. He is now confined in the castle of Treço until he indemnifies those whom he has spoiled or injured. He (the Captain) comes of a good family, but is so scandalous (*deshonesto*) in his general conduct that he deserves censure and even punishment.

The Archbishop of Capua writes from Rome to Bernardino della Barba, Papal Nuncio in this city, to say that he entertains great hope of His Holiness accepting the conditions brought by the warder of Pamplona. Something similar to this may be prognosticated from the despatches of the Imperial ambassadors at Venice and the announcement that the Signory somewhat suspect (*estan celosos*) the Pope in this affair, and that couriers are not so frequent as before between Rome and Venice.

Having written at length by Juan Batista Castaldo about the letters which, in his (the Abbot's) opinion, ought to be written in the Emperor's name to the municipality of this city, and the orders to Naples for the payment of moneys borrowed, he need not return to the subject.—Milan, 23 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. Abbot of Najera, 23 Dec."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

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23 Dec. **309.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A 36, f. 407.

Has answered the Imperial letter of the 31st Oct., the last received, and the duplicate of which accompanies this. Yesterday the bills of exchange for 60,000 ducats came to hand, were accepted, and shall be paid when due. He (Soria) must, however, observe that the greater part of that sum has already been sent to Milan at the express request of the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and the Abbot of Najera. (*Cipher:*) Will shortly make them another remittance, but a fresh provision of bills from Spain will soon be required, for, according to letters received from that city, the Imperial army there is so discontented for want of pay that there is imminent danger of a mutiny among the soldiers who are either besieging the castle or encamped about Milan, a thing of all others to be avoided under the present circumstances.

(*Common writing:*) With the bearer of the present, named Pedro Hernandez, has come another courier from the Duke of Sessa with despatches. This last is to go [to Spain] by sea, and will shortly leave for Barcelona.

(*Cipher:*) News has been received at Genoa, by way of Lyons, that the French were raising a sum of 150,000 ducats to help the Pope and the Venetians in their war against the Emperor. He (Soria) does not attach much importance or give much credit to the news, for money is not so abundant in France just now, neither is the Pope, according to all accounts, very keen to commence hostilities.

(*Common writing:*) Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez write that the Venetians use very mild language and make all manner of promises, but are very backward and slow in the pending negotiations.

Henry de Labret—the King of Navarre, as he styles himself—has fled from the castle of Pavia, where he was detained prisoner. He escaped on the night of the 13th inst., with the whole of his suite, and took the road to Switzerland. It is said that he was helped in his escape by some of the very soldiers who were in guard over him.

At Provence several galleys are being armed, to the amount of twenty-five. The Emperor has only eight in this port, besides four more belonging to the Signory, an insufficient force to cope with those of the enemy, unless in the meantime some sort of agreement be made with the French King. As in case of war breaking out again the ports of the Signory, perhaps, too, of the city of Genoa itself, might be exposed to the incursions of the enemy, he (Soria) has sent [to Milan] to ask for six hundred infantry to man the said galleys, and both the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have promised to send the said reinforcement.

Andrea Doria, notwithstanding the truce, perseveres in his hostilities against the Emperor's subjects, molesting the Lord of Monego (Monaco) and the rest as much as he can. Strong

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measures ought to be taken against his piratical acts. This Doge and Community continue faithful to the Imperial cause.

Nicolao and Stephano de Grimaldo, Giovanni Battista, and Thomasso de Fornariis are doing much service by advancing money on the Imperial bills when required. They deserve both praise and thanks for their behaviour.—Genoa, 23 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 23 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2½.

27 Dec. **310.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 413.

Since the departure of Pero Hernandez and the embarkation of the courier sent by the Duke of Sessa with the duplicate of his despatches, nothing new has occurred worth reporting. No advices from Rome or from any other place. (*Cipher:*) The messenger who was to have come from that city in order to notify to the commanders of the Imperial army, as well as to the garrison of the castle, not to fire on each other during the two months of the suspension of hostilities, had not yet arrived at Milan.

On the 4th of November he (Soria) freighted a brigantine from this coast to take various despatches to Spain, and gave the master letters patent to show that the vessel was engaged in the Emperor's service. Has since heard that the said brigantine—obliged to put into the river at Narbonne from stress of weather—had been seized and the crew imprisoned by the authorities of that town. Among the passengers was Silvestrin, a messenger of the Duke of Milan. Strange manner, indeed, of keeping the truce! Andrea Doria is doing the same thing, wherever he is, molesting His Majesty's subjects as much as he can, and principally the Lord of Monego (Monaco).

(*Cipher:*) His last letter contained the intelligence that the French were arming 25 galleys in Provence. The news has been confirmed since. If war is determined upon, the small fleet His Imperial Majesty has at this port must immediately be reinforced, or else it will not be able to keep the sea against the enemy. A fit commander is also wanted for the galleys, —Genoa, 27 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 27th Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

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29 Dec. **311.** Commander Herrera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 375.

Three couriers started on the 17th instant, two by land and one by sea, with the Pope's answer and his own letters. Hopes that before the arrival of the present despatch one of them at least has reached its destination.

Here, as well as in the rest of Italy, things are in suspense, and all are waiting for the Emperor's resolution. The intrigues of the confederates have ceased also, though on his (Herrera's) arrival at Rome they were brisker than ever. At Milan everything goes right, as appears by the advices of the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, the only drawback being the flight of Mons. de Labret, who has made his escape from Pavia.

(*Cipher:*) Should His Imperial Majesty come to an agreement with the Pope, something must be done in favour of Cardinal Coluna (Colonna), who has absented himself from Rome only the better to serve the Emperor.*

(*Common writing:*) Intends, shortly, to leave for Sienna, and hopes to arrange matters at that place so that the Emperor's service be accomplished and the Siennese satisfied. —Rome, 29 Dec. 1525.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Rome. Commander Herrera, 29 Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering appended. p. 1.

Dec. **312.** The Capitulation about Sienna.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 372.

What I, Don Ugo de Moncada, Prior of Messina in Sicily, and Commander of Santa Euphemia, ambassador of His Imperial Majesty in Rome, do promise in his name and stipulate with His Holiness Pope Clement VIII. respecting the Signory of Sienna, its county and its outlaws (*fuorusciti*), and what His Holiness promises and stipulates in return is as follows:—

1. The said outlaws (*fuorusciti*) shall be allowed freely to return to the territory of the said Signory and recover any property or goods which they or their agents might have in their possession. All sentences or embargoes upon the said property to be considered as removed. They (themselves) to reside at Sienna or quit it at will, and to be admitted to the offices and charges of the Signory on equal footing with other citizens; to obtain from the Signory and from me, Don Ugo de Moncada, in the Emperor's name, all proper securities for

* This paragraph is entirely written in cipher, and as the reading was omitted by Gattinara's clerks, the editor of these papers has made it out with the assistance of a deciphering key and alphabet expressly made for that purpose.

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the fulfilment of the conditions as long as the government of the Signory, as at present constituted, remains in the same form and state which it had in old times under the protection and supreme jurisdiction of His Imperial Majesty.

2. The said outlaws (*fuorusciti*) to be free and exempt from all charges as well as from all actions brought against them during the time of their exile; and all proceedings, mandates, prohibitions, and disqualifications issued against them by the government of the Signory to be equally annulled, so that they (the outlaws) may be peaceably reinstated in the enjoyment of their civil rights, though not in the government of the Republic, which, as aforesaid, is to remain in the hands of the present rulers. And in case the said *fuorusciti* should be found guilty of the crime *lesæ Majestatis* or other offences touching the Imperial service, I, the said Don Ugo de Moncada, pardon and forgive them in the Emperor's name, and promise that they shall never be molested on account of the said offences.

3. I likewise promise that the said *fuorusciti*, their lawful heirs and successors, shall be fully reinstated in all their property, whether moveable or immoveable, which might have been taken from them during their exile by the officers of the Republic or by private individuals, on condition, however, that the said *fuorusciti* will place proper security in the hands of the Illustrious Vespasiano Colonna that they will not contract or take engagements [with other parties] against the Imperial interests, or against the form of free government as it now stands.

4. The command of the forces, infantry as well as cavalry, which the Signory has raised for its protection, shall be given to the said Vespasiano Colonna, who is to promise to His Holiness that, on his departure from Sienna, he will appoint a fit captain to keep the said men in order, provide for the security of the place, as well as for the maintenance of peace between the citizens and the *fuorusciti*. The said Vespasiano, or the captain he may appoint, shall keep the said forces in strict obedience to the Republic.

5. His Holiness is to give a safe-conduct to Julio Colonna—at present in command of the forces—for him to go either to Lombardy, to join the Imperial army, or to the kingdom of Naples, or wherever suits him best; the said Julio to be accompanied by any number of men who may choose to follow his banners.

6. The aforesaid Vespasiano Colonna to promise and give security, in the Emperor's name, that the articles of this treaty shall be faithfully observed by him. He is, moreover, to obtain a reciprocal promise and security that at no time, or in any way, is the Signory or government of Sienna to be molested, either by His Holiness or the Florentines; besides which, the said Vespasiano Colonna, properly empowered by me, Don Ugo de Moncada, will take care that the Signory take a similar engagement to the Florentines, as

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will appear from the attested copy of this present treaty, with my own signature and seal appended, whereof the said Vespasiano is to be the bearer.

7. His Holiness gives his solemn promise that from the 13th of July of this present year, and 24 hours upwards, the troops of the *fuorusciti* now marching on Sienna shall receive orders not to advance. Should, however, the Pope's messenger arrive too late, and after the army of the *fuorusciti* had entered the town, in that case His Holiness is to see that the said *fuorusciti* fulfil the conditions of this present treaty or of the former one made and ordained by His Holiness conjointly with me, the said Don Hugo de Moncada; and His Holiness will, besides, issue a brief sanctioning and permitting the above clauses.

8. I, Don Hugo, promise that within the period of four months, to be counted from the date of this instrument, I will cause the present treaty to be approved of and ratified by the Emperor, my master, and in the meantime will hold it as valid and good. In proof whereof, I hereby affix my signature and seal.

Addressed: "Magnifico nostro Amantissimo Domino Martino Centurioni, oratori nostro apud Cæsaream Catholicam Majestatem."

Indorsed: "The Capitulation relating to the affairs of Sienna."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

Dec. **313.** MEMORANDUM drawn at Madrid by the ARCHBISHOP OF CAPUA, and the ANSWERS made to it by the EMPEROR'S MINISTERS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 36, f. 417.

Art. 1.—Considering the great want of a general and lasting peace between the Princes of Christendom, that they may effectually turn their arms against the Turk and extirpate the growing heresy [of the Lutherans]; considering also the small profits to be derived from a war in the prosecution of which His Imperial Majesty finds great difficulties, His Holiness, moved by the paternal love and affection he bears to the Emperor, begs and requests him to attend to the following representations, and accept the said peace, which, if not so advantageous to him as he might wish, is at least as honourable and reasonable as it is in his power to bring about.

Ans.—Though His Imperial Majesty is under no difficulty whatever in prosecuting the war, as His Holiness supposes, having obtained greater advantages over, and inflicted heavier losses upon, his enemies than he could have expected to do; though he hopes, with the concurrence of his friends and allies—on whose co-operation he relies—to achieve still greater things and obtain

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fuller satisfaction, yet he is more inclined than ever to listen to any honest proposals that may be made to him, and make peace on conditions equally acceptable to himself, the King of England, the Duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the confederated Princes.

Art. 2.—To the said effect His Holiness advises the appointment of certain persons on each side, to meet under a safe-conduct at any place [in Italy] which might be named, sufficiently empowered to suspend hostilities and fix also the time and place whereat other deputies (*compromisarios*), of higher rank and authority, may meet and deliberate on the conclusion of a general peace and the welfare of Christendom.

Ans.—His Imperial Majesty is pleased to grant that a meeting of the sort proposed by His Holiness be celebrated at Rome, where persons shall not be wanting properly qualified to represent his interests, and with sufficient powers to come to an agreement.

Art. 3.—The better to obtain the said desirable object, His Holiness again sends the Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolao Schomberg) with instructions to treat of peace among the Christian Princes and sanction any appointment by the Emperor of the persons who are to compose the Congress.

Ans.—No person could be so acceptable to His Imperial Majesty as the Archbishop of Capua himself, whose ability and good intentions are so well known that no better appointment could be made under present circumstances.

Art. 4.—The shortest way would be for the Emperor to refer to His Holiness, if the rest of the allies did not object to it, and place confidence in him, as he (the Pope) might then bring the parties round to his own opinion or induce them to conclude a truce of longer duration.

Ans.—His Imperial Majesty once before gave a commission to that effect to Mons. de la Roche.* The same might now be renewed in favour of the person or persons appointed to succeed him, for the Emperor has the same confidence and trust in His Holiness as in his own self.

Arts. 5 and 6.—To the said end and to effect a meeting between persons of lower rank—who, as above stated, are to meet together and fix the time and place for the conferences—His Imperial Majesty might send a trusty and faithful person, with sufficient powers and instructions, who, passing through France with a safe-conduct prepared at Narbonne, might, whilst at Lyons, collect ample information about the affairs of Italy, and regulate his conduct

* Gerard de Pleine, Seigneur de la Roche.

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accordingly, after holding conferences with Madame the King's mother, who, as is well known, is very desirous—like the King, her son, and all the nobility of France—to come to an agreement with the Emperor.

Ans.—His Imperial Majesty is willing to appoint a fit person to represent him at Rome and treat of the said affairs. That person to be provided with full powers and instructions, but not to go through France, as proposed.

Art. 7.—Should the Emperor for a time remove his court to Barcelona or to any other town in the vicinity, so as to be nearer to the countries where the said business is to be discussed, great activity might be added to the negotiations; besides which, in the event of war, the Emperor could better attend to the affairs of Italy and increase thereby his power and reputation.

Ans.—His Imperial Majesty thanks the Archbishop for his advice, which he has no doubt proceeds from his zeal and good intentions, but as his departure for Catalonia depends upon certain affairs which are still unsettled, he cannot think of going thither at present, though if his health and business permit, he will not fail to comply with the Pope's wishes.

Indorsed: "Answer given to the Archbishop of Capua* at Madrid, Dec. 1525. To be forwarded to Rome."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

Dec. **314.** ANSWER to the AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223, f. 107.

The answer to be made to the French ambassador in the Emperor's name:

The Emperor has been informed that Mons. Robert de la Marche† and the Sieur de Flourenges,‡ his son, have recruited in the dominions of the most Christian King upwards of . . . . . .§ men, cavalry as well as infantry, to invade the countries and annoy the subjects of the Holy Empire.

Also that the most Christian King is daily remitting money to Messire Charles de Gheldres‖ to carry out his instructions.

* As Schomberg was not in Spain in 1525, there must be some mistake about the date of this memorandum, the contents of which refer evidently to the overtures which Pope Clement is known to have made in December 1524, or thereabouts, to bring about a peace. The indorsement, however, would show that one year after, and just at the time when the French ambassadors at Madrid were discussing the terms of the peace signed in January 1526, the Emperor had a copy of it forwarded to Rome for the express purpose of showing his desire for peace on both occasions.

† Robert de la Marche, Seigneur de Sedan, who, in 1521, made a similar attempt.

‡ Fleuranges or Floranges.

§ A blank in the original.

‖ Charles d'Egmond, Duc de Gueldre.

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Has heard also through some French prisoners in Navarre and Spain, the practices and designs of France for creating disturbances in those quarters, and setting up in the kingdom of Navarre a son of the late king, Jehan d'Albreth. His Imperial Majesty knows full well that neither of the above-named personages would dare to undertake anything against him or against the letter of the treaties unless expressly encouraged and ordered to do so by the said most Christian King. His Imperial Majesty takes this opportunity to remark that he himself has always kept the said treaties without infringing them in the least, and is disposed to observe them most faithfully unless the other contracting party breaks them first. If, however, the said Robert, or any other person, under any colour whatever, should bring on war or otherwise commence hostilities against His Imperial Majesty, his allies, vassals and subjects, or against the countries, lands and signories which they may at present hold or possess, the Emperor will consider the said act and aggression as an open rupture of the aforesaid treaties, and will act, with God's help and that of his friends and allies, whatever a Prince thus provoked and assailed is bound to act for his own protection and defence.

Similar warnings to be addressed to the most Christian King through the Emperor's ambassador [in France], le Dom Provost.*

Respecting the 100,000 cr., the Emperor has always been—and is still—willing to pay them. As to the overtures about which the Emperor's ambassador has written, and which you† have also brought forward, if not found to be objectionable, and there be no other difficulty . . . . . .

Indorsed : "Respuesta del Emperador‡ al Embaxador de Francia, Dec. 1525."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

Dec. **315.** The ARREARS OF PENSIONS owing by the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 223.

The following are the arrears of pensions owing by the Emperor to the Legate and other English Lords :—

	cr.
1stly. There is owing to Monseigneur the Legate for a whole year of his pension, due on the 1st of May 1524, the sum of -	9,000
Ditto to the Duke of Suffock for a year of his pension, due on the 25th of June last -	1,000

* Philibert Naturelli, Provost of Utrecht, who died on the 22d of July 1529. He had been ambassador at Rome in 1507.

† It is not quite clear what is here meant by *vous* (you), as this last paragraph appears to be unfinished : "et les ouvertures que l'ambassadeur de l'Empereur a escript et que vous avez aussi mises avant, son ne les trouve point maulvaises et sil ne tenoit que a cela . . . . ."

‡ The same remark above made (No. 313) may be applied to this paper, the contents of which seem to refer to a period anterior to the battle of Pavia.

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	cr.
Ditto to the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Treasurer and Admiral of England, due on the same day - - - - - -	1,000
Ditto to Monsieur de Boulant (Boleyn) for a similar pension, due on the said day -	1,000
Ditto to Monsieur the Grand Chambellan for a similar annual pension, due on the 26th of June last, one year and a half, at the rate of one thousand cr. yearly - - -	1,500
Ditto to Monsieur le Marquis [of Dorset] for a similar pension for one year and a half -	1,500
Ditto to Monsieur le Grand Maistre for a similar pension for one year and a half - -	1,500
Ditto to Messire Richard Wingfield for his pension due on the 26th of June, for one year and a half - - - -	1,500
There is owing to Messire Guillame (William) Compton for his pension due on the same day, at the rate of 500 crowns annually, one year and a half, or - - -	750
Ditto to Monsieur the Bishop of London [Tunstall] for two years of his pension, due on the 26th of June last, at the rate of five hundred cr. annually - - - - -	1,000
Ditto to Thomas Henuache (Hennege) for one year's pension, due as above - - -	200
Making altogether - -	19,200

It will be the Emperor's pleasure to pay to Mons. de Praet, his ambassador in England, his ordinary salary for one year, due on the 17th September next, at the rate of . . . . . per day, amounting to the sum of - -	1,877
Ditto to the Chamberlain for his salary up to Midsummer day, making in all - -	1,044
Ditto to the same Chamberlain for money advanced to three couriers despatched for the service of His Imperial Majesty, two of them to Maistre Jehan [Le Sauch ?], being at the time in the Isle of Wigch (Wight), and a third to Plemue (Plymouth), making in all -	25

The said Mons. de Praet has to acknowledge 8,150 cr. of the Sun, which His Imperial Majesty remitted to him in four bills of exchange, and out of which 990 cr. remained in his hands, so that there is to his credit, up to the above-said time, a sum of 912 cr., besides the 1,044 to which he is since entitled.

It would be desirable for His Imperial Majesty to make a present to Maistre Brian Tucke, and henceforwards to allow

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him a suitable pension, equal, at least, to that of Mons. Hennache (Hennege), if not larger, for the reasons and motives which the said Mons. de Praet has already stated in another memorandum.

Indorsed: "Note of the Pensions due, &c."

French. Original. pp. 3.

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6 Jan. **316.** Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 2.

Has written to his ambassador at Court, ordering him to show the letter to His Imperial Majesty and read it over in his presence. Has not written direct to the Emperor, owing to his having to use on this occasion his own private cipher, in preference to that in which he generally communicates with the Imperial court. This he has done as a precaution, and from fear of his enemies. Begs His Imperial Majesty to take into consideration the contents of his letter [to the ambassador], as they are very important to his own honour and reputation, and will acquaint the Emperor with the true state of affairs.—Genoa, 6th January 1526.

Signed: "Antoniotto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. From the Doge, 6th January."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 2. **317.** Chancellor Gattinara to the Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno).

That His Majesty has duly received his letter, seen and understood everything he (the Doge) wrote to his ambassador [in Spain]. Thanks him for the news, and also for his good offices to the Imperial cause. Must not imagine the Emperor has listened, or could ever listen, to any misrepresentations about his fidelity or that of the city of Genoa, since he has had plenty of opportunities to judge of his good intentions by his deeds, which he appreciates at their full value, and will be able to reward on his next visit to Italy, which he hopes will be soon, as the fleet which is to take him is getting ready.

Spanish. Original minute in Gattinara's own hand, written under the Doge's letter. No date. p. 1.

8 Jan. **318.** Chevalier Billia's Affidavit respecting Pedro Garcia, the Emperor's Secretary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 4.

I, the undersigned, Cavalier Billia, ambassador of the Duke of Milan near the person of the Emperor, do hereby declare that at the time I came to this city [Toledo] I brought with

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me a warrant from my master, the Duke, assigning and ordering to be paid to Pedro Garcia, Secretary and Councillor* of His Imperial Majesty, out of the moneys of the Ducal treasury, 200 gold cr. yearly until his great and many services in the recovery and defence of the estate of Milan should be rewarded in a more suitable manner. That having delivered the Ducal warrant into the hands of the said Secretary, he (Garcia) refused to accept it, saying that what His Imperial Majesty had requested the Duke of Milan to do was to bestow on him (Garcia), out of the property confiscated to the rebels, a fitting sum for once, not an annual pension, as that he would never accept from any Prince except the Emperor, his natural Lord. And although the undersigned did everything in his power to make him (the Secretary) accept the said pension, promising that the Duke, his master, would attend besides to the Emperor's recommendation, he persisted in his refusal, and I was, in consequence, obliged to send back the said warrant.—Signed by me at Toledo on the 8th of January 1526. "Io Cavalero Bilia."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

8 Jan. **319.** CAMILLO GIUILINO'S AFFIDAVIT respecting one of the Emperor's Secretaries.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 5.

I, the undersigned, Camillo Giulino, Secretary to his Excellency the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), do hereby declare that at the time Cavalier Billia came to this Imperial court [Toledo] as ambassador from the said Duke, he delivered into the hands of Secretary Pedro Garcia a schedule or warrant granting him 200 cr. annual pension, &c. That the said Secretary would not accept it, and that in consequence thereof, on my return to Milan, I (Giulino) took back with me the said warrant. Having again visited Toledo for certain affairs of the Duke, my master, I was ordered to take a letter from the Duke to Garcia, wherein he promised, instead of the 200 cr. pension which the Secretary would not accept, 4,000 gold ducats on the first vacant offices. —Toledo, 8 Jan. 1526.

Signed: "Camillo Gilino (*sic*)."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

14 Jan. **320.** SUMMARY of the TREATY OF MADRID.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 3.

The French King gives up Naples, Milan and Genoa, as well as Tournay and Arras. Allows the resort (*ressort*) and sovereignty of Flanders, Artois and other countries of the

* "Secretario y del Consejo de la dicha Cesarea Majestad;" but his real post was Secretary to the Council of Estate, or Foreign Affairs, for the Crown of Aragon.

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Emperor within France. Will restore the whole of the duchy of Burgundy, as held by the late Duke Charles, the country of Charolois and Hesdin. Will reinstate M. de Bourbon in all his property and pay him the revenues thereof during his absence. Will set at liberty, without any ransom, the Prince of Orange. All prisoners on both sides to be equally set free. All confiscations to be revoked, and everyone to return to the enjoyment of his property, except in Italy, where judicial proceedings will be instituted. The King of France to withdraw from the Duke of Wurtemberg, and deprive Robert de la Marche of his commission. The Duke of Gueldres will be allowed to remain Duke during his lifetime on condition that after his death the Duchy shall be put into the Emperor's hands, or else that the French King will help to the conquest of the same. Should the former plan be adopted, and were the Duke to leave legitimate succession, the Emperor to provide elsewhere a suitable pension for them. The King of France to lend the Emperor his navy, and furnish him with 600 men-at-arms and 6,000 foot, with half a year's pay, for his intended journey to Italy or elsewhere. The marriage between the King and Madame Eleonora, Dowager Queen of Portugal, who, in consideration of her renouncing the crown [of Portugal] and any other inheritance, is to have 200,000 cr. of gold, besides the counties of Masconnoys (Macon), Auxerroys (Auxerre), and Bar sur Seine, which are to be hers and for the heirs of her body. Should the King be unable to restore Burgundy [to the Emperor] or carry out other parts of the treaty, he pledges his word again to return to captivity, leaving as hostages the Dauphin of France (Henry, Duke of Orleans) and his second son [Charles, Count of Angouleme], or else the Dauphin and 12 more of the Princes of the blood and great nobility of France.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

15 Jan. **321.** The Emperor to Margaret of Austria.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 5.

Has received her last letter by the Portuguese courier. Since then his ministers have so far succeeded with the French King that on the 13th instant peace was concluded, and on the same day the King took his oath to observe the treaty and signed it. Encloses a summary of the articles.* As it is agreed that the treaty is to be proclaimed on the 15th of February next by both parties, he, the Emperor, sends the bearer to order the solemn proclamation of the same [in Flanders], as likewise the release of the Sieur de Fleurenges and all such prisoners without ransom.

Madame Margaret is to convoke the Estates General for the 22d day of May next, not for the purpose of asking for aid [in

* *See* the preceding paper, No. 320.

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money], but merely to inform them of what has been achieved for their safety and quietness by means of this peace just concluded between the French King and himself.—Toledo, 15 Jan. 1526.

Addressed: "A Madame Marguerite, notre Tante, &c."

French. Original. p. 1½.

19 Jan. **322.** News from Toledo.

M. N. L. Madrid.

During the Emperor's residence at Toledo the treaty between him and the King of France, dated 14 Jan. 1526, was concluded, as likewise the marriage of the King [of France] to Madame Eleonor, Queen Dowager of Portugal, the Emperor's sister. The witnesses on both sides were: Charles de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples; Don Ugo de Moncada, Knight of Rhodes, and Grand Prior [of Messina]; Messire Nicolas Perrenot, Sieur de Granvelle, Maistre des Requêtes; and Messire Jehan Lallemand, Secretary of State and Sieur de Bouclains. On the King's part: The Archbishop of Ambrun (François de Tournon); Messire Anne de Montmorency, Sieur de Chantilly; the Seigneur de Brion (Philippe de Chabot); Messire Jean de Selve, first President of Paris; and the Esleu Bayard,* with commission of the Regent (Louise de Savoie) and Estates General of the kingdom of France. About the same time the Duke of Bourbon came to Toledo; also Queen Germaine of Foix, who had recently lost her husband, the Marquis de Brandembourg.† And afterwards the said Queen Dowager, who was then at Talavera, was betrothed, as above stated, to the King of France; she then returned to Toledo and ceased wearing mourning. The Emperor and the Duke of Bourbon went out [of Toledo] to receive her.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

20 Jan. **323.** Julio Colonna to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 6.

Came some time ago to Sienna with a view to maintain the city in obedience to the Emperor and defend the same from the outlaws (*forausciti*) and others who wished to attack it. Knows the importance of a city situated like this (Sienna) is in the very centre of Italy, in a territory abounding with all articles of food, well provided by nature with ports of refuge and other defences requisite in warfare, and, above all, more strongly attached to the Imperial service than any other Italian city. Begs the Emperor to take the said city under

* According to the Itinerary of Charles V., published by Bradford (p. 489), the Emperor resided at Toledo from the 22d of October to the 11th of February of the following year. He left that city on the 14th to go to Madrid, on a visit to the King of France.

† Not so very recently, since he died early in July of the preceding year. Germaine was the widow of Ferdinand the Catholic, and was appointed by Charles to the viceroyalty of Valencia.

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his protection and defend it against the *forausciti* and others who are close upon the frontier watching an opportunity for attack. The citizens will at any time risk their lives and fortunes, as well as their children and families, for the Emperor's service.

At present, moved by his own unalterable fidelity and his constant love of the Imperial service, he (Colonna) begs leave to call the Emperor's attention to two most important points. The Venetians, perceiving that the estate of Milan is almost ruined, that provisions are completely exhausted, and that the two castles (Milan and Cremona) still resist the Emperor's authority; believing that the common people, generally fond of novelty, may feel inclined to make some fresh disturbance whereby they themselves may profit, have lately been trying to enlist and take into their pay the best soldiers that could be procured throughout Italy, for in their own native men they place no confidence whatever. In this manner they have collected nearly 12,000 foot, and appointed to the command of this infantry Signor Federico di Bozolo.* Of men-at-arms they have already between 800 and 900, and the report is that the Switzers have also engaged to serve under the Pope and the Venetians, and are about to come down in great numbers. It is but prudent, therefore, to take such military measures as must ensure success in case of war. Although the Imperial army [in Italy] is commanded by most able captains—and, indeed, such is the experience and training of the men themselves that they might all be looked upon as captains—yet if His Imperial Majesty would appoint a general-in-chief over them, it would in his (Colonna's) opinion, have a most beneficial effect. Considers it highly necessary also that the kingdom of Naples should not be without a viceroy, for the experience of the past shows how dangerous an experiment that is. When, just before the battle of Pavia, the Duke of Albany attempted the invasion of Naples, that kingdom was so weak from the absence of its Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] and from other causes, that had the Duke pushed his enterprise further, the most serious consequences were to be apprehended. Even now at the present moment, when the whole of Italy is waking up; when the Venetians are making preparations for war; when the Florentines, their allies and confederates, have upwards of 700 lances in their service, the kingdom of Naples is in danger unless a viceroy is appointed.—Sienna, 20 Jan. 1526.

Signed: "Julio Colonna."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. 1526. Julio Colonna, 20 Jan. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

* Evidently the same Captain called elsewhere "Bozano."

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22 Jan. **324.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 8.

(*Cipher:*) Has frequently and by various messengers apprized His Imperial Majesty of the wants of the army. Does it now more earnestly than ever. Things have come to such a pass that unless the remedy come soon the Imperial army is irretrievably lost. Credit there is none, neither here [at Milan] nor at Venice, not even at Genoa, owing to the last bills of exchange having been protested at Naples. The Marquis and Antonio de Leyva, finding they had no money to pay the Spaniards, have sent them away to be quartered in the best districts of this Estate ; that is to say, in that part of the Duchy which has not yet been completely destroyed. There are now only Germans in front of this castle [of Milan], the two above-mentioned captains having preferred to weaken and diminish the Imperial forces on the outposts and trenches to remaining in continual danger of a mutiny, as would have been the case had the Spaniards remained at Milan. The soldiers in general have nothing to eat ; neither have the country people anything to give them ; and no wonder, for it is a long time since 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot have been living upon them. Beseeches the Emperor to remedy the present evil, or decide at once for war, for it is far preferable to wage it upon the enemy than thus destroy and waste, in time of peace, what may be called our own.—Milan, 22 Jan. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Lope Hurtado 22d Jan."

Spanish. Original wholly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1½.

22 Jan. **325.** The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 53.

Wrote at length on the 23d of December, owing to which and to the circumstance of this going by a land route and almost on a chance, he (the Abbot) will be short.

On the 12th the Pope concluded with the Duke of Sessa the peace or truce according to the draft sent by the last courier. The Nuncio, Micer Bernardino de la Barba, who resides in this city, having persistently asked for permission to enter the castle in order to notify to the Duke Francesco the articles concerning that fortress and that of Cremona, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva allowed him to speak in their presence to one of the Duke's gentlemen sent to the trenches for that purpose, to whom the articles were notified in due form, and a copy given of the same. Since which the said Duke has, for two consecutive days, pressed hard for permission to converse with the Pope's Nuncio and have

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the articles explained to him, as he says he cannot understand their meaning, his name not being mentioned in them. Perceiving, however, that the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva were unwilling to grant his request, he asked to be allowed to write to the Pope, which he has since done, though the letters are still in our hands, the Imperial generals and ministers not having considered it prudent to forward them to their address. One thing, however, appears quite clear, namely, that the Duke [Francesco Sforza] tacitly disapproves of the convention proposed by the Pope, as far as he is concerned. As to the Venetians, it is not yet known whether they will accept it or not.

Has written to Naples describing the great need of this Imperial army, and begging the Collateral Council of that kingdom to make some provision in money, or at least to pay a portion of the 68,000 ducats, principal and interest, borrowed here, as well as at Venice and Genoa, on the personal security of the late Marquis de Pescara, the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and himself (the Abbot). After a month's time their answer has been that they have no funds at their disposal, and even if they had they could not take any engagement without the express orders of the Emperor or of their Viceroy, Charles de Lannoy. The Genoese bankers have also been applied to, to advance money on the new bills of exchange of 60,000 ducats, but this sum being destined to the payment of former debts, they have refused, and it is with great difficulty that they have been persuaded to advance 10,000 ducats, which are now being distributed to the German infantry in this city.

(*Cipher:*) It is evident that our credit is entirely lost here and in Genoa, as well as in Venice, where the 6,000 ducats borrowed by Alonso Sanchez on the 15th of November last still remain unpaid. So that there is no possibility of disguising matters; nobody will lend us a farthing of money, and the next inevitable blow will be to lose all hold on the obedience and affections of the soldiers. To avoid this, orders have been issued for the seven companies of Spanish infantry to quit Milan, where they were literally starving, and distribute them over certain districts 20 miles from the capital, where they may keep flesh and bone together. The two bands of German infantry, mustering about 5,000 in all, will remain in front of the castle. The last month's pay has just been issued to them; but on the 25th inst. another one will be due, and no funds are left for it unless His Majesty sends money from Naples or Spain. Nor can any reliance be placed on the ordinary revenues of this Estate, the country being so exhausted and destroyed by the army quartered on it that it would be folly to expect any relief from that quarter. As it is, from the moment the Duke shut himself up in the castle until the present day, nearly 40,000 gold cr. have been raised upon the people. He (the Abbot

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feels confident, however, that if the news of the peace is confirmed, and the people persuaded that their Duke is not to be dispossessed and the Estate seized by the Emperor or given to another, 15,000 or 20,000 ducats more could be raised on the gabels and taxes (*dacio de la mercantia*), for which, owing to the above reason, there was no bidder the other day.

(*Common writing:*) Will send by sea the duplicate account of the sums collected from this Estate, as well as of the monthly revenue. The city has not yet taken the requisite oath of allegiance, owing chiefly to some of the parishes having directed their delegates to ask for certain conditions that were inadmissible. New powers are now being drawn out authorising their delegates to swear unconditionally, but they have resolved to send two ambassadors to Spain, one a doctor and another a gentleman of this city, to beg of His Imperial Majesty the confirmation of certain privileges of their own and the grant of new ones. Such, however, is the insecurity of the roads at present, that it is not likely the ambassadors will leave for some time; if they should, he (the Abbot) will not fail to give his own opinion and that of the generals respecting the said articles, point out which are to be granted, and which to be rejected.

Antonio de Leyva went, 12 days ago, to visit the camps at Cremona, Lodi and Gera di Adda (Ghiara d'Adda). Everything, he says, is in good order there. The men are cutting trenches and fortifying themselves against any sally of the enemy. On his return he was slightly seized with ague, but is better now. Parma and Piacenza are being fortified, by order of the Pope. The Venetians, on the other hand, keep a vigilant look-out on their frontiers, owing to the rumours afloat that no real peace has been made between His Imperial Majesty and the French King, and that the Duke Maximiliano [Sforza] is coming down with the outlaws (*fuorusciti*) and 10,000 Switzers besides. These last are reported to have held a diet on the 13th inst., at which a safe-conduct and permission to attend the next diet were applied for in behalf of the said Maximiliano. This, however, the Switzers have refused to grant unless he first pays certain sums owing to them from the time he was Duke of Milan.

All these rumours are only new devices to prevent the Emperor from coming to terms with the French King and setting him at liberty; for, after all, there is nothing the Venetians fear so much as the event of His Imperial Majesty coming to an agreement with that monarch, this being the only reason of their military preparations on the frontiers, as well as of their secret dealings both with Switzers and Grisons.

Everyone here wonders how it is that no letters have been received ever since the arrival, a month ago, of Hernando Çis, the steward of Don Hugo de Moncada. May it please His Imperial Majesty to let the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio

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de Leyva know, as soon as possible, how they are to act and what they are to do with this army, (*cipher*) for they have no instruction or commission except that which the last Marquis de Pescara left them before his death.

(*Common writing :*) The Lord of Monaco has lately applied for the 2,000 ducats pension which the Emperor was pleased to grant him some time ago, as likewise for a number of auxiliary troops to protect him against the attacks of Andrea Doria, his capital enemy. And, considering that the said Lord of Monaco is a faithful vassal of the Empire and has upon every occasion done his best, having thereby lost all his spiritual and most of his temporal possessions, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have both been of opinion that his request should be granted, and bills to the amount of 2,000 ducats drawn on Genoa to his order.—Milan, 22 Jan. 1526.

Signed : "El Abad de Najera."

Post scriptum.—Letters came this morning from the Archduke (Ferdinand), inquiring about the number and quality of the ordnance here, how many pieces there are, in what condition, the amount of ammunition, &c. (*Cipher :*) He also writes to ask which would be the best road to take in the event of his bringing his army into Italy, adding that he is quite ready to cross the Alps and come down in person, or send his forces wherever they may be most required. The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have answered him as will be seen by the enclosed copies.*—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 22 Jan."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

25 Jan. **326.** The Emperor to the King of France.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

Has heard by his letters, and by those of the Viceroy of Naples, and Don Hugo [de Moncada], as well as by a verbal report of Jean Lallemand, his secretary, of the conclusion of the peace. Has the greatest satisfaction in responding to his wish for a meeting, and would have visited him at once had he not been prevented by press of business closely connected with the said treaty of peace. Sends Count d'Egmont to pay him a visit until he can do it in his own person. Has applied [to Rome] for the required dispensation, which he has no doubt will be ready in the course of to-morrow.—Toledo? 25 Jan. 1526.

French. Original draft. p. 1½.

* Not in the volume.

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25 Jan. **327.** The Emperor to Louis Praet, his Ambassador in France.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

Has received his three letters, to which he has made no reply, as he was waiting to know the result of the pending negotiations for peace. Thanks to God this has been concluded and sworn to. He (Praet) is to present the Emperor's letters to the Queen Regent, and offer his congratulations on that happy event. As the Emperor is very anxious to see the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), Guilford, the Englishman,* Captain Sucre,† Don Garcia de Toledo,‡ and other gentlemen of his household, still prisoners in France, and who are to be released according to an article§ of the Treaty of Madrid, he (Praet) is to request Madame the Regent to set them free and send them off at once before the prescribed term of one month.

He is likewise to solicit the release of the Bishop of Othun (Autun) and of the Sieur de St. Valier, who are equally entitled to obtain their liberty according to another article‖ of the said Treaty, of which Dormans, the bearer, takes a copy.

Will soon despatch Phippot, his (Praet's) attendant, with instructions. Is desired to accompany the Queen Regent in her journey to Bayonne or wherever else it may be her pleasure to go, and advise all news.—Toledo, 25th of January 1526.

French. Original draft. pp. .

26 Jan. **328.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

S. E. L. 1554, f. 510.

God gave him a great victory on the banks of the Ticino. It was in his power to invade France and repossess himself of all that which by right belongs to him. France was at the time without a King, without generals, and without soldiers.

He (the Pope), Vicar of Christ on the Earth, asked him to postpone his own personal interests and pacify Christendom, which he has done, following his exhortations. In consequence thereof a peace and close alliance has been concluded between him (the Emperor) and the King of France, in which a place has been reserved for him (the Pope) as one of the principal contracting parties.

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* In 1511 King Ferdinand of Spain conferred the honour of knighthood on Henry Guildford, an Englishman, for his services in the African war. Most likely he remained in the Spanish service, and was made a prisoner either in Italy or in Bourbon's retreat from Marseilles. Another Englishman, named Wistan? was knighted on the same day (15th of Sept.) at Burgos. *See* Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters*, &c., vol. II., p. 54.

† The same Captain called elsewhere Sucaro, Cuçaro, and Chucharo by Sandoval.

‡ Probably the fourth Marquis of Villafranca, whose sister, Doña Leonor de Toledo, married the Duke of Tuscany. The Marquis himself took for wife Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Ascanio.

§ The 23d. *See* Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. XIV.

‖ The 22d. *See* ibid.

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The Duke of Sessa has been instructed to communicate to him the articles of the treaty.

His sister Eleonor is to marry the King of France. Hopes that he (the Emperor) has thereby ensured the peace of Christendom.*—Datum Toleti, die xxvi. of January 1526.

Addressed: "To His Holiness the Pope, at Rome."

Latin. Original draft by Valdes, corrected in Gattinara's hand.

1 Feb. **329.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 14.

Their last letter was dated the 26th ult. What they have to advise since is that on the same day Gregory Casal arrived in this city from Rome, and was received twice at the College Hall, once in public, the other in private audience, immediately after which he despatched a courier to England. The Imperial ambassadors have not yet ascertained what the object of the audience was, but will do their utmost to find it out. (*Cipher:*) Meanwhile the rumour is that he (Casale) has something in hand not very beneficial to the Imperial interests, and is trying to bring about a league against the Emperor. He was seen, some nights ago, to enter in disguise the dwelling of the Bishop of Bayeux, ambassador of France.

(*Common writing:*) George Esturion has arrived from France, whither he was sent with a message. (*Cipher:*) The answer he brings is to this effect, that they (the French) are willing and ready to help with a certain number of Switzers, and with the Duke Maximilian [Sforza] at their head; but that this Signory ought, before all things, to persuade the Pope to enter the league, because without him no good can be done. Their informer adds that the Signory are not at all pleased with the result of Esturion's embassy to France. —Venice, 1 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Ambassadors at Venice."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher, mutilated. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2.

3 Feb. **330.** PRAET to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

The Sieur de Bossu left last Thursday with such news as the ambassador had up to that time.

On Sunday morning (the 26th of January) Mons. de Montmorency arrived and brought to the Regent the news

* Similar letters were addressed to the College of Cardinals at Rome, to the Cardinals separately, to the Italian Princes, to the Kings of Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Duke and Prince of Muscovy, &c.

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of the conclusion of the peace. All are very much pleased with it. The Italian emigrants pretended at first to be much distressed about it; but since then they talk of becoming the Emperor's loyal friends, in the hope, no doubt, of recovering their confiscated property.

On the same Sunday, in the afternoon, the Regent sent for him (Praet) to communicate the news to him. Could not attend owing to a slight indisposition, but waited upon her on the ensuing Monday, when she told him how pleased she was at her son's liberation and his marriage to Mme. Eleonor. Begged him (Praet) to write home and propose that Mme. Eleonor should approach the frontier of Bayonne. The marriage might then be celebrated immediately, and the bride accompany the King to France.

With regard to Burgundy she said that the opposition among people of all classes was so strong that she had been obliged to say to them that as soon as the Duchy should be in the hands of His Imperial Majesty the rights to it were to be discussed and decided by umpires. She begged him (Praet) to write and recommend a similar course [in Spain] until the said Duchy were fairly given up, after which the article concerning it might be safely divulged.

She also wishes the Viceroy of Naples to be the person appointed to conduct the King, her son, as far as Bayonne; he having had the honour of taking Francis prisoner would thus enjoy the privilege of setting him at liberty.

The ambassador's private opinion respecting the former of the wishes expressed by the Regent, namely, the immediate celebration of the King's marriage with Mme. Eleonor, is that although she (the Regent) appears sincere and in earnest, it will be safer to adhere strictly to the words of the treaty, giving some special reason and civil excuse for not granting her request.

With regard to the Duchy, it does not seem at all desirable to have a report spread which is neither consistent with truth, nor favourable to the Emperor's interests. For had it not been for the Regent herself and those of her party, Burgundy would never have been ceded either by treaty or otherwise, as it is a point on which there is but one opinion among Frenchmen, namely, that the cession of such an important territory will considerably weaken the kingdom of France, especially if the Emperor, from its vicinity to the county [of Burgundy] and to Germany, keeps it well watched and guarded. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, ought to insist upon the strict observance of the articles relating thereto, for which purpose it would be advisable to maintain the Italian army, and make it known to the Imperial ambassadors at Rome and in London how essential the cession of Burgundy is for the lasting welfare of Christendom.

The Regent leaves for Blois to-morrow, thence to proceed immediately to Bayonne with the Dauphin and the Duke of

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Orleans. She has already set the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) free on parole; he has gone to visit his mother [in Flanders], to return and be at Blois on the 15th [of February], there to obtain his full release.—Lyons, the last day of January 1526.

Since the above was written, Dormans has arrived with the Imperial despatches. In compliance with orders, Praet called on the Regent, offered his congratulations, and urged her to the speedy release of Mons. d'Autun, Mons. de St. Vallier, and the prisoners of war. Was promised that, immediately upon her arrival at Blois, orders should be issued for their release.

Galeazzo Visconti, one of the Italian exiles (*fuorusciti*) in France, has called twice on him (Praet), and, after recapitulating what he calls his former services to the Empire, dwelt much on his having at all times tried to dissuade King Francis from going to war with the Emperor. He was about to proceed straight to Bayonne, there to meet the King and congratulate him upon his liberation, when he heard of the turn affairs were taking at Milan. He was desirous of returning to the Emperor's service if he could do so consistently with his honour. But, in the ambassador's opinion, Visconti's visit and offers had no other object than to ascertain, if possible, the contents of the treaty with regard to Milan, and the disposal of property confiscated from himself and other exiles.—3 of February 1526.

Signed: "Loys de Praet."

Addressed: "A sa Majeste de l'Empereur Roi d'Espagne, &c."

French. Original. pp.

6 Feb. **331.** DEED OF INVESTITURE of the DUCHY OF MILAN in favour of the DUKE OF BOURBON.

S. R. Patr. Milan, f. 19.

[*After a long historical introduction respecting the right of the Emperor to the duchy of Milan, the document goes on to say:*]

Whereas Charles, Duke of Bourbon, has not only approved of the peace with France, which could not have been concluded without his consent, but has also resigned the hand of the Queen Dowager of Portugal (Doña Eleonor), in order to make the said peace possible: Whereas the Duke Francesco Sforza has, by his misdeeds, forfeited the estate of Milan which We gave him in fief, We hereby appoint Charles, Duke of Bourbon, to be Duke of Milan, &c.—Toledo, 6 Feb. 1526.

Original draft in Gattinara's hand.

7 Feb. **332.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

Arch. Hist. Cent. Madrid. Priv. y. Cart. Re. f. 381v°.

Abbot of Najera, &c.—The Illustrious Marquis of Pescara (whom may God have in his glory!) mentioned in his will—and his relative, the Marquis del Gasto, has since confirmed the fact—

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that he had borrowed certain sums of money for the wants of that army. We have since been informed that, besides those sums, the Marquis del Gasto had taken on loan 6,000 ducats to help in the payment of our troops. Both these debts being so just, We order you to discharge them, as soon as possible, out of the first moneys that shall come into your hands, &c.—Toledo, 7th of February 1526.

"I, the King. By His Majesty's command. Pedro Garcia."

Addressed: "From the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty. To the Abbot of Najera, His Commissary General in Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1¼.

8 Feb. **333.** The Emperor to the Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 294–8.

The King. Illustrious Duke, our cousin, and Vice-Gerent in Rome, &c. Commander Herrera, our Chamberlain and Councillor, &c.—We were glad to hear by your letters of the 16th December last that His Holiness is better disposed [towards us] than We had reason to expect, all owing, no doubt, to your prudence and ability on all occasions, and particularly on this last. Full answer is being prepared to all matters contained in your said despatches. Could not be done before owing to the press of business which the pending negotiations have brought on our hands.

Our affairs with the most Christian King of France, our brother, were almost settled when your despatch came to hand. They have since been brought to a conclusion, and on the [14th of January] last* the treaty of peace and alliance was definitively signed [at Madrid], together with the marriage contract between the said King and Queen Eleonor, our much beloved sister. Please God that this alliance may turn out to His service and to the peace and welfare of Christendom, so that our united forces may henceforward be employed against the Turk, our common enemy! Besides this new confederation with the most Christian King, our brother, such was our desire for universal peace that, setting aside all matters and things which might have urged us on to other designs and intentions, and with a view to the modification and amendment of the conditions which you, Commander Herrera, took to Rome, We have resolved to alter the treaty in some of its articles, viz., in the 12th, 13th, and 18th. We have likewise sufficiently solved and explained the doubts there raised about the Duke of Milan, for if it be proved that he [the Duke] has not failed in his allegiance to us, and he should recover from his present illness, things shall remain as they are. If, on the contrary,

* There is a blank in the original draft for the date, which was, as above, the 13th of January.

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his guilt be proved, and he thereby lose his estate, We intend to appoint the Duke of Bourbon to succeed him, so that His Holiness' suspicions may at once vanish and his wishes, as expressed by his Legate, be accomplished.* Let the investigation of the Duke's guilt be proceeded with according to law, and His Holiness may rest assured that no injustice shall be done him. As when you, Commander Herrera, left for Italy, We had but a vague notion of the Duke's misdeeds, We could not then take much notice of this matter, that being the reason why no mention was made of him in the draft of the treaty which you first took to Rome.

The suspension of hostilities concerted between His Holiness and you We approve of, and believe to be well intended, though We do not see much occasion for it, for between His Holiness and us there was no rupture at the time, nor were things in a state to cause apprehension, as We had the said King of France still in our power, and the negotiations for the treaty were in the meanwhile being brought to a close.

The sum to be contributed [by the Pope] ought to be fully 200,000 ducats; We cannot do with less, considering the expenses We have been put to by the late war.

Respecting Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera you will see by the enclosed articles the resolution We have come to. The Duke of Ferrara must needs enter this league, or else a door will be left open for new disturbances in Italy, which must be avoided.

With regard to the appointment of our Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) to be Captain-General of the League, We are glad to hear that the Pope approves of it. We have written to him in our own hand in answer to his last letter, and given him ample satisfaction on all points, so that you will at once conclude the proposed agreement, according to the articles We now send you, and in which no more changes or alterations are to be made. Should His Holiness raise difficulties respecting some points of this negotiation, you will firmly maintain your ground, and say that it is impossible to alter them. If, however, he (the Pope) should still insist, you will consult us as soon as possible.

We are not pleased to hear that Cardinal Colonna still keeps away from Rome. We have written the enclosed letter for you to forward to him, flattering him in all possible ways, and assuring him that you intend to follow his opinion and advice in this present negotiation, of which you are to keep him always well informed, adding that you do it at our express orders, and because We are convinced of his affection and love towards us; and that whenever he (Colonna) wants our protection, he will find us ready to assist him.

Respecting our army, all necessary provision shall be made; and the Duke of Bourbon is soon to set out, as our Lieutenant and Captain-General in Lombardy.

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* "Y habra optado (conseguido?) su intento que nos hizo decir por su Legado."

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Our Viceroy of Naples [Charles de Lannoy] is to conduct His most Christian Majesty of France to Bayonne, and there receive the hostages. From thence he (Lannoy) will proceed to Naples, passing through Rome, where, if necessary, he will stop some days to bring about the said negotiation.

We write to Jacopo Salviatis the letter that accompanies this, thanking him for his good offices.

Until the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon you will keep the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, as well as our ambassadors in Venice, well informed of the state of the negotiations, so that these latter may know whether or not they are to press the demands now being made to the Venetians in our name, before or after you have concluded with the Pope.

Respecting Sienna, We are only waiting for the result of the inquiry which you and Commander Herrera are about to send us, to make the required provision.

We cannot say how the Pope will take our proposal about Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera, nor whether the Duke of Ferrara will be pleased with the arrangement We have made. We have therefore written to Prothonotary Caracciolo to sound the Duke on this particular, and let you know the result of his inquiries, in order that you may push on the negotiations accordingly. Should the Pope agree to the said article as it is worded, well and good; you will immediately inform the Prothonotary that he may negotiate with the Duke accordingly. If the Pope, on the contrary, rejects our proposition, you are also to acquaint the Prothonotary with his refusal, that he may follow the instructions We have given him in case of the negotiation failing; but, in either case, the affair is to be conducted with great secrecy, so that the Pope may never come to know that We are in treaty with the Duke, for were he to find it out, there would be danger of the two parties (the Duke and the Pope) coming to some agreement together.

Should His Holiness ultimately refuse to grant the said article about the Duke of Ferrara, and that of the Salt at Milan, in the very words in which they are couched, you will propose to him to leave out the two said articles and pass on to the signature of the remainder; and on the Pope consenting to this, you will sign it in our name; as We would not, for the sake of those articles, lose the chance of making a league with His Holiness.

The article concerning Naples being of such kind that it may be left as it stood before, in conformity with the privileges and uses of that kingdom, there is no occasion to insist upon its amendment, should the Pope refuse to sanction it as it is now worded.

The Dean and Chapter of Tudela have lately found a way for having the priorate of Saint Marçal, which forms part of our Royal patronate, incorporated into their church. You shall earnestly request His Holiness, in our name, to

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annul the said incorporation, which is against our rights. You will likewise use all your influence with Cardinals Cesarini and Rangone to obtain for our faithful secretary, Alonso de Soria, the archdeanship of Belchite, with which We some time ago thought of rewarding his long and eminent services.—Toledo, 8th February 1526.

"Yo, el Rey."

Addressed: "To the Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera, our Ambassadors in Rome."

Spanish. Original draft, corrected by Gattinara. pp. 8¼.

8 Feb. **334.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 292-3.

The King. Illustrious Duke, our Cousin and Vice-Gerent in Rome.—The enclosed is an answer to your and Commander Herrera's joint despatch; the present refers to your other despatches of the 5th, 12th, 13th, 18th, 23d, 28th, and last day of October, and of 30th of Nov.

Cardinal Colonna's absence from that Court is, as you observe, very inconvenient for us at the present moment, he (the Cardinal) being such a good friend and servant of ours. We now write to him, as stated in our letter to you and Commander Herrera, and will continue to place our confidence in him, as hitherto.

Respecting your return to these our realms, We have not answered you before, owing, first, to our many engagements, and, secondly, to the affairs of Italy not being in such a state as to allow of your coming [to Spain]. You will, as soon as possible, bring the present negotiations to a close, acting with your usual prudence, and We shall then do our utmost to hasten our departure for Italy, where—God willing—We shall be able to bring all matters to a favourable issue. In what concerns the jubilee, and the amalgamation of the priorate of Exea to the monastery of Santa Engracia, you shall do all that is fit should not the affair be settled when this our letter reaches you.

Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] has written to inform us of what passed with the Pope. Since the affairs are taking such a good turn, there is no occasion to say anything more about the matter, but wait patiently for a favourable issue of the negotiation.

The negotiations of the English with France were not, after all, so detrimental to our interests as was reported there; We see this in the agreement they have lately made with us. Nevertheless We approve of your zeal, and thank you for the information.

The Duke of Ferrara has not been able to obtain a safe-conduct through France, and has, therefore, returned to his estates. He must, of necessity, be included in the present treaty.

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Respecting Sienna, We are only waiting for the result of the inquiry now being made by Captain Herrera to take such measures as will restore tranquillity to the place. We have likewise given orders to our Viceroy of Naples to provide money for the expedition of couriers from Genoa, though, in future, they will be able—God permitting—to come by a land route.

About the overtures and offers which you say the Venetians are making to the Turk, that is a matter which We leave entirely in God's charge. Should they come to an agreement with that Infidel, they will no doubt experience His wrath, and We shall be glad to be the executor of it.

We are displeased to hear that the Archbishop of Capua (*el Capuano*) is away [from Rome] and that the Pope is angry with him. We hope that His Holiness will be brought to a sense of his duty, and learn how to treat people according to their rank and deserts.*

Fresh orders in writing have been sent out respecting the payment of all sums borrowed on the occasion of the Duke of Albany's threatened invasion of Naples. If, on the arrival of our Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy], all such debts are not discharged in full, he has orders to look into it himself and have also the arrears of salaries to the advocates, abbreviator and procurator paid.

We have duly received the Pope's brief of dispensation for our marriage with the most Serene Empress, our beloved wife. It was as full as required, and as complete as the one concerning the jubilee.—Toledo, 8th Feb. 1526.

Spanish. Original draft, docketed by Gattinara. pp. 3.

8 Feb. **335.** The Emperor to Commander Herrera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, f. 291.

Commander Miguel de Herrera, our Chamberlain and Councillor, &c.—We have received your two despatches, in date of the last of November and 16th of December, to which, as well as to those of the Duke (of Sessa), We have replied at full. We have nothing more to add, save to praise your diligence in what regards our service, and to approve your leaving in the hands of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza the powers you took for the Marquis of Pescara, since there was no longer occasion for them.

Respecting other matters and the news contained in your letter of the 16th of December last, We thank you for the information, hoping that you will continue to do the same as long as you remain there [at Rome].

We have given orders for a letter to be written in our name to Cardinal Colonna, in the terms specified in our answer to both you and the Duke.

* "De andar fuera el Capuano nos desplaze y hase parecido bien en las cosas. El Papa, esperamos que se reduzca en lo que debe, y que assi tratará á cada uno como quien es."

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We have also ordered that a letter of condolence should be written to the Marchioness of Pescara (Vittoria Colonna), for verily she has sustained a great loss by his death, as We ourselves have.

We appreciate in their full value the services of Secretary Perez, and will bear him in mind, whenever an opportunity occurs of promoting him or otherwise rewarding him for his zeal.

You shall go, as soon as you can, to Sienna, there to make the inquiry committed to your care, for We are only waiting for the result of your investigations to take such measures as will ensure the tranquillity of that city.—Toledo, 8th February 1526.

Addressed: "To Commander Miguel de Herrera."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

8 Feb. **336.** The Emperor to the Abbot of Najera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 17.

The King, &c.—We have duly received your letters of the 27th Oct., 25th Nov., 15th, 17th and 23d December last, and thank you for your great diligence in informing us of whatever occurs in that army and estate [of Milan].

God was pleased to permit that a treaty of peace and alliance should be concluded between ourselves and the most Christian King of France, our brother, on such conditions and with such ties as are likely to ensure its duration; such as the marriage of the said King to Queen Leonor, our most beloved sister, and others. The Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) is to accompany the King to Bayonne [in France], and thence start for Naples. The Duke of Bourbon, likewise, will soon take his departure for Italy, as our Lieutenant and Captain-General; and the affairs of Milan and its Duke will be finally settled. We intend that full justice be done in this case.

Respecting our army and other matters, provision shall be made as required, and in the meantime you will support yourselves as best you can with the ordinary rents of that Estate, and what may be obtained from the Pope and Venetians.

We should be glad to show Giovanni and Francesco di Galara all the favour they deserve; but We cannot move in matters of that Estate until it be clearly proved whether the Duke is guilty or innocent of the charge brought against him. We have perused Morono's confession, and the Duke will take our instructions respecting the whole affair.

Orders have been sent to Naples concerning the pay of the men-at-arms; besides which, the Viceroy's arrival is sure to give an impulse to this and other matters. We have also ordered Lope Hurtado to remain [at his post] until the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon.

M. de Labret's flight from prison was a very hard case. Those who will be found implicated in it ought to be severely punished.

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With regard to Federico di Capua, the affair ought to be decided according to law, and those who suffered on the occasion properly indemnified for their losses.—Toledo, 8 Feb. 1526.

Indorsed: "The King. 1526. Toledo. To the Abbot of Najera, 8 Feb."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

14 Feb. **337.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 63.

On the 22d January last he had occasion to mention, among other things, the little credit of the Imperial army with the merchants of Milan, Venice and Genoa, owing to the bills of exchange drawn by the late Marquis de Pescara, the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and himself having been dishonoured. He can but return to the subject now, and add that the wants of the army have so increased of late, and the country is so completely exhausted and ruined, that it is next to impossible to procure any food for either soldier or native. And yet, notwithstanding the general distress, the Emperor's ministers in Milan have contrived to raise about 100,000 gold cr. in the Duchy, as His Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed memorandum.* Had it not been for a rich Cremona merchant, named Ludovico Afeyta, who has lately bought, and paid for in that district a village called Romanengo, the Germans in front of this castle would never have got their last month's pay. Whence the money is to come in future to cover their monthly stipend nobody knows, for Naples cannot, or will not, give one farthing; the Genoese refuse to advance any sums on the bills of exchange that are to come from Spain unless they hear first of their having been accepted by bankers of that locality. The Milanese themselves will not lend any money until the bills drawn by the Marquises of Pescara and del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and himself (the Abbot) be properly discharged, notwithstanding that the tax known by the name of *dacii,* amounting to about 4,000 gold cr., has been made over to them in payment of the 27,000 gold cr. now owing. A similar tax at Cremona, yielding about 2,000 cr. monthly, has, in a like manner, been consigned to a Venetian merchant, who, through the mediation of Alonso Sanchez, lent, last October, 6,000 gold cr., so that neither from the bankers of this city nor from the already mortgaged resources of the Estate is any money to be expected.

In such emergency he (the Abbot) can but humbly beseech His Imperial Majesty to have pity on his army, and make such provision, either from Naples or from elsewhere, as may relieve its present distress and sufferings, whereof Arana, the bearer, is a good witness, as he will be able to report how the

* Not in the volume.

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men are distributed so as to get their daily food, and how the inhabitants, upon whom they are at present billeted, can only bear this burden for a few days more, until the Emperor be pleased to decide what is to be done with this army and Estate.

Two couriers, who left Lyons on the 28th January last, and passed, the former through Asti on his way to Rome, the latter by this city, with despatches for the Duke of Ferrara, have brought news of the arrival of Montmorency in that city (Lyons) with the articles of the peace just concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the French King. A letter from M. de Prata (Praet), the ambassador, confirms the intelligence, and adds that immediately after that nobleman's arrival, on the 28th, one of the above messengers left for Rome.

There can be no doubt that the news of this peace has given general satisfaction, though many [in Italy] are sorry for it, fearing that it will turn out to their disadvantage and ultimately work their ruin. Their fears are greatly increased by the fact of their not having yet received letters from the Emperor concerning the said treaty and the provisions therein made about this Estate and its present ruler, the Duke Francesco Maria (Sforza). They hope, or at least feign to do so, that the clauses of the treaty are different from those divulged since Montmorency's arrival; which hope has so revived them that the Duke Francesco and his partisans, both in this castle and at Cremona, their friends and relations—though not very numerous or important in this Estate—all share the same opinion, and believe themselves safe from any danger.

Owing to the above consideration, his (the Abbot's) humble opinion is that His Imperial Majesty should, as soon as possible, send his instructions and orders to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva as to what they are to do with this army, and how to proceed against the Duke Francesco, because Hieronymo Morono is ill and confined to his bed, and the rest of the witnesses—called to give evidence in that criminal suit, and show reason why the Emperor ought to seize on the Duke's Estate—though in good health now, might possibly be carried off by death before the examination.

As the troops that hold this castle and that of Cremona are continually firing guns and doing all possible injury to the Emperor's servants and soldiers, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have published a ban, enjoining all subjects and vassals of His Imperial Majesty who may be inside the said castles to come out within four days' time and return to their dwellings in the city, under pain of death and confiscation of their property. He (the Abbot) went on the 8th instant to the trenches cut in front of the castle, there to converse with two Milanese gentlemen especially summoned for that purpose. Having read the ban, and requested them to give notice of it to their friends and comrades inside the castle, besides announcing to them the conclusion of the peace

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with France, they promised to acquaint the Duke himself—by whom they had been sent, and not anyone else—with the intelligence just imparted. With regard to the ban (*monitorio*) and its threats, they said that, as far as they were personally concerned, they did not intend to leave the castle or forsake the Lord and master given them by the Emperor, but would stand by his (the Duke's) side until he was declared rebel or otherwise summoned to surrender the castle into other hands.

It is remarkable that the Duke Francesco, before he shut himself up in his castle, held similar language, though it may be conjectured that he spoke thus the better to accomplish his object. But, however this may be, it would be advisable for the Emperor to write him a letter enjoining him to quit the castle and surrender it to his generals. It might then be ascertained whether his professions are sincere or not, and if so, the trouble and expense of the German infantry now surrounding the castle might be avoided, since, quartered as the soldiers are on the citizens, they are a source of annoyance to them as well as to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, whose houses they pull down, and whose substance they devour, that being one of the reasons why the citizens have hitherto delayed taking the oath of allegiance.

Another cause of delay in the new oath of fidelity now demanded is that many of the citizens imagine that the Duke Francesco is not to be dispossessed or punished for his criminal conduct, since His Imperial Majesty, after so long a time, has not yet had his guilt investigated and proclaimed. This notwithstanding, as they see the Emperor approve and sanction all the acts of his generals, before and after the peace, some of them begin to think that the reports about the Duke are true, and that he will ultimately be punished for his misdemeanors. In consequence whereof, most of the parishes in this city and the neighbouring suburbs have begun to appoint people to swear the required oath of allegiance; and he (the Abbot) has already in his hands no less than 72 powers of attorney, granted by as many parishes in this city. Only 12 parishes are wanting, and they are quite ready to give their powers of attorney when solicited; as soon as they are obtained the oath will be administered. The delay has arisen from right and justice having been appealed to in this case rather than force. Indeed, all the inhabitants of this Duchy are persuaded of the Emperor's justice, and would willingly obey his commands and submit to his rule if liberated from the excessive annoyance of having the Imperial troops quartered among them. So intolerable is this burden to the Milanese that they have decided upon sending to Spain two of their number, humbly to remonstrate with the Emperor, and beg to be relieved from it. Want, however, of sufficient means to allow their ambassadors to appear at Court in due state has made them desist from the idea, and they now propose writing a letter instead, which the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva are to read

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first. They have not sent it in yet, and, therefore, it cannot accompany the present despatch.

Antonio de Leyva has recovered from his late illness; he rides about the city, and visits the outposts, attending with solicitude to the wants of the army. The Marquis del Guasto does the same, and is lately gone to Asti to inspect the quarters of the Italian infantry and light cavalry in that locality, reduce to about 2,000 the number of those who took part in the last affair, and chastise two of their captains, who have been arrested on the charge of promoting mutiny and sedition among their men. One half of the Italian infantry is to be quartered on the marquisates of Mala Espina (Malespina) and Pontremoli, in the mountains beyond Parma. They will cross the territory of Piacenza after obtaining the permission of the Vice-Legate in that city. The Pope's Nuncio, Bernardino della Barba, has, moreover, written to His Holiness about this, and the Duke of Sessa has instructions to explain to the Pope the reason of their passage through the lands of the Church, in order to reach Pontremoli, in the confines of the Parmesan and Florentine territory.

From Venice there is no new intelligence, except that the Signory is so frightened at this peace just concluded between the Emperor and King of France that they have sent forces towards Frigoli (Friuli), no doubt from their having heard of military preparations made by the Archduke (Ferdinand) in that quarter.

The Switzers have held several diets of late, but have not come to any decision yet. What may have been the object of those assemblies, no one knows, but certain it is that there is no rumour of war in Switzerland; on the contrary, the report is that they wish to be on good terms with His Imperial Majesty.

(*Cipher:*) Four thousand pioneers are being employed, by the Pope's order, to fortify Parma, and it is added that Piacenza is also to be put into a state of defence. At Castil San Joan, a place between Piacenza and Pavia, and bordering upon the last city, similar works have been commenced within the last ten days, and the report is that the Pope will try to take possession of certain fortresses of the Piacentino and Parmesano, now held by Count Federico del Verme and Orlando Palavicino. But as both are friends to the Imperial cause, and are strong and determined to defend their castles, there is no fear of the Pope being able to accomplish his plans.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Ferrara has had rejoicings made at the news of this peace.—Milan, 14 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 14th Feb."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

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14 Feb. **338.** CHARLES DE LANNOY to the GOVERNESS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 1.

The Emperor arrived here yesterday. King Francis went outside the city to meet him. After supper they remained together two hours in conversation, and seemed pleased with each other. The King begged permission to see Queen Eleonor, which was granted, with the assurance that as soon as he had set his foot in Provence, as stipulated, she would be delivered over to him.

Has been ordered to attend the King on his way to France, and to receive Monseigneur the Dauphin and Monseigneur D'Orleans, or, in the room of the latter, twelve more hostages, who are to be placed under the custody of the Constable of Castille.* The Queen (Eleonor) is to proceed as far as Vitoria, when he (Lannoy) is to conduct her to Bayonne, a very responsible charge, which, however difficult, he is ready to execute as best he can. After that he has orders to go to Naples.

As Nicolas Perrenot† keeps her well informed of the state of affairs in general, he need not say more. Recommends the said Perrenot as a good servant of the Emperor, and also Jean Lallemand, whom he has known to be such ever since he (Lannoy) came to Spain.—Madrid, Ash Wednesday, 1526.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "A Madame la Gouvernante des Pays d'en Bas."

French. Original. pp. 2.

15 Feb. **339.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 20.

Neither he nor his colleague (Sanchez) has written for many days for want of news. If anything has occurred [at Venice] worthy of record, the intelligence has been communicated to the gentlemen in Lombardy.‡

There is a report here that the Turk is making immense preparations, and that this year his fleet is to come down upon Naples and Sicily, knowing those kingdoms to be at the present time without provision and almost defenceless. Let not His Imperial Majesty fancy that the peace recently concluded with the French King is likely to delay the proposed invasion; on the contrary, the Turk is sure to anticipate it this year, for many reasons. Have long been without letters

* The preceding letter of Praet to the Emperor, and another of the 19th February, were published by Bradford, pp. 206–15, and are also abstracted by Brewer.

† Sieur de Granvelle, by which title and name he is better known.

‡ "Quelli Signori sono in Lombardia," thereby meaning the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, Najera, &c.

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from Spain. The last they have received is of the month of November.—Venice, 15 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 15 Feb."

Italian. Holograph. p 1.

15 Feb. **340.** Prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the Emperor.

Have not written for many days, especially since the news of the peace [with France] arrived. Everyone is in suspense, waiting to know what His Imperial Majesty (*in cipher*) will do next, and as no letters come, either from the Emperor or from the many Italians residing at his Court, hence it is that people here are full of apprehension and fear.

By letters from Constantinople, of 6th Jan. last, intelligence has come that the Turk is preparing to invade Naples and Sicily; and as it might be that, under the present circumstances, somebody was the instigator of such movement,* it would be but prudent to have the coasts of Pulla (Apulia) and Sicily properly fortified. They (the ambassadors) will be on the alert, and inform the Viceroys of Naples and Sicily of any danger threatening those kingdoms.—Venice, 15 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. From the Ambassadors, 15 Feb."

Spanish. Original. p. 1½.

19 Feb. **341.** Jonglet to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 3.

Received yesterday (the 18th) His Imperial Majesty's letter of the 22d January last, in pursuance of which he (Jonglet) waited upon the King, presented the Emperor's letter, and announced to him, in the best manner he could, the peace just made and sworn with France, the great advantages likely to arise from it, and how it was the Emperor's most ardent wish to live in amity and harmony with the King of England, his brother and ally. All this he (Jonglet) did in strict obedience to his instructions, and after exhibiting the article relating to the indemnity. The King showed much satisfaction at hearing the news. He had to thank the Emperor for the proofs of sincere affection

* "Podria ser que con lo que ahora anda y ha andado por el tablero que alguno lo moviese."

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he had just given him by thus advising him of his affairs, and informing him of his agreement with the French King, whence, he had no doubt, universal peace would ensue. Both King and Legate ended by assuring him (Jonglet) of their constant affection for the Emperor, &c.

After which, the King having asked the ambassador whether he had brought with him a copy of the treaty between the Emperor, his master, and the French King, as he heard that one was shortly to be forwarded to England, he (Jonglet) said he had not, but was daily expecting a personage from Spain to succeed him in his post, who, no doubt, would bring a copy of the treaty and anything else that might be wanted. The King replied that although he had not seen the treaty, yet the common rumour was that its clauses were greatly to the Emperor's honour and advantage, at which he rejoiced extremely.

As the King said nothing about the indemnity—though the article relating thereto was, as above stated, read to him—the ambassador deemed it necessary to wait next day on the Cardinal, and inquire what was the King's opinion on the subject, that he might report to his Court. The Cardinal said to him: "The King is about to write to his ambassador in Spain, that he may declare his intentions to the Emperor."

When the above question was asked and answered, the Cardinal happened to be in the Council Room with the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis [of Dorset], the Lord Chief Chamberlain, and many other members, in the presence of whom he openly declared that all Englishmen were glad to hear of the peace having been made, and that he fully intended—in commemoration of such an event—to order processions, bonfires, illuminations and other public rejoicings to be held throughout the kingdom.—London, the 19th of February 1526.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

22 Feb. **342.** The Marquis of Mantua* to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 26.

Sends his most sincere congratulations on the peace just concluded with the French King, and thanks the Emperor for his great kindness in informing him of it. As a most devout servant and vassal of His Imperial Majesty, he wishes, perhaps more ardently than anyone else, his prosperity and aggrandisement. Is glad to hear that Italy and the rest of Christendom are to obtain, at last, that peace and quietness they so greatly need, and which the Emperor's well-known intentions

* Frederico Gonzaga.

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and merciful acts are likely to ensure; for nothing, indeed, is more appropriate and fitting for a great King than to be merciful after victory, to have pity on the afflicted, and to help them in their misfortunes. After this peace nothing will be so easy for the Emperor as to place himself at the head of his invincible army and of those of other Christian Princes, and march against the common enemy of our faith. —Mantua, 22 February 1526.

Signed: "March. de Mantua."

Addressed: "Sacratissimo Cesari et Invictissimo Domino meo Supremo."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Mantua. From the Marquis, 22 Feb."

Latin. Original. p. 1½.

22 Feb. **343.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 28.

The peace with France is a cause for mistrust to many who will not rest until they hear the Emperor's decision respecting the affairs of Italy. As he (Caracciolo), has always been in the habit of giving his honest opinion and telling nothing but the truth, so he will on this occasion state what he thinks on these matters. Everyone knows with what reluctance the Emperor took up arms against a Christian Prince, and with what alacrity and goodwill he has, after victory, agreed to a general peace, that he may turn his arms against the Infidel. For such good and praiseworthy intentions God has been pleased to grant him His protection, and permit that he should triumph over his enemies. He (Caracciolo) is certain that His Imperial Majesty will be merciful towards those who have offended him, and avoid the many calamities that war between Christian Princes generally engenders. That, turning his invincible arms against the Infidel, he will relieve Hungary menaced by the Turk, &c. And though it be true that most of the Italian powers have deviated from the right path, and shown themselves ungrateful to the Emperor on this occasion, he will show them mercy and forgive the injury they have done him, so as to be able to direct their joint efforts against the enemy of our faith. The greater the offence the greater the glory and reputation to be gained by such an act of clemency.—Venice, 22 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 22 Feb."

Italian. Original mutilated. pp. 2½.

22 Feb. **344.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 30.

Their last was dated the 15th inst., and contained news of the warlike preparations being made by the Turk (*Cipher:*)

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What they have now to advise is that this Signory, holding for certain that in the peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France no mention is made of them as of other Italian powers, they are in great fear lest the Emperor should make war upon them, the more so that ever since the conclusion of the peace they have had no news [from Spain]. They have been told that within the last week the Signory has sent two brigantines with messengers to their ambassador residing at Constantinople. The person to whom they (Caracciolo and Sanchez) owe the above information assures them that the object of the messages is no other than to solicit the Turk's favour and co-operation. Do not vouch for the truth of this report, but consider it their duty to inform the Emperor of it, especially as the shores of Pulla (Apulia) and Sicily are so unprotected.

(*Common writing:*) The French ambassadors here [at Venice], on the receipt of the news about the peace, which Madame the Regent [of France] communicated to them, waited upon the Signory, and were closeted with them upwards of one hour, for what purpose the Imperial ambassadors cannot say; however, they will try their best to ascertain. However this may be, certain it is that since the news of the peace the said French ambassadors have not altered their demeanour in the least, but treat them just as before, which, in their opinion, is no good sign.—Venice, 22 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. The Ambassadors, 22 Feb."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

24 Feb. **345.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 64.

The two Imperial letters of the 7th and 8th inst. were duly received yesterday, together with those for the Doge and Community of Genoa, and for Commander Ycart, and the rest of the captains of the Imperial galleys.

The Doge says that he can only send with the Duke of Bourbon three of his galleys, because the fourth being disarmed it would take too much time to fit her out for sea, besides that he has no ready money for the expenses, &c. The above three galleys shall, however, be ready for the first day of March, as likewise the two of Sicily, and one of Il Gobo, because the other is so old that she could not be sent to sea without great danger to her crew. They will be six in all, well appointed and provided with every necessary, under the command of Don Francisco and Don Berenguer de Requesens, and of the son of Il Gobo. Three more galleys of the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), one of Il

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Gobo, and the Calabresa will sail for Naples on the same day, under Commander Ycart, to change their old water casks there and be repaired. But as the instructions of the said Commander are to be at Naples at the beginning of March, and there wait for orders, it will be necessary to inform him of His Majesty's wishes, that he may be here in time, when the galleys now taking M. de Bourbon to Spain may be back in this port to convey and escort His Imperial Majesty in his proposed visit to Italy.

Respecting the four carracks, the Doge and Community have promised a definitive answer for the next day. He (Soria) has no doubt that they will serve His Majesty with them on the terms agreed last summer.

Shall not fail to borrow upon exchange whatever money may be required for stores of biscuit and other necessaries for the two Sicilian galleys.

Both the Doge and Community have shown great pleasure at the news of the peace just concluded with the French King. Thanks be given to God for it, and may it be a solid and lasting one, so that the Imperial arms may at once be turned against the Infidel!

Andrea Doria has captured, within the last two months, some vessels belonging to natives of those kingdoms, and taken all Spaniards on board for the service of the oars in his own galleys. As this is done in contravention to the treaty signed by the King of France, it would be God's service if the said prisoners should be released from captivity. —Genoa, 24 of February 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 24 Feb."

Spanish. Original. pp. $2\frac{1}{3}$.

25 Feb. **346.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 33.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 8th inst. The Viceroy's presence in Naples will be most beneficial, both for Roman as well as for other affairs. The Colonnese, in particular, are very glad of this intelligence, as they will be able to confer with the Viceroy, know how they are to act, and on whom they can rely.

Gratefully kisses the Emperor's feet, and thanks him for the news of the peace. Needs scarcely say that all His Majesty's good servants are exceedingly pleased at it, whilst those Italians who dislike his aggrandisement manifest their sorrow in all manner of ways, and say that it cannot be durable.

Everyone here approves of the measures taken respecting the Duke of Milan, and of the speedy arrival of the Duke

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of Bourbon. It is, in his opinion, the right way to settle matters at once.

Has received the Imperial letter commanding him to go to Piedmont, there to make legal inquiry on the damages committed by the troops, and return afterwards to Milan to wait for the Duke [of Bourbon]. Unless new facts are brought to light, the operation cannot last long, and therefore he (Hurtado) intends to start [for Piedmont] in a few days, and then return to Milan, so as to be present on the Duke's arrival. But since His Imperial Majesty has not been pleased to grant him on this occasion the congé he has asked for, he hopes that—the inquiry over and the Duke of Bourbon at Milan—the Emperor will allow him to go back [to Spain], as he (Hurtado) cannot remain in Italy longer unless some provision be made in his favour, as is customary with other officers and Imperial agents in Italy.

The letters of the captains and of the Abbot of Najera have, no doubt, sufficiently informed His Imperial Majesty of the precarious state of his army and Estate [of Milan] and of the number of men they have decided to dismiss, in order to curtail expenses. Should the Pope and the Venetians come to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, his (Hurtado's) opinion is that more men ought to be dismissed, for the Estate cannot, in reality, bear so heavy an expense, and it is an affair of consequence not to impoverish the Milanese more than has been done already. The keeping of castles and fortified towns might be intrusted to the Spaniards, and if His Imperial Majesty should come over soon, nothing would be easier than to raise a sufficient number of foot and horse for the occasion. The Imperial ambassadors at Rome and Venice cannot fail to give information on this point, and the Emperor may then decide what is best for his service.

Sent to the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara) an account of what the Spanish infantry [in the Estate] costs annually, and of the number of gentlemen attached to each company. This is a thing that requires a prompt remedy, because there are too many captains, and not all as they ought to be. The gentlemen soldiers exercise a prejudicial influence on the infantry and the men-at-arms, because, their salary being high and they themselves not under the immediate orders of a captain, all naturally try after the same privileges.*

Such is also the opinion of Antonio de Leyva, who is about to write again on the subject. Should His Imperial Majesty decide upon making this reform, it would be advisable that it should be done previously to M. de Bourbon's arrival, for fear that the parties who are to be dismissed from the army should

* "Los gentileshombres gastan la infanteria y la gente darmas, que por ser el sueldo que les dan tan bueno y no estar debaxo de capitan todos trabajan de sello."

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attribute the reform to him, instead of being, as it actually is, imperatively demanded by the wants of the army.

Should Captain Juan de Mercado be at Court the Emperor might inquire of him respecting the above abuses of the army and their correction, as he was the first who complained of them and pointed out to him (Hurtado) the excessive number of gentlemen soldiers, as Captains Urbina, Corvera, and others have done since.—Milan, 25 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Lope Hurtado, 25 Apr."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

26 Feb. **347.** MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 60.

Has received the Imperial letters of the 18th concerning the affair of Secretary Pero Garcia, as well as those of the 26th on the business of the peace, two more of the 7th, and the last one of the 8th.

As both Arana, the servant of Antonio de Leyva, and Giovani Batista Castaldo are going direct to Spain, he (the Marquis) and the said Leyva have decided that they should be the bearers of the present despatch as well as of a written instruction, to which they (the messengers) may refer, when interrogated, respecting the present state of affairs in Italy. Begs that full credit be given to them in all matters, and a speedy resolution taken, so that he (the Marquis) may act accordingly.

Great and general have been the rejoicings at the news of the peace just concluded with the French King. Has had it proclaimed [at Milan], according to the Emperor's orders, and sincerely hopes that it will prove a solid and lasting one.

It has been quite impossible to obey the Emperor's commands respecting Secretary Garcia, as no money can be drawn at present from the Estate [of Milan]. Sufficient land, however, shall be allotted to him to make up for the grant of 4,000 ducats which the Emperor has been pleased to make him.

Thankfully kisses the Imperial hands for the promises of remuneration to the captains, gentlemen and notaries (*escribanos de racion*) of this army, whose past and present services are certainly well deserving of the Emperor's munificence.—Milan, 26 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis del Gasto, February 1526. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

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26 Feb. **348.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 38.

Has received the Imperial letters appointing the Duke of Bourbon Lieutenant-General in Italy. Firmly believes that his arrival will be beneficial to the army in general and to the estate of Milan in particular. People here have long been wishing for a commander-in-chief, faithful and wholly devoted to the Imperial service. Thinks that no better one could be found in the whole world.—Milan, 26th of February 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and very Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis del Gasto, 26th February 1526."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

26 Feb. **349.** ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 61.

Has received by Bartholome de Tassis the Emperor's letters. His Imperial Majesty may rest assured that he (Leyva) will do everything in his power for the preservation of this Estate and army. Wishes he could, single-handed and out of his own resources, provide for the wants of the Imperial troops; he would not then trouble the Emperor as often as he does. Sends his servant Harana (Arana) to report verbally on the state of affairs, and begs that credence be given to him.—Milan, 26 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Anthonio de Leyva, 26 Feb. 1526."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

26 Feb. **350.** The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 65.

The letters of the 13th inst., which Arana was to take, were signed and sealed, when Capin, a gentleman of the Duke of Mantua, arrived, announcing that, within two or three days at the most, Bartholomeo de Tassis would be in Milan with new despatches from His Imperial Majesty. This was the cause of Arana's departure being postponed. He now takes with him, not only the said letters of the 13th, but also the answer to those brought by Bartholome [Tassis], who arrived on the 21st.

Three are the letters brought by the latter, namely, one of the 26th ult., with the news of the peace just concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France; another of the 7th inst., ordering the payment of the sums

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borrowed for the maintenance of this victorous army, as well as the 6,000 ducats lent by the Marquis del Guasto; and a third of the 8th, in answer to his (the Abbot's) despatches of October last, November and December, to all of which he answers as follows:

On the 22d inst. the peace was proclaimed here with great solemnity in the midst of processions and rejoicings, which lasted for three consecutive days. On the 24th a solemn mass of thanksgiving was celebrated at the Duomo, attended by the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, Lope Hurtado, and other captains, gentlemen and servants of the Empire, as well as by the senators, magistrates and principal citizens of this place. The same day, after dinner, the town syndics took the customary oath of allegiance to the Emperor, in the form and words taken by Arana, the courier. The same form of oath will be administered in a week to all those towns and castles in the Estate that are in the habit of doing so.

People here consider the coincidence of the proclamation of this peace with the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, and also of the glorious birth of His Imperial Majesty, as quite marvellous.* They confidently expect that the Emperor will keep this Estate to himself—as it is his own—and will not give it away, but will maintain it in peace and justice against any Princes who might attempt to take possession of it.

Respecting the moneys to be paid to the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and himself (the Abbot) for advances made to the army, the greater part has already been recovered in Genoa out of the 60,000 ducats lately sent from Spain in bills of exchange. His letter of the 14th inst. will show how an additional 33,000 cr. of gold has been procured here and at Venice upon the dacii (taxes) of this town and those of Cremona; besides this 9,000 *scuti* and a fraction have been borrowed of late, payable at Naples, whence the advice has come, though not from the Council itself, that bills to that amount had been duly accepted by the Imperial treasurer. Encouraged by the above acceptation of bills and the orders lately sent to Naples by His Imperial Majesty, the generals and he (the Abbot) are now trying to procure an advance of 15,000 or 20,000 gold cr. wherewith to pay the German infantry quartered in Milan, as likewise the Spaniards who are to escort the Duke of Bourbon. The hopes thrown out by the Emperor of obtaining money from Rome and Venice might, after all, be frustrated, as there is no depending upon the promises of such people. Even if they did pay their contingent [towards the expenses of the last war], as agreed, the assistance would come too late and be ineffectual. Owing

* Charles was born at Ghent on the 24th of February 1500. On the same day and month of 1525 the battle of Pavia was fought, and, as it would appear, the proclamation of the peace with France also took place at Milan on St. Matthias' day.

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to the above reasons, it behoves His Imperial Majesty to provide other means in case those fail. They themselves will spare no trouble in procuring all the money they can from the Estate [of Milan], although little or nothing can be expected from a country so ruined and exhausted, as long as the Imperial army is quartered on it and its ordinary revenue pledged in advance.

Seven thousand gold crowns are also owing to Antonio de Leyva, which he advanced out of his own purse for the maintenance of this army at various times. It is but just that this claim of Leyva, as well as similar ones of the Marquis [del Guasto] should be settled, that they may again, when required, employ the same for the support of the Imperial troops.

With a view to lessen the expenses and relieve the inhabitants of this Duchy from part of the burden they have to sustain, the Imperial generals have resolved to dismiss all the light cavalry, with the exception of 600 or 700, as well as 200 and odd German horses hired for the carriage of field guns. The cost of these last is 1,000 gold cr. per month, and upwards of 12,000 are already owing to the contractors. The Italian infantry is to be reduced to 1,500 or 2,000 men, at the utmost, and a son of Duke Camarino, who commands 50 men-at-arms in the service of the Duke Francesco Sforza, is likewise to be paid up and dismissed. In fact, nothing is being spared to reduce the expenses of this army, so that the men may support themselves until the Emperor's pleasure be known.

On the 24th Bernardino de la Barba applied to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva for a gentleman of their suite to accompany and escort through this Estate three Nuncios whom the Pope is about to send to Spain, France, and England with the news lately received from Ragusa of the immense preparations the Turk is making to invade the kingdom of Hungary, and take the city of Buda. The Archduke (Ferdinand) is evidently ignorant of these movements of the Infidel, or else he would have sent intelligence of these warlike preparations of the Turks. If, however, this news be true, it will have the effect of accelerating the Emperor's journey and arrival in Italy, so much dreaded by certain parties, who will do everything they can to prevent it. A quick and speedy resolution in this particular would, therefore, disconcert the plans of the Pope, of the Venetians, and of all those who have reasons to dread the Emperor's visit to these parts.—Milan, 26 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Postscriptum. — Camillo Giulino has just arrived and obtained permission to enter the castle. He has publicly announced on the road and, since his arrival in this city, to all those who would hear him, that the Duke Francesco is not guilty, and that His Imperial Majesty has never

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thought of taking away his Estate. This was the cause of so much scandal and tumult last night that soldiers and citizens well nigh came to hand with each other, and the city was on the eve of being sacked, It pleased God that the tumult—caused principally by boys, who, believing Giulino's words, went about crying "Duke! Duke!"—was soon appeased. A few men of very bad mien and wretched appearance who went along with the boys were taken and hanged, and things soon returned to their natural state. Inquiry is being made as to the origin and cause of the riot. The citizens sincerely deplore the event, and are much afraid lest 500 men-at-arms and 4,000 infantry should be sent for, as the rumour is, and quartered in the city. They have sent in a deputation, begging the Marquis and Leyva not to bring in any more forces, and their request will be granted, as there is no appearance of guilt.—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. Abbot of Najera, 26 Feb."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

27 Feb. **351.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 62.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 12th inst. informing him that His Imperial Majesty's journey to Seville has been the cause of the provision for this army having been postponed. Hopes that on his arrival in that city the Emperor will attend to it, as any delay in this matter may prove of serious inconvenience. So exhausted is the country, and so empty the treasury, that no relief can be expected from either, and M. de Bourbon, on his arrival, will find the debts of the army increased beyond measure. Meanwhile the Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva, as well as the Abbot of Najera, will do everything that is in their power to procure funds, but their joint efforts will, he is afraid, be unavailing.

Respecting the Duke of Savoy and his complaint that these generals are again thinking of quartering a certain number of troops upon his lands, there seems to be no foundation whatever for his fears. He (Lope Hurtado) has spoken to the generals about it, and though the want of proper quarters for the army is greater than ever, they have positively declared they had no such intention.

The Duchess of Savoy (Beatriz) has applied for 1,000 Spanish infantry and 400 light horse for her guard. It was not deemed expedient to give Spaniards, on account of the heavy arrears owing to them; but an equal number of Italians, besides the cavalry, have been offered instead, on condition, however, that she is to pay for them, as there is no money here to attend to that service.

Juan de Urbina has served so well on all occasions that he is well worthy of the Emperor's most signal favours. Rather

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than get his due reward at the hands of these generals, he would prefer some slight token of the Imperial regard and consideration for his services.—Milan, 27 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. Lope Hurtado, 27th Feb."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

28 Feb. **352.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 66, f. 66.

His last despatches were sealed, and Arana on the point of departure, when Bustamante arrived with the Imperial letters of the 12th inst., to which no answer is at present required, save saying that the army is more than ever in want of daily food, the country being completely exhausted, and the villages deserted. Unless the Emperor, immediately after his arrival at Seville, makes due provision for its maintenance, all efforts to keep it together will be unavailing.

It has never been the intention of the Marquis del Guasto and of Antonio de Leyva to quarter troops in Piedmont, as the Duke of Savoy has represented through his ambassador at Court.

On the 15th inst. the said Duke and the Infanta, his wife, sent to ask for 1,000 Spaniards and 400 light cavalry to defend their Estate against a threatened invasion of the Valesians. The Imperial generals offered to send an equal number of Italians, as the Spaniards could not be depended upon, and certainly would refuse to go thither, owing to the great arrears owing to them. To this the Duke consented, accepting the proffered contingent, in case the said Switzers or Valesians made their attack; but not having heard since from him, it is to be inferred that the rumour of the projected invasion has subsided.

Writes in commendation of Arana, the bearer, who has served for many years in a company of men-at-arms with great zeal and devotion.—Milan, 28 Feb. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 28 Feb."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

2 March. **353.** Pope Clement VII. to the Grand Chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara.

S. Pat. R. Bul. Suelt. L. I., f. 152.

Makes his excuses for not bestowing on him a Cardinal's hat, as promised. Exhorts him to devote himself to the

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affairs of Christendom so as to ensure universal peace. When Italy and the whole Christian world is pacified then will be the time for him to confer that ecclesiastic dignity that no one deserves better than him. Is sorry to hear that he wishes to retire from public life, and advises him to continue his good services to the Emperor. Has charged Cardinal of St. Cosmo and Damiano, his Legate [in Spain], and Baldassar Castiglione, his Nuncio, to express his sentiments of esteem and affection.—Rome, 2 March 1526.

"Sadoletus."

Addressed: "Dilecto filio, Mercurino de Gattinaria Cæsareæ et Catholicæ Majestatis magno Cancellario."

Latin. Original on vellum.

2 March. **354.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 39.

(*Cipher:*) Has received the Emperor's letter of the 8th February, together with the instructions for negotiating with the Duke of Ferrara. Has sent, in all secrecy, to the Duke a trusty person to communicate with him and show him the Emperor's letters, begging him to appoint another person on his side to treat about these matters.

(*Common writing:*) The proposals have since been made to the Duke; but until the present hour no answer has been received, which is much to be wondered at.—Venice, 2 March 1526.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 2 March."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

6 March. **355.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 66.

By their joint letter of the 22d Feb. last* His Imperial Majesty must already be acquainted with the fact that the negotiations [at Venice] are at a standstill.

(*Cipher:*) To the Imperial letter of the 8th he (Sanchez) has no answer to make, except that the Emperor's orders respecting the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) shall be executed, although he (Sanchez) cannot see how he can, for, not having received any answer concerning the Bishop and his affairs, he is at a loss how to induce him to continue his services; for, the last time he communicated with him, the Bishop stated that he would not work in this affair unless he had some hope of

* No. 344, p. 577.

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being remunerated, and as the ambassador has had no answer to his proposals, he cannot devise means.

Thanks the Emperor for the provision about to be made in his favour. After so many years spent in the Imperial service, and with a family to support, he could not help encroaching on the Emperor's munificence.—Venice, 6 March 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonzo Sanchez, 6 March."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1¼.

6 March. **356.** The SAME (ALONSO SANCHEZ) and PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 44–52.

On the 23d of February last, and on the receipt of the Imperial letter of the 8th, the ambassadors waited on the Signory, and officially announced to them the agreement made with the King of France and the Emperor's disposition to settle his Italian affairs, *all of which was stated in very general terms,** according to the instructions and orders they (the ambassadors) had received thereupon. The Signory's answer was, as usual, complimentary and abounding in very fine words. They would meet and deliberate, and let us know their answer as soon as possible.

Accordingly, on the following day, one of the Signory's secretaries came to the ambassadors' palace, and informed them that the Senators were waiting for them at the College, and would be glad to hear what they had to say in the Emperor's name.

(*Cipher:*) Considering the state of fear and anxiety in which the Signory is known to be at present; considering the news lately received of the Turk, whereof proper notice was conveyed in their joint letter of the 22d Feb.; considering also, that if they went on speaking in general terms, the Venetians might be driven to despair, and that it was advisable to dally with them until we should see how the French King, after returning to his kingdom, intends to keep his engagements, both (Caracciolo and Sanchez) were of opinion not to wait for the result of the negotiation with the Pope at Rome, as it seemed to them that nothing was lost in making an offer to the Venetians, and, on the contrary, great inconvenience might arise from their not clearly stating at once what the Emperor's demands were. (*Common*

* "Todo en palabras generales segun el orden y mandamiento de V. Mag^{d}." The above is written in cipher.

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writing:) Accordingly, on the 26th, the ambassadors went to the College, and, before declaring their mission, inquired whether the Signory would, as had been done on other occasions, appoint deputies to hear what they had to say, or whether the assembly was prepared to listen to them themselves; and upon their giving them to understand that they preferred the latter mode, the ambassadors proceeded, in as few words as possible, to state that the Emperor wished to know their answer respecting the confederation . . . .* for the protection of the estate of Milan, the restitution of confiscated property to the *fuorusciti*, the payment of the 200,000 ducats and other moneys due to the Archduke [Infante Don Fermando]; all of which the ambassadors mentioned with due courtesy and in the mildest possible terms, so as not to alarm them. Their answer was that they would meet and consult together, and let the ambassadors know their answer.

On the 3d instant another message came from the Signory to say that the Imperial ambassadors could, whenever they chose, call for their answer, as it was quite ready; and in consequence of Prothonotary Caracciolo being still indisposed and confined to his room, Alonso Sanchez went alone, when the answer was read to him, according to the Signory's usual practice.

(*Cipher:*) The substance of which, after many complimentary words was reduced to this: Respecting Milan and the Duke (Francesco Sforza), they could bear witness that he (the Duke) had always adhered to the Emperor's service, and therefore trusted that, considering his well-known justice and kindness, the Duke would never come to harm. Even in case of his being found guilty, they hoped that the Emperor's merciful sentiments . . . . . .† as such had always been his constant habit, and such was the wish of all Italy, where tranquillity might thus be permanently ensured. Not a word more did the answer contain about this article or about the Duke of Bourbon.

With regard to the league and confederation, the Signory did not object to the word "subsidy" being inserted, provided it was found that they were obliged to furnish one, because (they added) it had always been their intenion to do their duty.‡

Respecting the *fuorusciti*, they had already stated on a previous occasion how very difficult it was to restore them their property, most of it having been confiscated and sold, but they were ready to pay them, as an equivalent, the money named in the treaty . . . . . .

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* The original is mutilated in various places.

† Mutilated.

‡ "Quanto el asiento de la confederacion, que les plaze que se pongan las palabras para mas declaracion de su subsidio, en caso que le hayan de dar, porque siempre haran lo que deben."

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Touching the 200,000 ducats, they represented that it was altogether a much larger sum than the one asked for in the first instance. They actually had not the power, though they had the wish, of raising so considerable a sum; the many expenses they had been at, and the threatening invasion of the Turk, which compelled them to arm by sea, having completely exhausted the public treasury. Notwithstanding, they would do what was proper, though they did not specify the sum.

(*Common writing:*) The above is the substance of their answer, conceived, as usual, in very fine words, and embodying, besides, their earnest request that the Imperial ambassadors, in writing home, should testify of the Signory's best wishes for the Emperor's prosperity, and of their readiness to comply with the Imperial orders, as if they were his most humble servants (*observantissimos cultores*).

He (Sanchez) replied that his colleague (Caracciolo) being slightly indisposed had not been able to attend and hear their answer; he would, therefore, communicate with him and let them know. Accordingly, on the 4th instant, the Prothonotary being still confined to his room, he (Sanchez) waited again on the Signory and told them: That their answer was a very courteous and amiable one, but that, in reality, it disagreed strangely with their professions and acts. To tell the truth, the ambassadors' instructions were not so much to make proposals as to hear what they themselves had to say. That as in their first interview the Signory seemed disposed to treat, they [the ambassadors] had explained the object of their mission. That the Signory's answer was far from being a plain categorical one, as there was every reason to expect from them. If they thought that the ambassadors' business was merely to propose certain conditions, have them accepted, and then report to their Court, they were very much mistaken; the ambassadors were furnished with ample powers to conclude the said negotiation without consulting the Emperor thereupon. They, therefore, begged the Signory to come to the point at once, and tell them what their intentions were on the three following points:—

1. Respecting the Duke of Milan, the ambassadors had sufficiently explained on a former occasion what the Emperor's wishes were, and what engagements the confederates were expected to take. The Emperor being just and merciful, as they themselves had owned, no harm could befall the Duke (Francesco Sforza), for, if he was innocent, he would certainly remain at his post, and perhaps, too, gain greater favours from His Imperial Majesty. If, on the contrary, he was found guilty, he must of necessity be visited with privation of his Estate or otherwise . . . . . To the above declaration the Signory had made no answer, save saying that they trusted in the Emperor's mercy. But, in the ambassador's opinion, that was not the proper way of addressing

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a demand of that sort to His Imperial Majesty; besides which, their answer on this point was purely evasive, as it did not state what the Signory intended to do in the event of the Emperor not acceding to their wishes with respect to the Duke (Sforza), or whether, in case of this latter forfeiting his fief, and the Duke of Bourbon being appointed in his room, they would join the confederation or not.

Respecting the outlaws (*fuorusciti*), the Signory was requested to declare, in a plain and resolute manner, what they intended to do. Their case being one of justice, and His Imperial Majesty determined to support their claims for the reasons already specified in some of the ambassadors' notes, they must insist on a more definite answer.

With regard to the money owing to the Archduke (Infante D. Fernando), the ambassadors perceived that the Signory, instead of advancing, diminished their former offers. The ambassadors had frequently proposed—and the Signory had almost accepted the proposal—that the debt to the Archduke should first be paid . . . . .* and that what could not be considered as such should be left to arbitration (*à juicio de tercero*). They were, nevertheless, to pay to the Archduke the whole of the money they owed him, the difference being small, and they having other funds in hand whence to make the restitution.

As to the sum of 200,000 ducats demanded in compensation for the expenses of the war, the ambassadors had not failed to observe that the Signory's answer was anything but comprehensive. They had, to a certain extent, acknowledged the debt and shown their desire to discharge at least a portion of it, but they had not stated how or when. Those were certainly not the usual terms between people negotiating a treaty, and therefore the ambassadors again requested the Signory to declare expressly how they intended to meet the Emperor's demands on this as well as on the above-mentioned points.

(*Common writing:*) Such was the ambassador's address on this occasion. As usual, the only answer they could get from the Signory was that they would meet together, deliberate thereupon, and let them know their decision, so that, in reality, the negotiation has not advanced one step since the receipt of the Imperial despatches . . . . . (*Cipher:*) If the ambassadors are honestly to state their opinion of the case, the Venetians are not likely to come to an arrangement on these matters. They (the ambassadors) happen to know, from more than one source, that, since their last proposals, the Signory has despatched, post-haste to France, one of its secretaries, named Andrea Rosso, who was some time ago at the Imperial court, and served under Francesco Cornaro, then Venetian ambassador in Spain; and, certainly, bonâ fide negotiators do not employ such means. They want, no doubt, to ascertain how far the French King will observe the treaty he has sworn

* Mutilated.

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when back again in his kingdom. The ambassadors have been told that Montmorency met Capino, a servant of the Marquis of Mantua, and that, discoursing together on the last agreement between the Emperor and the King of France, he declared to him that the only thing which his master (the King) wanted was to get out of captivity anyhow, a sort of language which, in the ambassadors' opinion, Montmorency cannot possibly have held, much less to a person of Capino's rank and condition. Have likewise been told, though they do not answer for the truth of the report, that the other day, when the French ambassadors called on the Signory, as above stated, to announce to them officially the conclusion of the peace, they were heard to say, in the Regent's name, that as soon as the King, her son, was restored to his kingdom the Signory would learn by her acts the goodwill she bore them. They were to persevere in the league, and trust that the King would never be in fault with them . . . . . This and the above report the ambassadors cannot certify, but there are many reasons to suppose that they are true in part, for although they (Caracciolo and Sanchez), on the receipt of the Emperor's despatches, did not fail to communicate their contents to them, as was their duty, and announce the conclusion of the treaty (*concordia*), the French ambassadors, who certainly are not either simple-minded or ignorant of their business,* have not called or taken any notice of their message.

The general impression among the Imperial servants is that as long as the French King was a prisoner in the Emperor's hands the affairs of Italy would go on prosperously, but the moment he was liberated the danger would begin, for, in reality, what these people fear most is the Emperor's projected visit. There is a report here that the Venetian ambassador in Spain has written to warn the Signory against accepting proposals which are only calculated to deceive them. The Emperor will not keep any of his promises, and only wants to destroy the Signory. Without assuming that their ambassador, as reported, has sent them a similar message, there can be no doubt that the Venetians are both suspicious and apprehensive, although the ambassadors have tried everything in their power to calm their fears.

In the ambassadors' opinion the present negotiation must be put an end to by some means. Experience shows the inconveniences that have already arisen from its not having been sooner ended, and it is to be feared that if longer in suspense the evil will still be greater. If His Imperial Majesty's service is to be furthered by this agreement (*concierto*), 30,000 or 40,000 ducats more or less ought not to be an obstacle in the way, as the sum is too insignificant to affect the Emperor's greatness in any way. They therefore ask for an ampler

* "Que ciertamente no yerran por ignorancia, ni por simples."

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commission, so as to enable them to conclude this business at once, and make a reduction in their claims. It would not do, in matters of such importance, to have to send home for advice on every little detail in the negotiation. If properly authorised to reduce the sum of 200,000 ducats—and the Emperor may be sure that there will be a good deal of bargaining about it—the ambassadors will try all they can to have this matter settled and get from the Venetians all the money they can. The Archduke's claim, however, will not be so easily settled, for unless the Venetians pay him their debt before the restitution to the *fuorusciti*, he will not sign the treaty, though we might agree on every other point.

Think that their powers ought to be altered or replaced by others, not only on account of the late political events which have changed the nature of things, but also because the name of the Duke Francesco Sforza figures in them. No mention, however, should be made in the powers, when renewed, of the blame which this Signory has incurred; they will not hear of it.

(*Common writing:*) Have written to the Duke of Sessa [at Rome], informing him of every step in this negotiation. When he wrote last he had not yet begun to treat with the Pope, but expected to do so very shortly.

(*Cipher:*) Have been told that His Holiness has despatched to Bayonne one of his men, named Paulo Victorio, to wait there for the French King, and congratulate him upon his liberation. If true, the Duke must have spoken to him before his departure.

(*Common writing:*) Gave in their last the news they had about the Turk. Since then the Signory has had letters [from Constantinople], in date of the 5th January, advising that the Infidel had imposed a capitation tax of two fifths of a ducat on all the inhabitants of his various dominions, from which he would raise a very considerable sum of money. That by the moon of March he (the Turk) intended to have 100 new galleys, besides innumerable vessels of a smaller size. Have written by last post what, in their opinion, ought to be done in view of such preparations, and now write to Naples and Sicily accordingly. Some add that the Turk is also preparing a considerable land force wherewith to invade Hungary, whilst others assert that no credit ought to be given to such news, generally very much exaggerated.

Bishoprics in the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Recommend ..... for a vacant office in the Sumaria of that kingdom.

After writing the above, the ambassadors have received a message from the Signory to the effect that on the confirmation of the recent news about the peace between the Emperor and the King of France, they had sent one of their secretaries to

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congratulate him upon his deliverance from captivity.—Venice, 6 March 1526.

Signed: "Prothonotary Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. From the Ambassadors, 6 March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3¾.

8 March. **357.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 71.

Their letter of the 8th, which goes with this, was closed and sealed but had not yet been delivered into the messenger's hand, when he (Sanchez) was summoned to the Signory's palace, his colleague (Caracciolo) being still unable to leave his room.

(*Cipher:*) A memorandum was then read to him containing the following paragraphs in answer to their former demands:

The Signory wished as much as anyone to come to a final settlement of pending affairs, because the Venetians were in every respect His Imperial Majesty's most obedient servants. With regard to the proposed league and the Duke of Milan, they believed that their first answer could not fail to give full satisfaction, since they considered him (the Duke) a faithful servant of the Empire. They hoped the Emperor would decide in his favour, and even should the Duke be found guilty, that the Emperor would pardon his offence for the sake of Italy, who wished—for her future peace and quietness—to see matters remain as they were. Such being also their own wish, they could not understand why the Emperor was not satisfied with their answer; they had no other to give. Respecting the *fuorusciti*, they answered in the same terms as before* . . . . . As to the Archduke, that they were prepared to meet their engagements, and hoped there would not be any difficulty about the restitution. An agreement would be made between the Signory and the Imperial ambassadors; and they (the Venetians) would stand to their engagements. Respecting the 200,000 ducats, the sum, they said, was so excessive, considering the exhaustion of their treasury and the expenses they will have to incur against the Turks at sea, that they were at a loss what to say about it. They were, however, prepared to do the Emperor's pleasure (*gratificar*) in this particular; and, moreover, the chief foundation of the present treaties being the article about the league and the maintenance in his possessions of the Duke of Milan, that point once settled to their satisfaction, they would contrive to make a suitable settlement of what we (the ambassadors) considered their debt to the Emperor.

* Owing to the paper being torn at this place, three lines of the deciphering are quite illegible.

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In consequence of which answer he (Sanchez) waited this very morning on the Signory, and told them that between their first and second reply he saw no difference at all. He begged them to consider that, instead of advancing, the negotiations were every day getting more intricate and difficult, thus endangering the future peace of Italy. He saw by their mode of treating, and by their insisting particularly on one article and leaving the others unnoticed that they were determined to stop the negotiations. Their reply was that they wished to come to a settlement, and that if that had not yet been achieved it was owing to the difference existing between a negotiation on matters already defined and settled, and one entirely new. That the Duke's case had already been prejudged in the last treaty,* as likewise the affair of the *fuorusciti* and the matters relating to the Archduke.

Upon which the ambassador observed that if their answer was a definitive one, he had nothing more to say to them. His Imperial Majesty would not consider it at all satisfactory. Late events had considerably changed the letter of old treaties, and that was the reason why he had asked them to renew the former ones. They replied that they trusted to the Emperor's kindness and clemency to make everything turn out well, adding: "What is soon done is well done." After which he (Sanchez), perceiving that not one word more was to be got out of them, withdrew, having first announced that he would write to the Emperor and inform him of the Signory's last and definitive answer.

The Duke of Sessa writes to say, in date of the 3d inst., that owing to the difficulties which the negotiation has encountered [at Rome], everything is in suspense there, until the Emperor's pleasure shall be known. The Duke had sent Commander Herrera to Spain to consult on certain matters and doubts of the Pope, &c. Considers these and other dilatory practices [of the Italians] very prejudicial to the Imperial interests, and thinks they ought to be stopped at once.—Venice, 8 March 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. From Alonso Sanchez, 8 March. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

* "Que el assiento del Duque de Milan y conservacion del estava ya echo en la capitulacion passada."

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10 March. **358.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., No. 67.

Reported by Arana how the city [of Milan] had taken the oath of allegiance, and how the peace had been proclaimed there and in other cities and towns of this Estate. Wrote since on the 13th, 26th and 28th February last, advising what had occurred up to that time.

Nothing new has happened since, except that the city [of Milan] has appointed two ambassadors to go to His Imperial Majesty; one a Count Pietro Francesco Visconti, a rich and influential member of that illustrious family; the other a doctor-at-law, named Mercurino Barbanara. The object of their mission is to represent to His Imperial Majesty the miserable state of their country and the damages caused by the army. They are to take, besides, a memorandum of certain articles and petitions to be obtained in Spain, which memorandum he (the Abbot) showed to a very eminent lawyer of the place, named Hieronymo de Castion, a copy of whose opinion is enclosed.*

The fidelity shown by the citizens of Milan on all occasions, and the patience with which they have borne the almost intolerable burden of taxation and quartering of troops among them; the honourable character of the ambassadors now being sent to His Imperial Majesty are well deserving of attention to their suit, as well as of the Emperor's munificence, so that they may, by their letters, console their countrymen in the midst of their present afflictions and encourage them for the future.

All cities and towns of this Estate have sent in their allegiance precisely in the same form and manner as was done here at Milan; and public rejoicings have been held for the peace just concluded with the King of France.

Of the moneys which His Imperial Majesty advised as coming from Rome and Venice there is no trace. Neither has Naples yet remitted one farthing of the sum applied for. Indeed, had it not been for 18,000 cr. borrowed here upon the rent of the excise, and 4,000 more which a rich merchant of Cremona, named Ludovico Afeyta, has likewise advanced, it would have been quite impossible to pay the Germans their arrears and send, besides, to those in that city a sum of money wherewith to buy shoes.

As to the Spanish infantry and the men-at-arms, as they have not been paid for such a length of time, and they find nothing to eat in the country, they are so discontented that a mutiny is apprehended. Begs to call the Emperor's attention to this point, because, unless money is immediately provided, the worst consequences are to be apprehended.

Meanwhile, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva lose no time in paying up and sending away the bands dismissed from the service, namely, 700 light cavalry; almost all

* The paper here alluded to is not in the volume.

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the Italian infantry, with the exception of 1,500 or 2,000 who were present at the battle of Pavia ; one company of lances, commanded by the son of Duca Camarino ; and upwards of 240 Flemish horses for the service of the artillery. Were it possible to dismiss a still greater number, the Imperial generals would not hesitate, as, by diminishing the forces of this army, there would be greater facility in paying and feeding the remainder.

Some of the Italian infantry have gone to the marquisates of Mala Espina (Malespina) and Pontremoli, on the Genoese frontier, in consequence of which the Florentines have sent thither upwards of 2,000 men to watch their movements.

Parma has also received some infantry under Count Guido Rangone, owing to the 200 Germans dismissed from the garrison of Cremona having taken up their quarters on the other side of the River Po, and close to the Parmesan ; but they have since received orders from the Marquis and Antonio de Leyva to return to this side of the river, that the Pope's fears and suspicions of an intended attack upon his lands may be calmed.

No advices either from Rome or Venice, and consequently no hope whatever of their sending money for the support of this army. (*Cipher :*) The reason is that they fear above all things His Imperial Majesty's visit to Italy, and are very sorry at the agreement entered into with the French King, who, they hope, will not keep his engagements. It is therefore but natural to suppose that until these people consider themselves secure that way, neither Rome nor Venice will give the promised money. His Imperial Majesty must therefore look out elsewhere for a remedy to the threatening evil.

(*Common writing :*) Giulino came out of the castle at night, with the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva's permission. He was accompanied as far as the frontier of this Estate by Bartholomeo de Tassis, by the order of those generals, to prevent his foolish gossiping, which, as reported in a former despatch, had well nigh created a commotion in this city. He well deserves to be punished for the mischief he has caused. The day after his departure, which was on the 3d instant, a man was seized by the guards in the act of furtively leaving the castle. He was searched, and letters were found upon him written in cipher and directed to Rome and Venice. They are now being deciphered, and if their contents be of importance, a copy shall be sent to Spain. Other letters were seized from private people inside the castle, the substance of which is to announce to their friends and correspondents Giulino's arrival with the good news that before the 10th of April next they will be allowed to leave the castle and the Duke to remain on his Estate, as before. The inmates of the castle write according to their inclinations and wishes ; those outside think differently on this matter.

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The galleys that are to bring back the Duke of Bourbon had not left Genoa on the 4th instant; neither have those that were to go to Naples for repairs left the port owing to contrary winds.—Milan, 10 March 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 10 March 1526."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

12 March. **359.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 79.

By some messengers whom this city [of Milan] despatched His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of what has occurred since the departure of Arana, Leyva's servant, on the last day of February. Letters from Rome and Venice have since been received, of that date and the 8th inst. respectively. Those of the Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera are enclosed. The news from Venice is that the Signory is making so many difficulties that the Imperial ambassadors in that city had been obliged to write home and consult on various points. No money is to be expected from those quarters, and therefore His Imperial Majesty must settle what is to be done with this army.

(*Cipher:*) There can be no doubt that Rome and Venice are working together, and that one will not join the proposed league without the other. He (Hurtado) always suspected as much, and when at Rome wrote home saying that neither the Pope nor the Venetians would ever come to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty except upon compulsion, much less now that they are waiting to see how France will fulfil her engagements. Should the King be true to his word and the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) return to his post, his (Hurtado's) advice is to send him orders to be on the alert, and, watching his opportunity, invade the Estates of the Church; for they (the Pope and the Venetians) are sure to commence war whenever they have a chance, and for that purpose alone have lately been saving money. His Imperial Majesty in the meanwhile goes on expending his own, and the Imperial army has so utterly destroyed this Estate [of Milan] that there will be soon but two ways left, either to evacuate the Duchy altogether, or pay the men, so that they may buy provisions for their daily food.

Were that portion of the Imperial army which is not absolutely wanted for the keeping of the two castles (Milan and Cremona) to be sent to the camp of Lorenzino [de Medici], the Pope might do through fear what he refuses to

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do from good motives, or he might give Lorenzino a good sum of money, and even contribute in future to the support of the army.

(*Common writing:*) In the present state of the Imperial army he (Hurtado) cannot see how the Emperor is to come to Italy, even if the fleet at Seville were ready for sea, which it is not; for this estate of Milan is completely ruined, and the general opinion is that the Imperial army cannot keep together one month. There are no other places in Italy where the men can go for quarters. Upwards of 600,000 ducats are owing to them, and the soldiers can no longer live upon the inhabitants or destroy and waste the country, as they have done hitherto, because, in reality, there is nothing to take. Every month that passes His Imperial Majesty increases his debt, already very considerable, by 60,000 ducats, between the pay to the German and Spanish infantry, without including the men-at-arms, the garrisons of towns and castles, and the ordinary expenses of this Estate. To this increasing debt and to this state of starvation some remedy must be applied forthwith. And let not His Imperial Majesty imagine that the expected arrival of the Duke of Bourbon is likely to mend matters; for although it be true that the announcement of his bringing money with him has greatly helped to maintain the men in obedience, and the citizens to suffer with patience, should he come without it there will be a nice mutiny among the soldiers, and both they and the Milanese will give themselves up to the Devil.* Humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to provide for the wants of the army and give his orders to the Duke of Bourbon, that he may immediately upon his arrival [in Italy] know what he is to do, and whether he is to live in peace or be at war with these people, for, as matters now stand, his (Hurtado's) opinion is that the situation is fraught with danger. Should the King of France stand by his word and fulfil his engagements—and without his open or secret aid these people will not be able to accomplish anything—His Imperial Majesty must find a way of bringing them to reason. Thinks that the Duke of Ferrara will side with the Emperor. Sends the present through the ambassador at Genoa, Lope de Soria, that he may forward it without delay. —Milan, 12 March 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Lope Hurtado, 12 March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

* "Llegando sin dineros, pues acá no los hay, podria hauer un gentil motin porque los unos y los otros se darian al Diablo."

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13 March. **360.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 83.

Has sent the news [of Milan], first through Arana on the 27th of February, and then with the ambassadors who went to Spain. As the said ambassadors might not be able to travel thither with the required celerity, encloses a duplicate of his last. Again calls the Emperor's attention to the state of the army. There is nothing left [in the estate of Milan] that can either be mortgaged or sold, and, even if there were, nobody would buy or lend money upon it. As to bankers, our credit has fallen so low that neither here nor at Venice can one be found to lend us a real. In three days hence one month's pay will be due to the German infantry round this castle of Milan, and until this day, although we have done what we could, not one quatrino has been obtained towards it. The men who are quartered in other districts of this Duchy are of course equally distressed.

Donato de Tassis arrived yesterday bringing letters of the Duke of Bourbon, dated Saragossa, the 6th inst., asking for the galleys to go to Spain. These have been at Genoa ever since the beginning of this month, waiting for fair wind to sail to Saona (Savona), where they are to take on board 200 Spanish arquebusiers. The said Donato (de Tassis), bearer of the present, has been intrusted with a message to the Duke informing him of the near departure of the galleys, and begging if he has with him any bills of exchange (*poliças de cambio*) for the use of this Imperial army, to give some of them to the said Tassis or to any other courier coming this way, that they may have them discounted and applied to the wants of the army. The Duke's voyage by sea might be a long one, and things might be brought to a most dangerous state before his arrival.

Letters from Rome that came this morning announce that the Pope had caused great rejoicings to be made in that city and others of his Estates for the peace just concluded with France, of which he entitles himself maker and preserver (*autor y conservador*). May God permit that His Holiness and the rest of the Italian Princes may preserve peace of their own accord, and without waiting to see how the French King, after recovering his liberty, intends to keep it!—Milan, 13th March 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 13 March."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2⅓.

14 March. **361.** The Duke of Sessa to the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 85.

Has delayed writing to them what little news he had to communicate, as he has been engaged in preparing a long despatch for the Emperor.

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Ever since the return to Rome of his own servant, Pero Hernandez, the Duke has been trying to persuade His Holiness the Pope to come to a resolution; and although it was evident that the new draft of treaty was not much to his liking, owing to the alterations introduced in some of its articles, when compared with the first draft brought by Commander Herrera, yet there was a hope that, in the end, we should be able to conquer his reluctance. His Holiness has now all of a sudden announced his determination again to consult His Imperial Majesty and wait for the arrival of the Viceroy, fancying, no doubt, that the latter may be the bearer of more ample powers to improve his (the Pope's) position in the treaty. Under which impression the Pope shows, more than ever, his inclination to be the Emperor's friend and ally.—Rome, 14 March 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious Lords, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leiva, &c."

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from the Duke of Sesa to the Marquis del Guasto and Leyva, 14 March 1526."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

14 March. **362.** AGUSTINO, Bishop of Grassa,* to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador at Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 104.

The galleys of Andrea Doria have captured La Lomelina and unloaded her artillery at Antibo (Antibes); also La Mosica (Moxica ?), which they have taken to Porto Baçan in that neighbourhood. Those of the Baron [San Brancate] have also captured a Viscayan ship not far from the Isles of Eres (Hyères). These last, we hear, are now at Marseilles, together with those of Fr. Bernardino. Four of Doria's galleys sailed yesterday in the direction of Corsica, to meet, as we presume, the five Imperial galleys that went from hence to Naples. We have no certainty of this last news, and yet have written to Ansaldo Grimaldi to inform your Worship of the rumour.

One of the Spanish gentlemen who are here in our pay arrived this morning from Nizza with the intelligence that Doria's galleys attacked, yesterday, La Portunda, which fought gallantly, and was enabled, through the wind being favourable, to escape from the enemy. The bearer of this intelligence, however, could not ascertain on what authority and for the sake of whom the above-said prizes and others had been taken. We are aware that the peace has been publicly proclaimed at Lyons and in several other cities of France and Languedoc, but we know also that in Provence

* The Lord of Monaco mentioned in former despatches.

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and its coast, which is the passage for our galleys, it is neither proclaimed nor observed.

Whereas, as your Worship writes, it is very important that our galleys should go to Spain to fetch Mons. de Bourbon, our advice is that they ought to come first to this port. Peace might in the meantime be proclaimed in Provence and throughout the French dominions, and we might ascertain the whereabouts of the French galleys; for if the French fleet is collected in one port and the peace not proclaimed in those parts, there will be no security for our galleys. If, however, those that Doria has in these seas do not increase in number ours may safely sail on their voyage, being superior to those of the enemy, though it is to be presumed that they may attack them on their return from Spain. Micer Gaspar Villafrancha was taken prisoner and conducted to Asaiz ?* where he was set at liberty, not without all his letters being taken from him and read.—Monago, 14th of March 1526.

Signed: "Agustino Episcopo de Grassa."

Addressed: "To the most Magnificent, the Ambassador at Genoa.

Indorsed: "To Lope de Soria."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

16 March. **363.** COMMANDER HERRERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 98.

On the 27th inst., after the arrival of the Duke's servant (Pero Hernandez) with the Imperial despatches, he (Herrera) and his colleague (the Duke of Sessa) waited upon His Holiness, gave him the Emperor's holograph letter, and explained the contents of despatches they themselves had received.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness found it very strange that some of the articles in the new draft should be so different from those he (Herrera) had first brought to Rome, especially in what relates to Ferrara and Milan. He (Herrera) can positively assert that the Pope is not at all pleased with the said articles. Knowing very well that neither the Duke nor he (Herrera) had powers to add or retrench anything (*alargar ni acortar*), he has, of his own accord, come to the resolution of suspending the negotiations. Indeed, the Pope says that he will rather be at the Emperor's mercy (*de estar á voluntad de V. Mag.*) than enter into a league so much to the prejudice of the Apostolic See and his own, as, were he to do so, Italy would thereby have a bad opinion of him. For (says he) the Duke of Ferrara being a vassal of the Church, and having committed so many acts of disobedience and other offences towards her, it is not just to admit him into the league unless the Pope, whose subject

* "Micer Francesco Villafrancha da brassa (*sic*) fo conducto asais," in one copy; in the other: "fo conducto esais e hibi relassato." (Aix in Provence ?)

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he is, obtain previous satisfaction. He had, therefore, decided to leave matters in suspense until he heard from Spain. Commander Herrera thinks the Pope to be now actuated by one of these two motives: Either he has received information [from Spain] stating that the Viceroy of Naples brings powers to treat with him upon a broader basis; or he imagines that the French King will not keep his faith. Both motives are publicly assigned in Rome for this sudden alteration in the Pope's views. Possibly, also, the Pope might think that the Emperor would not set his prisoner free without his having first fulfilled at least one part of the conditions, and in that case that he (the Pope) would become more necessary to the Emperor than he is now, and that he might thereby improve his position in the treaty. Whatever of these motives may be the right one, there can be no doubt that the Pope has materially changed in his politics.

(*Common writing:*) His Holiness sent, the other day, to the King of France one Paulo Vittor (Vettori), Captain of his galleys, with the ostensible commission of visiting him (the King) upon his arrival at Bayonne, and congratulating him upon his deliverance from captivity, and also to ask his help against the Turk in favour of the King of Hungary. On his arrival at Florence the Captain fell suddenly ill and died. His Holiness has appointed in his place a gentleman of the Marquis de Mantua, named Capin, who has twice visited the Imperial court on his master's behalf, and returned not long ago [from Toledo]. His mission is of the same nature as that of his predecessor, but most people imagine that there is something more in it.

Hearing that His Imperial Majesty intended Cardinal Colonna to have his share in the present negotiations, and that he had been summoned to Rome for that particular purpose, the Pope became so furious that the ambassadors had the greatest possible difficulty in calming him down. He (the Pope) kept saying with great emphasis that Cardinal Colonna's services to the Emperor in former times could not be compared with his own, and that now his friendship was much to be preferred to that of the Cardinal. It seemed to him as if the Imperial ambassadors did it on purpose, and wanted to use Cardinal Colonna as a sort of obstacle or stumbling-block in his way. In fact, he is very much offended at this, because (he says) neither had the Emperor written to him on the subject, nor had the ambassadors, as he presumed, received any orders to that effect.

(*Cipher:*) The fact is that the Emperor's letter to Colonna, begging him to come to Rome and take part in the negotiations, was duly forwarded to him by the ambassadors; but as they are not on good terms, the Cardinal decided not to come to Rome, and excused himself by saying he had a fit of the gout. Matters between him and the Pope have come

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to such a pitch that, according to what he (Herrera) saw of the Pope that day, there is very little hope of a settlement (*concierto*). A copy of the proposed treaty has, however, been sent to the Cardinal as well as a memorandum of what has since been done in this affair.

(*Common writing :*) The Emperor may feel sure that the Pope will not grant the Crusade until everything in which he himself is personally concerned be settled to his satisfaction. To the application about Cardinals' hats to be given to certain ecclesiastics recommended by the Emperor, he has answered that it is his intention to grant them on the first four emberweeks (*temporas*) of this year. Fancies that this promise will be fulfilled just as that of the Crusade has been. The affair respecting the Monte Aragon patronage,* he has likewise promised to the Duke of Sessa and to himself to refer to the College of Cardinals for their decision.

There can be no doubt that the Pope's Legate [in Spain] advised him beforehand of the contents of the treaty (*concordia*) with France, for he knew of it ten days before the Imperial despatches reached Rome.

As the articles were not to his taste he (the Pope) issued orders to have Parma, Plazencia (Piacenza), Modena and certain towns of the Florentines immediately fortified. This the Pope alleges is being done merely as a precaution and in order to protect his Estates, as he has heard that the Duke of Ferrara is raising both infantry and cavalry in his own lands, and also from fear of certain Italian bands that have lately quitted the Imperial camp for want of pay and are committing all kinds of ravages in the territory of the Church, which last intelligence is unfortunately too true.

The Emperor's journey to Italy is anxiously expected by most people, though there are many who would prevent it if they could. The longer it is put off the more chance these agitators and disturbers of the public peace will have, as their intrigues will not cease until they gain their end.

Here [at Rome] things are at rest for the present, as they are waiting to see what the French King will do.

On Sunday the 11th inst., the Pope, accompanied by all the Cardinals, went to St. Peter's, where a most solemn mass was celebrated. After the mass, which was said by Cardinal de Tortosa,† a bishop mounted the pulpit and delivered an oration in favour of the peace just made and in commendation and praise of His Imperial Majesty. The streets of Rome were profusely illuminated during the night, and on the ensuing one salvoes of artillery were fired.

If His Imperial Majesty wishes to be apprised in time of whatever happens [in Italy], funds must be provided with

* This abbacy being a foundation of the Kings of Aragon, Charles naturally claimed the patronage of election, which was disputed by Rome.

† Wilhem Enkenvöert ?

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which to pay the messengers. Had there been money to defray his expenses, the present bearer might have been despatched eight days ago. He (Herrera) cannot sufficiently recommend the importance of such services being quickly and liberally remunerated, since it is a well-known fact that prompt advices generally ensure the success of negotiations.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have been duly informed of the contents of this despatch, as likewise the Imperial ambassadors residing at Venice.

It is positively asserted that the Turk has lately made his peace with the King of Hungary, and that this is with a view to the invasion of Naples and Sicily. If so, it must be owned that those kingdoms are in great danger, owing to their defences being scantily provided for.—Rome, 16 March 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Commander Herrera, 16 March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

16 March. **364.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador at Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 87.

Has duly received through Pero Hernandez, his servant, the Emperor's letter of the 8th of February last, and would already have answered it had it not been that he waited to see if he could not give a better account of the negotiation.

(*Cipher:*) The Emperor's answer to the ambassadors' joint despatch [of the 16th Dec.] came to hand in due time; but ten days previous to that the Pope had heard from his Legate [in Spain], and was informed of its contents. It is to be presumed, judging charitably, that His Holiness has passed all this time meditating on his affairs, especially as he had knowledge of certain matters which have lately transpired, but of which the Imperial ambassadors were then ignorant. He therefore decided to send to France Paulo Vitor,* the Captain of his galleys, who, on his arrival at Florence, fell ill and died, perhaps in consequence of the charge he was intrusted with.† The Captain's place was immediately filled up by one Capin,‡ a gentleman of the household of the Marquis of Mantua, lately returned from the Imperial court. The Pope has sent Prothonotary Gambara—a very able man and

* Elsewhere called Paulo Vittorio and Vettori, which last was his real name. *See* Guicciardini and Alberti. In a despatch of the Duke of Sessa, 9 May 1523, abstracted by Bergenroth, vol. II., p. 548, he is called *Pagolo Vettori.*

† "No sé si de la carga que llevaba."

‡ Also called Cappino and Chiapino.

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much devoted to His Holiness—to England. All these appointments seem to have been made in accordance with the advice of the Venetians, as the Pope has had plenty of time before him to consult his friends, &c. The ostensible objects of these several missions is to congratulate the French King upon his deliverance from captivity; the secret—for there is certainly one—he (Sessa) leaves to His Imperial Majesty's consideration. It is quite enough for him to know that the Venetians are sending similar embassies [to France], as His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to have been informed by Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez.

He (Sessa) has deemed it necessary to enter into certain details in order that the object and tendency of these appointments may be better understood. They were, as above stated, made several days before the Imperial despatches arrived, and in anticipation of their contents, and therefore the Imperial ambassadors cannot in any way be made responsible if they fail in their negotiations.

(*Common writing:*) Congratulates the Emperor on the happy news conveyed in his letter of the 8th ult.,* relating to the agreement (*felicissimo acordio*) just made with the French King. Hopes it will last long and be the means of bringing peace to the Christian world. On the presentation of the Emperor's letters to the Pope and Cardinals announcing that happy event, everyone seemed pleased; and on Sunday last the proclamation was made and solemnized with mass and torches, such as are used in this city, *though not all burned equally bright.*†

(*Common writing:*) Immediately upon the arrival of the Imperial despatches the ambassadors began to negotiate. At first, the Pope, with a view, no doubt, to gain time, asked the ambassadors several questions, which they answered as best they could, so that many days passed *en demandas y respuestas.* After which His Holiness, always affecting to be desirous of bringing the pending negotiation to a conclusion, said that he would willingly have subscribed his name to the deed had he not observed that some of the articles had been considerably changed to his prejudice. He preferred waiting for the Emperor's arrival [in Italy], without any treaty at all to signing one which had evidently been framed against him. Had the ambassadors been furnished with ample powers to augment or diminish (*disminuir y acrecentar*), which he believed they had not, he (the Pope) would at once have modified his conditions so as to meet the Emperor's wishes. But since they had no such powers, he could not accept proposals that were evidently injurious to him, because it would be necessary to consult over them

* No. 333, p. 564.

† This last paragraph is in cipher: "Pero no creo ardian todas por una mesura."

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with the Emperor [in Spain], and during that time he (the Pope) would have to remain with his hands tied and unable to come to a decision in the affair, to the utter disappointment and despair of his friends, who never would trust him again. The reasons he had for not signing the treaty were as follows: 1st. With regard to Milan. If the Emperor, as he professed, really wished for the peace of Italy, he might have made a settlement more agreeable to Italians in general. Though he (the Pope) did not object to the person of M. de Bourbon, whom he loved equally with the Duke [Sforza] of Milan, his appointment was not much to the taste of other Italian Princes, especially of the Venetians, and thus a door was already opened whereby to maintain the war [in Italy]. Another occasion for war and disturbance lay in the treaty itself, for by one of its articles the Emperor was bound to withdraw his army from Lombardy, and that could not be accomplished until the two castles of Milan and Cremona had fairly fallen into his hands, so that if those two places held out long the object of the treaty was frustrated, and he (the Pope) frustrated in his intentions, which were to purge Italy from every sort of oppression and warlike commotion, for (added the Pope) it would be unreasonable to expect that His Imperial Majesty should leave Lombardy at the mercy of others, thereby meaning, as he (Sessa) believes, that the Venetians, finding no resistance, might run to the Duke's assistance.

2. Respecting Ferrara, His Holiness argued that whereas the Emperor's desire was that he (the Pope) should not trouble himself at all with Milan—which is undoubtedly a fief of the Empire—he did not see why the duchy of Ferrara being a fief of the Church, he (the Pope) should not be at liberty to inflict punishment upon that Duke, just as the Emperor is about to do upon his subject, the Duke of Milan.

In the ambassador's opinion, the only difference between the two cases is this, that in the contract passed between the Pope and the Duke for the restitution of Rezzo and Rubiera, it was stipulated that in the event of the latter refusing to comply with the conditions therein contained he should bear the penalty of 100,000 ducats. This sum the Pope intended to make up by giving the Duke the investiture of Ferrara and of some other towns and lands which he says the Duke holds from the Church. And although the Pope made decidedly a good bargain, since he would thus recover what he was otherwise bound to pay to the Emperor on account of the said restitution, it may be confidently asserted that the difficulty—now reduced to the sum of 100,000 ducats—might easily be surmounted, as there would be no want of offers to tempt the Duke with.*

* " Y aunque hacia buen barato con que remborsaba los [ducados] que daba á V. Mag. por la restitucion de las dichas tierras, bien creo que estando la dificultad en estos cient mil ducados al fin la cosa se reduciria á buen estilo."

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3. With regard to the Salt, the Pope thought that it was injurious to his person and dignity not to grant it altogether and for ever (*perpetua*). That, however, was of no great importance.

4. Respecting Naples, he said that he wanted neither more nor less than what the Emperor himself had sworn and promised in the last investiture.

These are the objections which the Pope has raised on each of the articles. In reality, it is only a new device of his to gain time. The cause and origin of all—if he (Sessa) is not greatly mistaken—lies in a certain hope which these people andthe rest of the Italian Princes have conceived, that the French King will not stand by his word. But how can they trust a man who must break faith with another before he gives it to them? This is an argument which he (Sessa) has often addressed to them, and although they do not deny the fact altogether, the question, like many others, remains unanswered.

The expected arrival of the Viceroy (Lannoy) is another of the causes tending to nourish their hopes. They believe that their affairs may be greatly improved by his coming here, and that he will bring most ample faculties [to treat]. They have also some faint hopes of the Duke of Milan being maintained in the possession of his Estate, founded on no other motive than the supposed jealousy of the Viceroy, who, they say, dislikes Bourbon's aggrandisement and promotion.* So much is this the case that they make no mystery about it, and show great confidence in their success. Though he (Sessa)—had he only consulted his own interest—might have avoided entering on so delicate a subject, yet, esteeming more highly the interest of His Imperial Majesty, he has preferred to state the plain truth.† As far as he can judge, Alberto del Carpio (di Carpi) is again at work, and the Venetians are also very active.

(*Common writing:*) The suspension of hostilities or truce which he and his colleague (Herrera) deemed fit to make with the Pope, does not mean that they were actually at war; it was designed for the purpose of preventing his entering into a league with the enemy. Their intrigues were very active at the time; and had not the suspension been agreed upon, he (Sessa) can assure His Imperial Majesty that the treaty between France, England and Venice would have been concluded.

As soon as he and Herrera received the Imperial despatches they wrote to his Reverence Cardinal Colonna, inviting him to come [to Rome]. He answered that he could not, owing to

* "En especial con algunas expectaciones que hay del sostenimiento del Duque de Milan en el Estado, no sé si verdaderas ó sacadas de no tener el dicho Visorey por muy acepta la grandeza de Borbon."

† "Tanto es que se certifican deste articulo, no con pequeña seguridad, y bien que á mi fuera conveniente callarlo, quanto al propio interesse, mas siendo mas deudor al de V. Mag. he querido menudamente dezir lo que alcanzo."

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a slight indisposition from which he was suffering at the time. The ambassadors thought proper to acquaint His Holiness with this, that he might know how much the Emperor esteemed him and desired his safety and welfare. But the Pope became so angry when he heard of it* that he (Sessa) does not recollect having ever seen him in such a state of mind, his condition being naturally mild and most patient. (*Cipher:*) Indeed, he said in a very angry tone that he hoped His Imperial Majesty would order Cardinal Colonna immediately to return [to Rome], there to fill his office as a good ecclesiastic, with due respect and obedience to the Apostolic See, although, on the other hand, that would only be an encouragement to him (the Cardinal) to persevere in the wrong path he had taken. If His Imperial Majesty had favoured him in Pope Adrian's time, in reward of his services, that was no reason to despise his own, which had been much greater.

The Pope complained, besides, of the Cardinal's absence [from Rome]. He had never given occasion for it, but he would not consent to beg him to return. The ambassadors replied as best they could, the Pope's anger was soothed, and the affair remained as it was. The Cardinal has since written to say that he did not consider he could come to Rome in safety, but that if the Imperial service required his presence he would certainly obey the ambassadors' summons and run the risk of the Pope's enmity.

Respecting the Cardinals' hats, the Pope has promised them for the four first emberweeks of this year.

Jacopo Salviatis is very grateful for the Emperor's holograph letter to him, and the ambassadors find him always very well disposed.

The Marquis del Guasto [and Antonio de Leyva] have been duly informed of the new turn the negotiations have lately taken. Prothonotary Caracciolo and his colleague at Venice have also been written to with the secrecy and caution which His Imperial Majesty has ordered to be used in such matters. It is useless, for the present, to carry on negotiations [at Venice], for the affairs here are at a standstill and will be so for some time.

Has spoken with Cardinal Campeggio respecting the abbacy of San Juan del Poyo. He (Campeggio) is preparing an answer to His Imperial Majesty. The affair of Belchite is settled, as Secretary Soria must have been informed. The Cardinal ought to be thanked for his exertions.

With regard to the Crusade, there is no hope of His Holiness granting it for the present. He (Sessa) has often spoken to him about it, but he persists in his refusal, and will not move a step in the affair until His Imperial Majesty give him full satisfaction in other matters.

* " Alterose en tanto grado que jamas le he visto en aquel punto, por que de su natural es pacientissimo y alli rebosó sin bastar ninguna disimulacion."

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Neither will the Pope grant the incorporation of the priorate of Xea (Exea in Aragon), for which an application has been made. This, however, might have been easily obtained from his Legate at the Imperial court, for he had the faculty to decree the said incorporation, and is known to have consented to the wishes of others, which, by the way, has not given much satisfaction here.

Respecting the priorate of San Marçal, in Navarre, the Pope has appointed Cardinal Santiquatro (Sancti Quatuor) to examine the bull of erection and report upon it.

Count Baltasar de Castellon (Baldassare di Castiglione), now Papal Nuncio* at the Imperial court, is doing very good service, and whenever he writes, shows his inclination to the Imperial service. He (Sessa) has thought fit to mention the fact, that the Emperor may know who are his true friends.

Doubts not but that Ascanio Coluna (Colonna) has already written about a certain excommunication here fulminated against his person, the cause of the sentence being a lawsuit now pending between him and Cardinal Cesarino on the limits of a town belonging to the former. The Cardinal asks for securities that the adverse party will fulfil his promise, and Colonna refuses to give any. Ever since the present Pope (Clement VII.) was created, the lawsuit has been delayed, no doubt with a view to bring on some sort of agreement between the contending parties; but seeing that this could not be effected, the Pope has lately allowed justice to take its course; hence the excommunication and other sentences at which Ascanio Colonna has taken offence. They (the ambassadors) have been trying to have the excommunication withdrawn, in order to see whether the parties might afterwards be brought to terms. Have succeeded so far that the Pope has issued a brief *a beneplacito*, absolving Colonna. They will do their utmost to have this business satisfactorily settled, but have no great confidence in their success.—Rome, 16th March 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

(*Cipher:*) The Pope says that in the article about Milan there ought to be a clause intimating that the investiture is to be granted to the Duke of Bourbon and to his successors.

(*Common writing:*) Her most Serene Highness the Infanta of Castille and Archduchess of Austria† is in the family-way.

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* The celebrated author of "Il Cortegiano," first printed at Venice in 1528.

† Anna, daughter of Ladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia, born in 1503; died 1547. She was married to the Archduke Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., in 1521. Their son, Maximilian II., inherited the Empire (1564–76). Although a niece of the Emperor, for she was the daughter of his sister Maria, the title of *Infanta*, which Sessa gives her, is not rightly applied, since only the sons and daughters, as well as brothers and sisters, of a reigning monarch in Castille used that title.

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May she be delivered of a son, and may we soon see the Emperor with the succession so much desired!

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Cesar, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 16 March."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 9.

18 March. **365.** The Bishop of Grassa, Lord of Monaco, to Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 108.

Most Magnificent Sir.—Since the departure of the brigantine sent hither by your Worship, we have heard that the ship thought to be La Portunda is, in reality, a French war-vessel bound for the Levant. La Muxica was not captured, as stated in my former letter; it was another ship whose name I have not been able to ascertain. All the Spaniards taken on board the Lomellina have been set at liberty, and are now here; they say that Andrea Doria intends to release the ship also. His galleys are now at Antibo.—Monego, 18 of March 1526.

Addressed: "To the most Magnificent Don Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "A copy of what the Lord of Monego wrote to the Ambassador."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

18 March. **366.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 110–4.

Wrote on the 24th, in answer to His Imperial Majesty's letter of the 8th; sent it to Milan to be delivered to Arana, who was going to Spain as courier; but having since heard that he (Arana) had been detained in France, he now forwards copy of the same by another conveyance.

Commander Ycarte (Ycart) left for Naples on the 9th inst., taking with him five galleys, three of the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy], one of Il Gobo, and one more called "La Calabresa."

The six galleys destined to escort the Duke of Bourbon, namely, two of Sicily, one of Il Gobo, and three more belonging to this Republic, are provided with every necessary. He (Soria) has given to the Sicilian galleys, in particular, 1,000 cr. (*escudos*), to lay in provision, &c. Has not yet despatched them on their mission owing to the report that Andrea Doria had seized upon a carak and a ship of this city (Genoa) bound for Spain. Considering that their six galleys had to sail for upwards of 100 leagues in sight of the French coast, and that the said Andrea Doria and the French had twelve galleys of their own, the people of this city were naturally afraid of sending theirs to sea. Accordingly, he (Soria) and the Doge despatched a brigantine to the Lord of Monego (Monaco), to

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ascertain from him the truth of the report and inquire what reasons the said Andrea Doria could have for thus capturing the galleys of this Republic after the proclamation of the peace. The Lord of Monego has answered* that the report is quite true. Not only has the said Andrea Doria taken at sea the carak of the Republic, disembarked its artillery and stored it at Antibo (Antibes), but he has also seized upon a Spanish ship called Muxica. He also writes that the galleys of Baron de Sant Branchat have chased and captured, near the islands of Hyères, another Vizcayan ship, and that both Doria and the French were laying their hands on every merchant vessel they met at sea, notwithstanding the proclamation of the peace.

In consequence of this intelligence the Doge has thought it prudent for the galleys not to leave this port without first consulting His Imperial Majesty and the Duke of Bourbon, lest Doria and his men should come down during their absence and ravage this coast. He (Soria) has, in union with the said Doge, sent Donato de Tassis to the Duke of Bourbon to apprise him of the reason why the galleys have not sailed, and is thinking of despatching a messenger to the Viceroy also, that he may, on his passage through France, make due complaint to the King of such warlike proceedings in time of peace.

He (Soria) encloses copy of the letter received from the Lord of Monego (Monaco), that His Imperial Majesty may fully appreciate the reasons for keeping back the said galleys, for not only has Andrea Doria seized on the aforesaid carack and ship, he has also taken a galleon which he (Soria) and the Doge sent on the 3d of February with despatches to His Imperial Majesty, the bearer of which despatches, a Spaniard named Gaspar de Villafranca, had the greatest difficulty in reaching the shore in safety. Having applied for a safe-conduct from the governor of Provence it was granted to him, but he was taken prisoner at Grassa, and sent under escort to Sauz (Aix ?), where, after having had the despatches taken from him and read them, he was set at liberty. During the truce a brig which he (Soria) sent to Narbonne on the 4th of November, also with despatches for His Imperial Majesty, was similarly captured: all which calls for a minute inquiry into such extraordinary doings in time of peace.

The Doge has told him (Soria) that the Republic is willing to serve His Imperial Majesty with four caraks, as they promised last year; but he wants to know for certain when they will be wanted, and in what port of His Majesty's dominions, because the Republic, being very poor just now, are desirous not to engage the crews and fit out their galleys before they are actually required.

The Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera have both written to say that the latter (Herrera) had nearly finished

* *See* above, No. 362.

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his business with the Pope, and was about to leave for Spain. His Holiness had made all manner of demonstrations of joy at the conclusion of the peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France; illuminations and other rejoicings had been ordered throughout the dominions of the Church, and the people called His Holiness the Pope the Maker and Preserver of Peace.*

His Holiness sent Paulo Victorio to the King of France, and Prothonotary Gambara to that of England. The former fell ill at Florence, and the Pope replaced him by Chiapino, a servant of the Marquis of Mantua. Their mission, as it would appear, is to inform those Princes of the preparations the Turk is making against Christendom. (*Cipher:*) Others, however, say that it is to induce the King of France not to fulfil his engagements to His Imperial Majesty.

(*Common writing:*) Some companies (*banderas*) of light cavalry and Italian infantry have already been dismissed, to the great satisfaction of the people in general, owing to the damage they caused in the country and the small service they rendered.

Whilst writing the above, news has come that the five galleys of Commander Ycart that left this port for Naples met near Pomblin (Piombino) four Turkish vessels (*fustas*), fought and captured them. No confirmation of the news has yet come; but he (Soria) has no doubt that the report is true, for he has a letter from the said Commander, dated Porto Veneris (Portvendre), in which he says that four Turkish sail (*fustas*) were reported in those seas, and that he was about to sail in search of them.—Genoa, 17 March 1525.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

P.S.—This letter, closed on the 18th, is a duplicate of that sent to His Imperial Majesty by Donato Tassis. Sends it by a messenger whom the Doge and he (Soria) are about to despatch to the Viceroy.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1525. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 18th March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. By duplicate. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 4.

19 March. **367.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 114.

His letter of the 16th was closed and sealed when a messenger arrived [in Rome] on his way to Naples. He had been despatched by the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), who, at the date of his leaving Vitoria on the 5th, was still at that place with the French King. The news has, it would appear, given general satisfaction.

Enclosed is a letter from Commander Ycart, the Admiral (*Capitan*) of the Spanish fleet of galleys, announcing the

* "Intitulandolo Inventor y Conservador de las Pazes."

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capture of four Turkish sail (*fustas*), at which the people of Rome have much rejoiced.

The 300 ducats which he (the Duke) and Commander Herrera borrowed [in Rome] to defray the expenses of the three last messengers are still unpaid, the bills drawn by the ambassadors upon the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara) having been protested, together with another bill of 100 ducats advanced to Pero Hernandez when he brought, post-haste, the Emperor's last despatches. Begs for the payment of the aforesaid sums, as it is not just that he (the Duke) should have to meet such expenses out of his own pocket. Indeed, the present messenger who takes his despatch of the 16th and the present one has been detained until to-day for want of money.—Rome, 19 March 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sesa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Cesar, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 16 March."

Spanish. Original. p. 1½.

22 March. **368.** Bishop Acuña's Confession.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 68.

Torture was applied on the 22d. A weight of about 100 pounds was attached to the feet of the Bishop. He was then lifted up. The alcalde (Ronquillo) told him that if he did not confess the murder of Mendo de Noguerol, the warder (*alcaide*) of Simancas, he would die on the rack.

He accordingly confessed that it was he who did it. Upon which, on the following day, the 23d, Ronquillo sentenced him to death, and he was strangulated within the fortress.*

Indorsed: "The Confession made by the Bishop of Zamora (Don Antonio de Acuña), after the torture administered to him by the Alcalde Ronquillo."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

22 March. **369.** The Emperor to the Licentiate Ronquillo, Alcalde of the Imperial Household.

S. E. L. 14, f. 8.

Ruy Diaz de Puebla states that his grandfather, Doctor Puebla, was for many years ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, in England. On the death of Queen Isabella, he (Puebla) remained in England as ambassador of King Ferdinand.

According to the statement of the said Diaz, a great portion of his salary, whilst in the said embassy, is still due to him. Orders him to examine carefully the entry-books and papers of that time and report to him upon them.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

* The above is enclosed in a letter of Ronquillo to Francisco de los Cobos, one of the Emperor's secretaries, giving an account of the execution, dat. 23 March 1526.

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23 March. **370.** Ochoa de Ysasaga to the Emperor.

S. E. C. L. 14, f. 11. 5–163.

In pursuance of orders from the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), transmitted from Aranda [de Duero] by Knight-Commander Peñalosa, he (Ochoa) started with others for France on business connected with the French King's liberation. At Mont de Marçan they met the Queen Regent (Louise de Savoie) and the Dauphin, who were going down to the frontier of Spain; but as all the acts and ceremonies attending the King's restoration to liberty have been fully described by the said Viceroy, he (Ochoa) will limit his remarks to what he saw and heard in France.

The French, in general, seem pleased at their King having married the Emperor's sister (Madame Eleonor). The common people are anxious for peace; the barons and knights wish for war.

Though the Royal Princes and most of the courtiers, in the course of conversation, give His Imperial Majesty the title of Emperor, others only call him King of Castile, pretending that since the times of Carlo Magno there has been no other Emperor crowned; that the crown of the Empire belongs by right to France, and that His Imperial Majesty will never possess the two crowns that are required for such an Emperor.

As the French are very cunning and pliant until they have gained their object (*hasta hazer sus negocios*), they speak well [of the Emperor] for the present moment, and yet he (Ochoa) has heard it stated everywhere in France that the Pope, the Venetians, the Switzers and other Italian potentates have made together a league and confederacy to prevent His Imperial Majesty's coronation. That upon the King's return from captivity, the said powers would try to gain him over to their opinion, and that ambassadors from Venice and Florence had already arrived for that purpose.

In France people dare not express their sentiments in public, but do so secretly and among themselves. They have a bad opinion of their King, whom they do not love. They say that they would have much preferred his remaining in prison; and at Bayonne, when the Dauphin and his brother left [for Spain], there was much sadness shown.

Has heard many Frenchmen say that the battle of Pavia is likely to be hereafter the cause of much confusion and trouble in France, as there is not in the country now the union that there used to be in most matters. Many fear and dread the King, and have actually emigrated in consequence of his return to France. Mons. de Bourbon was very much considered and respected by the people, and looked upon as a wise statesman. Many maintain that his expulsion has caused much harm to the country.

An opinion is current among Frenchmen that all agreements (*conciertos*) made by their King whilst in prison, are null

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and void, and that the rights of France on Naples and Milan cannot be relinquished or alienated.

With regard to the duchy of Burgundy, the condition is intolerably harsh, that territory happening to be rich, populous and full of fortresses and castles. They had better die, they say, than give it up. Others maintain that even if Burgundy were to be ceded in order to ensure the liberty of their King, it must be invaded and retaken as soon as possible, for France cannot be without.

Don Enrique de Labrit (Albret) is in great favour at the court of France. It is said that he is intent upon the recovery (*recabdança*) of Navarre. Whilst His Imperial Majesty goes to Italy for his coronation [as King of the Romans], he (Albret) is to collect an army and again try to conquer that kingdom. He imagines that the Navarrese will rise in his favour as soon as he shows himself, and asserts that they would have done so when Mons. de Mazparroz* invaded their country had they seen his own arms instead of those of France† on his tent and at the door [of his house]. He (Albret) declares that had Mons. de Mazparroz remained at Pamplona and strengthened himself there (*rehiciera*), instead of marching on to Logroño as he did, he would still be King of Navarre. So they style him in France to this day. There is a talk of his marrying Madame d'Alençon, King Francis' sister,‡ but she will not have him for a husband, and he himself is said to be more inclined to Madame Renel (Renée de France).§ It is also rumoured that King Francis, without apparently taking part in this affair, is to put forward this Henry Labrit as an instrument (*torcedor*) wherewith to molest and worry His Imperial Majesty on the side of Navarre, and prevent his journey to Italy. Has even been told that the said Labrit is already storing provisions in his castle of Pao (Pau) for that purpose.

Juan Lopez, the pilot, who was at Madrid with the French King, and came to France with letters to Madame [Louise?] has obtained the command of four of the galleys which are, now being fitted out at Marseilles. There are to be 20 in all, besides several other vessels, and the great Admiral's ship,

* Mazparroz is evidently a mistake for Asparroz, or rather "André de Foix, Seigneur d'Asparrôs," the brother of Lautrec. This invasion of Navarre took place in 1521. After gaining possession of Pamplona, the capital, Estella, and other towns, the French laid siege to Logroño, which made a stout resistance, thus giving time for the Count of Haro (Pedro Fernandez de Velasco), the Duke of Najera (D. Antonio Manrique de Lara), the Admiral of Castille (D. Fadrique Enriquez), and others, to collect their forces. A battle was fought at Esquirôs on the 30th of June 1521, in which the French were defeated with great loss and their general (Mons. d'Asparroz) taken prisoner.

† The Navarrese historians relate that, though this invasion was made in the name of John de Labrit (Albret) and of his son Henry, afterwards King of France, the French fleur-de-lis appeared on the banners of the invaders, and their war-cry was: *Francia! Comunidades de Castilla!*

‡ Margaret, widow of the Duke; she was ultimately married to Henry d'Albret.

§ Daughter of Louis XII.; married to d'Este (Hercules), 30th July 1527.

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the whole of which are destined for the Emperor's service, according to the treaty [of Madrid]. His (Ochoa's) opinion is that the Emperor ought by no means to accept the services of this French fleet unless the crews are changed and the vessels manned with troops of other nations, for certainly these Frenchmen are not to be trusted in a matter of this kind.

A hope is generally entertained here in France that Madame Eleonor, the Emperor's sister, now the wife of King Francis, will be able to achieve the restoration of his (the King's) sons. Asks for the Emperor's forgiveness if he mixes himself up with such matters, but his private opinion is that even in the event of the French King's fulfilling his promise, the Dauphin's return ought to be delayed until the plans and intentions of His Imperial Majesty are fairly carried out; for, although Frenchmen at present speak well, it is notorious that their King and he of England are good friends, and that they think of marrying the Dauphin to Princess Mary of England, thereby intending to stop the mouths of the English and put aside their old claims on the duchy of Guienne. He (Ochoa) happens to have in his possession the original treaty which Henry VII. of England, father of the present King, sent to the Catholic Kings of Spain* at their request, through Doctor de la Puebla, their ambassador at that Court, and he can see very clearly how matters stand between the two countries.

It is reported that the King of France has decided to convoke the General Estates of his kingdom, to consult them on the best means of obtaining the liberation of his sons, and that there will be many opinions and subtle devices started respecting that particular question.

The day that the King of France was released from his captivity he leaped from the boat, with water up to his knees, mounted a horse that had been prepared for him, and rode, without stopping, to St. Jean de Lus, where he dined, and was visited by the flower of the French nobility, who came to congratulate him.

On hearing that the exchange had been effected and the King set free, he (Ochoa), with the advice and consent of his comrades in the mission, started for Bayonne. Met the King on the road between one and two in the afternoon. He was riding post, both sides of the road to St. Jean de Lus being lined with people from the neighbouring towns. Behind him came, with their colours flying, two companies (*banderas*) of infantry, and then the archers of his guard, 400 in number. Don Enrique de Labrit rode by the King's side, conversing with him all the time. The King left Bayonne on the ensuing Tuesday, the 20th instant, and took the road to Bourdeaux, to have more leisure to attend to the business of the treaty, as it is believed, but, in reality, to be further

* "La capitulacion y derecho antiguo que el Rey de Inglatierra tiene con Francia en mi poder está originalmente."

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away from the Spanish frontier; for the truth is that when he leaped from the boat he gave no signs of waiting for the exchange and other ceremonies to be performed, according to the treaty, but rode off as fast as he could.

In public it is generally asserted that the King wishes to fulfil his engagements, and that he says that the Emperor's friendship is as necessary to him as his is to the Emperor. God grant that under these and similar protestations no duplicity (*dobladura*) lie concealed!

Everything the French did and said on the occasion of the exchange seemed as if there had been some plot for the liberation of their King; for every town 40 leagues round had been placed in a state of defence, as well as the whole of the Bearn, and men-at-arms were in perfect readiness within 20 leagues of Bayonne. However, the precautions taken by the Viceroy; the good selection of the spot whereat the exchange was to be made and the King restored to liberty; the military preparations in Guipuzcoa, and the circumstance of his (Ochoa's) and his comrades being so mixed up with the French, prevented the execution of their plans. That they really intended to try some experiment cannot be doubted, for, on Saturday morning, the 27th inst., the news arrived in Bayonne that the King and his two sons had recovered their liberty owing to a certain stratagem, upon which great rejoicings took place in the city for more than a quarter of an hour, until it was ascertained that the whole account was untrue.

Till the very day of the Dauphin and his brother's departure it was confidently asserted that the Dauphin alone would go to Spain, accompanied by 12 French nobles especially named for that purpose; but it would appear that as some of them hesitated (*esquerdeavan*) and others were not at all inclined to go, the King said in a passion, "Let my two sons go at once," and they accordingly went to the frontier.

It is further reported that the King of France wishes to have 4,000 Spaniards for his body guard, just as the Emperor has his old bands (*los soldados viejos*). The French praise and esteem Spaniards beyond other nations for their courage in war; and the King frequently says that he will secure the services of a few by means of rich presents and a high stipend, and that when some shall have enlisted the rest will follow (*despues unos á otros acarrearan*). He complains of the Switzers, who (he says) did not behave well at the battle of Pavia.

Many horses come from Spain to be sold in France, and the traffic will go on increasing unless the Emperor puts a stop to it.

Captain Franchel,* the warder (*alcayde*) of Fuentarrabia, was tried and sentenced not to bear armour for the rest of his

* Sandoval (Lib. XI., p. 585) calls him Mons. de Frange. Fontarrabia was retaken by the Constable of Castille (D. Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco), on the 30th of September 1524.

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life, and to seven years' exile from Court, because of his not having been slain or made prisoner whilst employed in the defence of that castle. When he (Ochoa), after the death of King Ferdinand, came from Portugal, his services were required on the frontier of Guipuzcoa, where he has resided ever since until the Viceroy bade him come to France. He knows the castle of Fuentarrabia very well, and how very important it is to have its walls repaired and its magazines well stored, so as to be able to stand a siege. Hears the French say that there is not provision in it for more than three days, and that immediately after the King's return from Spain there was some idea of getting it by a *coup de main*. Does not wonder at this, for it is the habit in Castile never to provide for defence until the danger is imminent. The castle of Yrun cost too much money to fortify, owing to the bad direction of the works. In its present situation it is of no use at all, and its garrison could be compelled to surrender in one hour's time. It must be demolished or removed to the commanding eminence (*padrastro*) higher up, whence the two passes of Veoybia (Behovie) and Areyzmacurta might be easily defended.—Ysasaga, 23 March 1526.

Signed: "El Comendador Ochoa de Ysasaga."

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 15.

24 March. **371.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador at Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 117–20.

(*Cipher:*) Has in a former despatch informed His Imperial Majesty how, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, he (Caracciolo) had sent a trusty person to the Duke of Ferrara, requesting him to appoint an agent with whom to discuss matters. Accordingly, the Duke deputed one of his principal councillors (*un suo principalassimo*), named Micer Antonio di Constabile, and duly accredited him to hear what the Prothonotary had to say. The Imperial ambassador went on to show how beneficial the cession to the Pope of Rezzo and Rubiera might be to his master [the Duke], as he would thereby obtain ample compensation [from the Pope], and ensure for ever the Emperor's favour and protection. He (Caracciolo) did all he could to persuade Constabile that the Emperor, wishing the Duke's son to form part of his household, and even to become connected with him in marriage,* had always sought to advance him and increase his estate; everyone in Italy respected him, and he had nothing to fear from his neighbours. The agent, after consulting the Duke, his master, made the following answer to the ambassador's overtures: There was nothing the Duke wished for so much as to do the Emperor service and be considered

* "Volendo quello el suo figliolo no solo per servitore, ma per pariente."

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as his faithful servant and vassal. He was at all times ready to sacrifice his estates and his life for the Emperor's sake, but begged most humbly not to be compelled to make the cession of Rezzo and Rubiera, as it would be his own ruin, without any material profit to the Emperor. He alleged that had he consented to the restitution of those estates, the present Pope (Clement VII.) would willingly have given him the investiture of Ferrara, besides certain censals and Salt taxes, amounting to about 36,000 ducats, and the remission of all the pains and censures he might have incurred against the Church. He had promised, besides, to make his son Cardinal, with a suitable allowance and promise of advancement. All which offers the Duke had constantly rejected, out of affection for the Empire. He begged to remind the Emperor that as long as he, the Duke, remained in his present condition, he could be of use to the Emperor, who might dispose of him as his vassal; but were he and his estates to be transferred to the Pope, he could no longer take the Emperor's part, and on some occasion might, perhaps, be compelled to act as his enemy. He therefore begged His Imperial Majesty not to abandon him in the present circumstances, but help and assist him in retaining possession of his estate as fief of the Empire* . . . . .

He (Caracciolo) believes that the Duke is, to a certain extent, right in his reasoning. Besides, he hears [from Rome] that His Holiness refuses to accept the terms proposed by the Emperor, and therefore the restitution is no longer necessary. Even if the Duke [of Sessa] should write to say that the Pope relented and was ready to treat, there would be plenty of time again to sound the Duke on this question, for he (Caracciolo) having inquired what his views were respecting the treaty in general, and especially about the money, the Duke's agent positively declared, without entering into particulars, that if the restitution was put off, the Duke, his master, would willingly subscribe to any other demands on the part of the Emperor, whom he considers as virtually his Lord and patron.

Has been unwell since the commencement of Lent, many times with sciatica (*dolor de fianchi*), at others with fever. Has, notwithstanding, attended to business with his colleague (Alonso Sanchez), and will do all that is required to prepare for the Emperor's journey to Italy.—Venice, 24 March 1526.

Signed: "Prothonotary Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 24th March. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

* "A no mancarli di justitiar nel feudo que depende de V. Alt[a] et Sacro Imperio."

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25 March. **372.** ANTONIOTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 124.

Has two letters to answer, of the 7th and 8th of last February. With regard to the four caracks which he (the Doge) has been ordered to get ready against His Majesty's arrival in Italy, besides the galleys that are already armed, he has to observe that Genoa is so poor and the citizens' substance so consumed by the last war that he really does not know where to turn for money. This notwithstanding, such is his desire to please His Majesty and such his devotion to the Imperial service, that he will do his utmost to provide the said four caracks by imposing a new and heavy tax on the citizens of Genoa, which, as his ambassador at Court will sufficiently explain, is a dangerous experiment just now.—Genoa, 25th March 1526.

Signed: "Antoniotto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. From the Doge. 25th of March."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

26 March. **373.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador at Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 126.

On the 18th instant Donato de Tassis left this place with despatches for the Duke of Bourbon. Wrote at full length to the Emperor. On the ensuing day (the 19th) the Doge and he (Soria) had occasion to despatch a messenger to the Viceroy, who also took letters of his (Soria's) to His Imperial Majesty. Through both channels the Emperor must now know the reasons why the six galleys destined to bring the Duke back from Spain have not yet left the port, the object of the present despatch being to inform the Emperor of what has happened since.

Considering that Andrea Doria and other sea captains of the King of France had been summoned to Asaiz (Aix) in Provence, and that in consequence of orders there received they again put to sea, captured the carack Lomellina belonging to this city of Genoa, with several Spanish passengers on board, besides two more merchant ships coming from Spain, he (Soria), on the receipt of such intelligence, which was sent by the Lord of Monego (Monaco), agreed with the Doge that the galleys ought by no means to sail [for Spain] until the reason for such unprecedented attacks should be satisfactorily explained on the part of the French, because as the six galleys had necessarily to pass in sight of the coast of Provence, where the French are known to have no less than twelve vessels well armed, it was evident that they might have encountered great dangers, besides that to which this city would have been exposed in the event of the enemy choosing to come upon it. That M. de Bourbon should be fully informed of these particulars,

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Donato de Tassis was despatched to Spain. The other messenger, a citizen of this place, the ambassador sent to the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), who, being with the French King, might remonstrate with him about these doings of his people, and tell us what is to be done with regard to the said galleys and other matters. As by taking the said precautions the departure of the galleys could only be delayed 10 or 12 days, the Doge and Soria preferred putting the Duke to some inconvenience to exposing the galleys and this city to a most imminent danger. As it is, ever since the Emperor's mandate was received in Genoa the weather has been unfit for the galleys to sail, so that, in reality, there has been no time lost by the delay.

(*Cipher:*) The truth is that as far as he (Soria) can judge, the Doge seems determined not to let his galleys go on this expedition until he hears of the French King's final liberation and what he is likely to do when free. This news he expects to receive from day to day, but as it does not come, his fears of some new complication gradually increase. That is the reason why he (Soria) yielded to the Doge's opinion on this particular, for certainly the danger to which the galleys might be exposed and the risk this city might run without them are certainly worthy of consideration.

(*Common writing:*) In his (Soria's) opinion, the King of France will fulfil his engagements and give orders to his captains to abstain from hostilities. If so, the Genoese galleys will be enabled to take to sea, and go wherever they choose in complete safety; and as soon as a certainty of this can be obtained will depart without losing one hour's time.

Andrea Doria himself told the master of the carack [Lomellina?] that he had captured her in compliance with orders received from the Council of France, as he had been instructed to detain all those he could find at sea. This one (la Lomellina) he offered to let go—and it is reported that he has actually done so since—on condition of her master paying 8,000 ducats caution and promising to be on the coast of Provence whenever he (Doria) returns from his expedition, there to serve the King of France, if agreeable to him.

This Community is ready to supply His Imperial Majesty with the four caracks for the conveyance of the Imperial train. The Doge wants to know at what time and in what port they are likely to be wanted, so as not to have to pay the crews' wages before the time of their service.

Commander Herrera has sent a packet, here enclosed. Since then, on the 20th instant, has written to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva the letter a copy of which goes with this. It was in cipher and sent open, no doubt for the ambassador's perusal. (*Cipher:*) Its contents will sufficiently inform the Emperor of what is going on at Rome, which, upon the whole, seems to him (Soria) very different and, indeed, contrary to what the Duke of Sessa wrote

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under the same date; since whilst the latter distinctly says that the Pope wishes to be closely united to the Emperor, most people disbelieve in such professions, and think, on the contrary, that he will do his utmost to prevent his coming [to Italy]. This, it must be observed, is *Vox Populi*, which sometimes happens to be *Vox Dei*.*

Hears daily from Milan that the Imperial army is without money, and in constant danger of a mutiny. The towns and villages are deserted by their inhabitants, who take refuge in the lands of the Church or in that of the Venetians and marquisate of Mantua. Articles of food are extremely scarce in the country, and people have been so driven to despair by the excesses of the soldiery that what little food they possess they hide under ground, and there is no corn to be got for love or money. The Marquis del Guasto, they say, was at Vigebano, and did not intend to return to the camp at Milan until the Duke of Bourbon had arrived to take the command of the Imperial troops.

(*Common writing:*) The five galleys of Commander Ycarte met, on their voyage to Naples, with four fustes of Turks not far from Pomblin. Two were captured; the other two escaped; but considering the great ravages which these Infidels have lately wrought at sea and on the coast of Italy and Spain, the Commander's services on this occasion deserve much praise. Has heard that the galleys had arrived at Gayeta (Gaeta).—Genoa, 26 March 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 26 March."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

26 March. **374.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 69.

Wrote on the 13th inst. about the wants of this army and the danger of a mutiny, as there was no money to pay even the Germans quartered in front of this castle and that of Cremona. Since then matters have got so much worse that the generals have resolved to send a special messenger to Spain, to represent the state of things to the Emperor.

The army is in despair. There is neither money nor food. The country people desert their villages, and leave the fields without cultivation, so that famine may be shortly apprehended. On the other hand, the announcement of the illustrious Duke's return from Spain, and the hope that he is bringing money to pay all arrears due, have hitherto prevented an outbreak. But the soldiers will not wait any longer, and openly proclaim those promises and hopes

* "Y esto es voz de Pueblo, que suele ser voz de Dios."

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to be illusory, seeing that the galleys that are to attend upon and bring back the Duke of Bourbon have not yet left Genoa. From Rome and Venice not one farthing is to be got; Naples will not send a quatrino; and as to Milan, the treasury is quite empty. Sixteen thousand cr. obtained on the excise (*daçio de la mercantia*), and distributed among the Germans here, have hitherto kept them together; but they are loudly demanding their last month's pay, and as, for want of credit, this cannot be raised for them, a mutiny is apprehended. At Cremona, the Germans who are in front of that castle forage for food among the citizens; and it is with the greatest difficulty that 13,000 cr. have been procured this month, and sent to them to buy shoes. To the rest of the army not one farthing has been paid for a long time, so that His Imperial Majesty may consider what must be the state of their minds when even the said Germans, who have hitherto been paid by small instalments every month, are discontented and grumbling. He (the Abbot) sees no remedy at all to the impending evil unless the Duke of Bourbon sends beforehand some of the bills of exchange that he is supposed to intend bringing with him, or some other provision be made in the meantime. Prothonotary Caracciolo has been written to to make use of the commission and instructions received from the Emperor, so as to obtain, if possible, some money from the Venetians; for his negotiations at Rome tarry; and, according to the Duke of Sessa's last letter, there is very little chance of the Pope giving assistance. Even if he does, any help that His Holiness or the Venetians may tender is sure to come too late for the increasing wants of this Imperial army. Indeed, unless money is immediately provided, everything will go to ruin and the advantages gained by the last campaign will be entirely lost. It is in the expectation of such a calamity that these Italian potentates dally and postpone the proffered peace and alliance with the Emperor, and perhaps also in the hope that the French King will not observe the treaty.

The Genoese galleys have not yet put to sea, owing principally to contrary winds, and to the intelligence received at that port that Andrea Doria and the French fleet were capturing all vessels bound from Genoa to Spain, a sort of proceeding which, to all appearances, is contrary to the terms of the agreement made between His Imperial Majesty and the French King. Nevertheless the Doge of Genoa has been instructed—after formally protesting against such a breach of faith—to send his galleys to Monaco, whence they may, with greater ease, and waiting for a favourable opportunity, cross over to Spain. The Doge, however, hesitates to send out his fleet, fearing less Andrea Doria and the French, seeing Genoa undefended, should pounce upon it; but his fears have no solid foundation, as the forces that the Imperial generals have sent beyond the Po, on the

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very confines of the Genoese territory, will at any time be sufficient for the protection of that city.

The Duke of Bourbon and Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) have also been duly informed of all this, that the former may calculate how far his sea voyage is secure, and the latter remonstrate with the King of France against so flagrant a violation of the treaty. The galleys that left Genoa for Naples some time ago met in the Piombino Channel four Turkish sails; they captured two, setting free the Christian captives who served the oars; the other two escaped.

Hieronimo Morone has been removed from Pavia to another castle called Treço, on the Venetian frontier towards Bergamo. He will be in greater security there, with less escort, and also less facility for communicating with his friends than he had in his former place of confinement.

Two soldiers entered the castle yesterday, with the Marquis del Guasto's permission; one a servant of Antonio de Leyva, the other one of those who hold Gavi, on the Genoese frontier, for the Duke of Milan. This latter came to say that unless the garrison of that castle was quickly relieved, they would surrender into the hands of these generals or those of the Imperial ambassador [at Genoa], Lope de Soria, with whom they were already in treaty. The man was hindered from seeing the Duke, on the plea that he was indisposed, and could not see anybody, but he saw Sforzino, the Duke's nephew, also his lieutenant and warder of the castle, who told him that his uncle, the Duke, could not help them in any way, but recommended that they should hold out as long as they could, or surrender on the best possible terms. The same Sforzino took apart the servant of Antonio de Leyva, and told him that the Duke was really indisposed and confined to his bed.—Milan, 26 March 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan, 26 March."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

28 March. **375.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors at Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 130.

Wrote on the 8th inst. what passed in their last conference with the Signory, and what their ultimatum seemed to be. Their joint despatch was sent in duplicate, one addressed to Lope de Soria, Imperial ambassador at Genoa; the other to Milan, under care of the Abbot of Najera. Have nothing to add on that particular subject, except that they (the ambassadors) are anxiously expecting an answer.

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This Signory has received letters from Constantinople, dated the 7th of April, informing them that the Turk was collecting considerable land forces to march against the King of Hungary; he (the Turk) was to take the command of his army, and lay siege to a city called Buda, where the said King of Hungary [Ladislas] generally holds his Court; he had, moreover, launched 100 new galleys, to repulse the Christians at sea in case of their coming to invade his territory. This intelligence the ambassadors have not received from any other channel save the letters of the Signory. If true, there is no reason why it should not have come by way of Hungary. However this may be, it is but prudent to be on one's guard; and consequently the ambassadors have communicated the intelligence to the Archduke (Ferdinand), to the Duke of Sessa, and to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily.

(*Cipher:*) The ambassadors have been told that the Signory have lately had letters from their agent in England, of the 11th inst., stating that the King of that country was about to send a messenger (*persona*) to the French King, and that the Cardinal [of York] had said to him (the Venetian ambassador) that matters would not go off between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France so smoothly as people imagined. Others pretend that what the Venetian ambassador writes is not exactly to that purpose; he merely reports a conversation with the Cardinal, in which the latter told him: "*He was sure that Italian affairs would now take a good turn and be soon settled.*" Without attaching faith to either report, the Imperial ambassadors have considered it their duty to mention it in their present despatch.—Venice, 28 March 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. The Ambassadors. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering appended. pp. 2.

30 March. **376.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, pp. 299–300.

Illustrious Duke, our Cousin, &c.—You are well aware of the many crimes committed by the late Bishop of Zamora (Don Antonio de Acuña), who, having been the principal promoter of the popular rising by which these our realms were disturbed, was at last taken prisoner, sentenced to death, and executed. The said Bishop succeeded at first, with other chiefs, equally criminal, in alienating from us the love of a considerable portion of our Spanish subjects causing them to rise against our authority and that of our viceroys, and separating them as it were, into two parts, one obedient to, the

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other rebellious against, our rule. It pleased God to give us victory over the rebels, who were everywhere defeated and subdued. It happened, however, that the said Bishop, in his flight to France,—where he had friends and abettors, and where, despairing of success at home, he endeavoured to set on foot an invasion of our kingdom of Navarre,—was taken prisoner near that frontier and conducted to the castle of Simancas, where—by commission of Pope Leo X., first, and of Pope Adrian, afterwards, and, lastly, of His Holiness [Clement VII.] himself—he was tried by certain judges delegated by the Apostolic See for that purpose. Seeing that his detestable crimes, which he fully confessed, were likely to bring on him condign punishment, he attempted, with the help and favour of some of his accomplices, to fly from his prison. Having slain with his own hand the governor of the castle [Mendo de Noguerol], who entered his cell unsuspectedly, as was his custom every morning, he slipped down from the walls of the fortress, and would have effected his escape had not the people of the neighbouring town (Simancas) prevented him. The gravity of the case and the fear of new scandals arising prompted us to appoint an Alcalde (Judge) of our Court, who, after inquiring into the affair and putting to the rack a clergyman* who had helped the Bishop in his flight, afterwards frustrated, should inflict on the culprits the deserved punishment. The Alcalde put Acuña and his accomplice to the torture, made them confess their guilt—the Bishop declaring that he had slain the governor (*alcayde*) with his own hand—and sentenced him to be strangled, which took place on the ensuing day.

We have addressed to His Holiness a letter, which goes with this, begging him to absolve us and the said Alcalde (Ronquillo) and all others who—before or after—have interfered in this business, from any guilt or censure which We may have incurred on account of the said execution, ordered and done, as We said before, to prevent greater scandals.†—Seville, 30th March 1526.

Addressed: "To the Duke of Sessa, our Ambassador at Rome."

Spanish. Original draft, docketed in Gattinara's hand. pp. 4.

31 March. **377.** The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

S. E. L. 1554. f. 557.

There is nothing in this world the Emperor has so much at heart as the peace of Christendom. Owing to which, he not only concluded and signed, on the 14th of January last, a most solemn treaty of peace, but, in order to preserve the Christian world, in the future, from the calamities and horrors

* Bartolomé Ortega, the castle's deserving chaplain.

† This is followed in the volume by the draft of a letter from the Emperor to the Pope on the same subject, and almost in the same words.

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of war, has made with the said King of France a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive, in which the King of England, his most beloved brother and uncle, is also included.

Takes this opportunity of informing him of this happy event, as he has no doubt he will rejoice at the news. For his own part, he (the Emperor) will devote himself entirely to the protection of Christendom now threatened by the Turk.—Seville, on the last day of March 1526.

Addressed: "To the King of England, my most beloved Brother."

Indorsed in Gattinara's hand: "Minute of letter of the Emperor to the King of England."

Latin. Original minute. pp.* 2.

31 March. **378.** The Emperor to the King of England.

S. E. L. 1554. f. 557.

Informs him of the peace concluded with his brother-in-law (*sororio*), the King of France, on the 14th of January last. His only wish is to put an end to the wars and calamities that afflict the Christian world. Has made with the said King a defensive and offensive alliance against all those who would attempt to disturb the peace of Christianity. Should the King of England wish to be included in it, he must send, within six months after the proclamation of the said peace and alliance, letters patent to both parties (the Emperor and King of France) ratifying the same. Has no doubt that the King of England, out of the mutual love and affection so long existing between them, will approve the said alliance, which is intended to restore peace to the world and enable the Christian Princes to turn their arms against the Infidel.†—Seville, on the last day of March 1526.

Addressed: "Angliæ Regi."

Latin. Original draft in Secretary Valdes' hand, corrected by Gattinara.

2 April. **379.** G. Salamanca‡ to Madame the Archduchess Margaret.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Neg. d. Ang.* Tom. II.

Has received her letters of the 2d February; and in pursuance of her orders addressed the King and Legate on the subject of Madame de Longepierre (*sic*) in the best manner

* Similar letters seem to have been written to the King of Hungary (Louis II.), of Poland (Augustus I.), of Denmark (Christiern III.), of Portugal (Emanuel), of Scotland (James), to the Switzers, to the Emperor's brother (Archduke Ferdinand), and to his aunt, Margaret of Austria, also called by French writers *Marguerite de Savoie*, Governess of the Low Countries.

† A note at the end of this draft headed: *In simili forma mutatis mutandis*, in Mercurino Gattinara's well-known hand, gives the names of the Kings and powers to whom similar letters were to be addressed; namely, Regi Hungariæ, Poloniæ, Daniæ, Portugalliæ (Serenissimo et Excellentissimo), Scotiæ, Helvetiis, S[erenissimo] Archiduci, D[ominæ] Margarete, &c.

‡ Probably a relative of Count Salamanca, the Archduke's treasurer, who, in a letter of Augustino Scarpinello, Milanese ambassador in England, to Francesco

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he could. Hopes that by means of her letter [of favour] he will be able to bring that affair to good issue.

Has since his last letter visited the King at Antoncourt (Hampton Court), and asked for an answer to Madame's overtures. After a good deal of conversation, the King said that if peace were made between the Christian Princes, he (the King) would at once give the Emperor such aid against the Turk as would at once entitle him to be called "Defender of the Faith." Even in the event of peace not being immediately concluded, as he feared was probable, he would not fail to give the Archduke some assistance. Upon the ambassador's requesting more details respecting his (the King's) intentions and purposes, he said he was about to send his ambassadors to Spain, and they would tell the Emperor what he was prepared to do. The Cardinal then happened to come into the room, when a long conversation took place on certain subjects about which he (Salamanca) will inform Madame very shortly, as he intends going over to Flanders in a few days.—London, 11 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "G. Salamanca."

Addressed: "A Madame."

7 April. **380.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 139.

Perceiving that matters were getting better at Milan, and that the Duke of Bourbon's arrival was postponed owing to the galleys not having gone out for him, he (Hurtado), to save time, and with the consent of the captains expressly consulted thereupon, determined to come to Turin, to inquire into the damages which this country has suffered from the Imperial troops. Monsieur de Saboya (Carlo Emanuele) and his wife, the Infanta (Beatriz), were very glad to see him. Has already entered upon his work, and will use all possible speed so as to have it completed against M. de Bourbon's arrival, and will be present at his landing; for, according as the state of things may be in the estate of Milan when the Duke arrives, he will want somebody near his person to inform and counsel him. The Commander, therefore, intends to remain with him (the Duke) until he receives his recall, since he considers that there is nothing more for him to do [in Italy], and his commission in Piedmont will be at an end.

Madame the Infanta was confined of a daughter on the . . . . . * of March. She was on the point of death, but God preserved the mother, and took away the child.

Sforza, Duke of Milan, dated 19th March 1527, is described as "Il Magnifico Salamanca." The object of his mission is not specified anywhere else that I know of. He was probably sent by the Archduke, the son-in-law of Louis I. of Hungary, whose dominions were at this time threatened by the Turk. A copy of his letter is in Bergenroth's Collection, vol. III., f. 175.

* Date left out.

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The Duke is still at Chamari (Chamberi), trying to patch up the affair of Genebra (Geneva) and Losana (Lausanne), which are at present in the hands of the Switzers. He hopes to remedy this in a diet to be held on the 5th inst.

When he (Hurtado) left Milan on the 25th of April, the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera were trying to procure money for the monthly pay of the Germans. The question relating to the quartering of the Imperial troops was daily increasing in gravity, as the people could not bear it any longer. Has often written on the subject, and now recommends speedy measures to arrest the impending evil without waiting for the arrival of Mons. de Bourbon.—Torino, 7 Apr. 1526.

Signed : "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Turin. Lope Hurtado, 7 Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

9 April. **381.** The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 134.

Writes in favour and commendation of the bearer, Gonçalo de Ribera, who, after serving many years in Barbary under Count Pedro Navarro, and here in Italy, under the Viceroy of Naples, Don Ramon de Cardona, has been reduced to great poverty. He is a very brave officer, but from his great age and infirmities, resulting from wounds received in battle, cannot serve any longer. Asks for a pension.—Milan, 8th April 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis del Gasto, 9 (*sic*) April 1526. In commendation of Gonçalo de Ribera."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

9 April. **382.** The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 137.

Writes in favour and commendation of Filippo de Senis, Prothonotary and clergyman (*clerigo de Camara*) at Rome, who to escape from the late troubles and revolution at Sienna, came over here, and was obliged to take shelter at the house of Cardinal Colonna, in whose company he now is. The Siennese emigrants (*fuorusciti*), however, and other persons who bear him much ill-will, assisted, as they are, at Rome by influential people of their own party, are now trying to take

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away from him the 30,000* ducats and upwards which he enjoys from his office at Rome. The said Prothonotary is one of the most able, honest and incorruptible ecclesiastics that there has been at Rome for a long time, and well deserves the Imperial protection.—Milan, 9th April 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 9th April."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

11 April. **383.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 140.

The inquiry now being made in Piedmont on the damages committed by the Imperial troops dates from the first war with France, and is contained in certain inventories drawn up by the Communities or Municipal Corporations. It will amount to a considerable sum of money, besides compensation for several manslaughters. It would be advisable that the Abbot of Najera, or some such person equally well qualified, should also draw out a list of the excesses (*bellaquerias*) committed against the Imperial soldiers by the people of Piedmont and Savoy, that it may serve as a counterpoise to the one which they are sure to bring forward.

The papers he is now examining show that long after the Emperor had given orders that no Imperial troops should be quartered in Piedmont, and the Marquis and Leyva had transmitted the said orders to all the captains and officers of the Imperial army, one, Fabricio Marramao by name, announced his intention of sending three companies of Italian infantry to be quartered at a village called Castillole. The inhabitants having answered him that they could not receive his men, because they were the subjects of the Duke of Savoy, and therefore considered themselves exempted from that burden, the captain became very angry, and threatened to go thither with artillery. The people, in the end, consented to redeem themselves for a sum of 1,000 ducats, which they borrowed and handed over to the said Marramao, besides 300 more which they had to pay as interest for the borrowed money. The Captain assumed that the said village did not belong to Piedmont, when, in fact, it is one of the most ancient possessions of this Ducal house.

Has mentioned this because new and express orders should be sent to the generals of the Imperial army to prevent or duly punish similar excesses. Were the aggressors punished

* Thus in the original: "xxx^m ducados," which appears an excessive sum.

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as they deserve, the repetition of such crimes would not be so frequent as it is. But the truth is that as the principal defaulters are the captains themselves, they dare not punish the officers under them, and everyone seizes what he can.*

Out of the captains of light horse who, according to his (Hurtado's) account of the . . . . . , were paid up and dismissed some time ago, seven have been reinstated in their respective commands, and the remainder have been re-admitted with the same number they had before,† because there is actually nothing to eat in the country. The same may be said respecting the Italian infantry, of whom some have been re-admitted into the ranks of the army. If His Imperial Majesty is not intent upon war, and no orders come [from Spain] respecting this Imperial army and its ultimate destination and employment, he (Hurtado) has no confidence at all in its future success, for it will either break out into mutiny or disperse for want of means. He cannot do more than acquaint His Imperial Majesty with the fact.—Torino, 11 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Turin. Lope Hurtado, 7 Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

11 April. **384.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors at GENOA, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 141-7.

After their joint despatch of the 28th March, a messenger arrived with the news of the French King's liberation [from captivity]. It is stated (*cipher*) that although Monsieur de Prat (Praet), Imperial ambassador at the Court of Madame the Regent, asked the King to ratify the treaty, as agreed, he (the King) refused to do so, on the plea that he must need consult his Council thereupon, such being the Emperor's practice when such matters were under discussion. Whether the above information—received through various channels—be correct or not, His Imperial Majesty can best judge, and perhaps at this moment already knows; but it is universally believed that the French King left Bayonne without waiting for his Queen, Madame Eleonor, and even before she had actually crossed the Spanish frontier, which leads many to

* "Como son los principales los que las hazen [tales cosas] no castigan los oficiales y cada uno por su parte rapa lo que puede."

† "Y á los otros dexado en el numero que tenian sobre no haber ya que comer en ninguna parte."

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fear that he will not ratify, especially as such urgent advices reach him from England.*

The ambassadors have been told that, immediately upon his arrival [at Lyons ?], the French King asked to see Maximiliano [Sforza], and inquired whether he had the means of sending a message to his brother of Milan (the Duke Francesco Sforza), and that Maximiliano having answered in the affirmative, he said to him: "Tell him to have courage, and not come to an agreement with the Emperor."

They have also been told that the King of France has written to the Signory, or given them to understand by means of his ambassador, that they ought to persevere in their present attitude, and that whatever decision he (the King) comes to, he is sure to take care of their affairs; informing them, at the same time, that when he saw him last the Emperor declared his intention to destroy them (*que era su voluntad destruirlos*).

Whether the above reports are true or not His Imperial Majesty best knows. They (the ambassadors) cannot vouch for the veracity of their informers, except that they are persons of quality, &c., and that one of them thinks that there will be a war.

Have written to the Imperial ministers at Milan, to keep an eye on the castle, and prevent Maximiliano's agent from entering it and seeing the Duke. Have also heard that the French King, should he break his engagements, will not be considered guilty of perjury, because, on his accession to the throne, he took a most solemn oath not to alienate any part of his Estates.

Should the French King refuse to ratify the treaty and fulfil his engagements, it is all important that His Imperial Majesty prepare himself, as effectually as he can, for war, and let the preparations be of such nature and so overpowering that, having God on his side, as hitherto, the Emperor may again vanquish his enemy and bring him to terms. His Imperial Majesty must also try to gain over to his side these Italian powers, or most of them, by offering them such conditions as may be readily accepted and win their affections. The Emperor's ministers and agents in Italy ought to receive instructions how to act in certain matters and especial cases, so as not to be obliged to write home in consultation, because the distance between the two countries being great there will be, in case of war, but little time for sending and receiving intelligence. Have considered it their duty to proffer this advice, because, should the French King break his engagements, as there is every reason to fear, the affairs of Italy are in the worst possible plight, with so many enemies about, with few captains [to command the Imperial

* "Muchos recelan que no ratificará, en especial con los martinetes que de Inglaterra le habran llegado."

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forces], without any money, and with an army insufficiently numerous for the occasion; with little or no love on the part of the people, rather, with the intense hatred of the inhabitants, owing to the excesses which the soldiers have committed. In addition to which it is to be feared that the French King will find these people (the Venetians) very well disposed to join in the intrigue.

(*Common writing:*) This Signory has lately appointed two ambassadors to go [to Spain] and congratulate the Emperor upon his marriage, after which one of them is to go on to Portugal. The other ambassador, as they have been informed, is to come back [to Venice] straight. Two more ambassadors have been appointed to go to the King of France.

(*Cipher:*) The message which the French King is said to have given to Maximiliano Sforza, to transmit to his brother [Francesco], was not conceived in the words above transcribed. It would appear that what the King did was to write a letter to Theodore de Trivulcis and request him to send a message to Maximiliano. This latter was to send on a trusty person to his brother at Milan, and encourage him to hold out [in the castle]. The person to whom the Imperial ambassadors are indebted for the above information adds that, in his opinion, the King's message had no other object than that of persuading the Duke Francesco not to come to terms with His Imperial Majesty.—Venice, 11 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. The Ambassadors, 11 April."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher, and slightly mutilated. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

14 April. **385.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp., f. 70.

At the risk of being considered importune he cannot do otherwise than return to the subject of his letter of the 26th March.* The Imperial army has since then been reduced to such extremity for want of money and food that unless prompt relief is sent within six days, at the most, nobody can calculate the calamities that may ensue. The soldiers of this army have neither clothes nor shoes to put on, the small sums which this Estate contributes for their support being immediately handed over to the citizens at whose houses they are quartered, that they may, at least, provide them with the necessary food. This, however, has become so scarce of late, owing to the country people having deserted their villages, that it is with great difficulty that a loaf of

* No. 374, p. 622.

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bread can be procured. Indeed, it is a wonder to him (the Abbot) and to the rest of the Emperor's officers and ministers at Milan how so considerable a force has been fed up to the present time, unless it be that the Almighty has been pleased to work some such miracle as that of the loaves and fishes. May He be thanked for it!

No help in money is to be expected either from Rome or Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo writes from the latter city that until he gets an answer to his last despatch respecting the instructions and commission lately brought by the governor of Pamplona (Herrera), he cannot promise any assistance from that quarter. Out of the revenues of this Estate, and by pledging the excise and other rentals, nearly 140,000 ducats have hitherto been obtained; but for the next three months every branch of the revenue is mortgaged, and credit entirely gone, so that the army must needs be sent elsewhere, as there is no possibility of keeping it up here without either food or money.

As it is, in order to pay the Germans who are encamped round this castle, the Imperial generals have been compelled to levy among the merchants of this city, by compulsory means and threats of confiscation, a tax of 15,000 crowns, which is to be exclusively destined to that purpose; 10,000 have already come in, and the remainder will, most likely, be paid, though with considerable reluctance and great discontent on the part of the said merchants, notwithstanding that the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and himself (the Abbot) have given their own personal security for the loan, and promised that the entire sum, with interest, shall be reimbursed out of the first remittances from Spain. By which means, and by distributing the money among them, in proportion as it comes in, the Germans have hitherto received a portion of their monthly stipend, amounting to 19,000 crowns.

It cannot be concealed, however, that this measure, just as it is, has caused general discontent among the Milanese, to whom a solemn promise was made, when the Imperial army first came in October last, that no new taxes or burdens of any sort should be imposed upon the people. They also fear that should the sums in specie which the Duke of Bourbon is said to be bringing not come in due time, and no other provision be made, they (the merchants), and even the gentlemen of this city, will again be called upon to contribute to the wants of this army, an expedient not to be thought of under the present circumstances, and the idea of which has never crossed the mind of the Imperial ministers in this Estate.

Such being the state of things and so imminent the danger, he (the Abbot), in his own name and in that of his colleagues, humbly beseeches the Emperor to make such a provision as may stop the dispersion of this victorious army, (*cipher*) and to hasten his visit, since, by his speedy arrival in these

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parts, everything is sure to be made right; money will be abundant, and other advantages obtained which belong by right to His Imperial Majesty. Besides that, were this Duchy and even the kingdom of Naples to be given away, it would not prevent the Italian potentates from impeding, as much as was in their power, the Emperor's visit to Italy, and inducing the French King to break his faith and promise—on which last point there would seem to be already active negotiations on foot, on the part of the Pope and the Venetians. If, however, His Imperial Majesty's visit did not take place next June, but in September—as those who most wish for it here seem to announce—in that case it would be necessary to maintain the army until then, a thing, in his (the Abbot's) opinion, next to impossible, especially if it is to remain in the Duchy. A few days ago the governor of Pamplona, who is at Rome, wrote to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva, informing them that one of the Pope's prothonotaries, named Toscano, had left with powers and letters of credence for the Kings of France and England, and that it would be advisable to secure his person and get his papers. The Doge of Genoa having sent similar intelligence, orders were issued for his arrest, wherever he could be had, but no trace of the said Prothonotary has hitherto been found.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Milan is still dangerously ill, and crippled in all his limbs. He and all those who keep him company inside the castle are in very great distress for want of provisions, and very desirous, as they give out, of the Emperor ordering them to quit and surrender the castle to whomsoever it may be his pleasure to give it. They expected, on the 10th inst., Giulino—who, they now say, will not arrive until the 17th—imagining that the excuses whereof he was the bearer have been considered as just and truthful at Court as they themselves make them to be here, though, in reality, they are only false pretences; and that His Imperial Majesty will not only preserve the Duke in his Estate and dignity, but punish all those who have given him annoyance.

There are many weighty reasons why His Imperial Majesty should take possession at once both of this castle and that of Cremona and keep it until the Duke's innocence or guilt be proved. The Marquis del Guasto, Leyva and Garci Manrique, who arrived four days ago, besides other servants of the Empire, are all of one opinion: that the Duke, or the governors and warders commanding in his name, ought to be summoned to deliver the castles into the hands of the persons appointed to receive them. It is generally believed here that, far from disregarding the injunction, the Duke and his followers would be glad to comply with the Emperor's orders. Sforzino himself and some of the Duke's principal adherents have made similar declarations many a time. Only five days ago one of Leyva's servants—who entered the castle on pre-

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tence of taking a kid and a couple of chickens he had been asked for, but really to announce to the besieged the peace concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the French King, and the consequent liberation of the latter, so that they might abandon all hope of succour from the Pope and the Venetians—was assured that such was the wish of all, and that they were anxiously expecting the Emperor's orders on that point. They did not allow him to see the Duke, who, they said, was very ill, but expatiated at length on their sufferings and discontent, declaring that by remaining at the Duke's side they had no idea of offending the Emperor, but, on the contrary, were ready to do his pleasure whenever they received intimation of it.

Notwithstanding the above protestations of fidelity, it must be owned that the people of this castle go on playing their artillery and occasionally skirmishing with the Germans in front, whereby their real sentiments against the Emperor are daily being tested.

The Pope is still fortifying Parma, and between 3,000 and 4,000 pioneers are now employed on the works at Piacenza. Some say that these military preparations are only intended against the Turk, whose invasion is much dreaded, and that the Venetians are also arming a certain number of galleys for the protection of their coast. Others believe them to be directed against the kingdom of Naples. However this may be, the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) has been written to, and warned to be on his guard.

On our side, and notwithstanding the scarcity of money, the works of repair have not been discontinued, and the fortifications of several towns, especially those of Pavia—which is Leyva's pet—are being put in order.

This city and estate of Milan are well satisfied and contented with the administration of justice by the Imperial officers. The inhabitants are peaceful and quiet, wishing for no other master than the Emperor, but expecting also that, at a future time, when circumstances will allow, they will be delivered from the almost intolerable burden of having this army quartered upon them.

The remains of the good Marquis de Pescara, as well as those of the Marquis de Civittà Santangelo, and Don Joan de Cardona, Pescara's lieutenant, all of whom were slain at Pavia, left this very day for Naples, there to be buried.

The Genoese galleys left the port three days ago. May God give them a prosperous voyage!—Milan, 14 April 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Postscriptum.—After writing the above, letters have been received from the ambassador, Lope de Soria, advising how the galleys that sailed the other day to fetch the Duke of Bourbon had been obliged, by contrary winds, to put again into port, but were expected to sail on the following

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night. The ambassador also sends intelligence that on the 3d inst. Andrea Doria captured a Spanish vessel coming from Valencia; but that on her master producing a safe-conduct from the governor of Provence, he let her go, adding, however, that he had nothing to do with the peace between the Emperor and the French King. It is, moreover, reported that the said Doria has lately taken service under the Pope, who pays him 25,000 crowns for his six galleys, besides 10,000 more for two Papal ones under him, so that he has now eight galleys and 35,000 crowns, which is no more than he deserves. It behoves His Imperial Majesty to bear in mind the scandalous conduct of this notorious pirate and robber, in order to have him properly punished whenever an opportunity occurs. If what he is now doing is with the Pope's approval and consent, he (the Abbot) cannot conceive how His Holiness can put up with it, and have it said that he is actually breaking the peace and waging war upon the Emperor's subjects. He cannot reconcile himself to the idea, and yet thinks that the Pope ought to be closely watched, as well as the Venetians, who are reported to be now arming some galleys, of which two have already been launched. The more time is left them to carry out their wicked plans the more difficult it will be to put a check upon them, as they will, no doubt, be emboldened by our patience, and perhaps, too, find people to assist them in their purpose.—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 13th April."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 11.

16 April. **386.** Commander Herrera and Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

After his letter of the 26th ult., nothing new has occurred; and as the Duke of Sessa is now writing to His Imperial Majesty, in answer to the despatches brought by the last courier, he (Herrera) will be brief on this occasion. Is waiting to see how the French King will fulfil his engagements, and what answer is returned [from Court] to the ambassadors' despatch of the 16th March;* everything is at a standstill, and all state business laid aside, as if there were no Princes in the world. Therefore all the Imperial ministers and agents in Italy are expecting the Viceroy's arrival, in compliance with the Emperor's late orders.

* "A lo que se le escribió de aqui á los xxvi. de Março," says the original, which is evidently a mistake of the writer. The despatch alluded to was drawn by Sessa alone, and dated the 16th. *See* page 604, under No. 364.

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He (Herrera) has heard that the Pope's secret Council, composed of Jacopo Salviatis, il Vichardino (Franc. Guicciardini) and the Datary (Mattheo), have often discussed the propriety of the Pope signing the proposed agreement with His Imperial Majesty before or after the Viceroy's arrival [in Italy]. They have decided to wait for it, probably because they are not yet sure of the French King having ratified the treaty. Recommends Augustin Folleta (Foglieta), who is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty. Solicits letters in his favour to the Bishop of Mazara and Archbishop of Granada (Fr. Pedro Ramiro de Alva), who refuse to pay him his pensions.—Rome, 26 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

(*Cipher:*) All those who are not His Imperial Majesty's good friends are trying to persuade His Holiness that the Emperor's aggrandisement will be to his detriment. So much have they done in that way that the Pope actually believes it, this being the reason why he is doing everything in his power to prevent the intended journey. The true servants and faithful vassals of His Imperial Majesty, on the other hand, think that the Emperor's visit to Italy is much needed, and that, in order to facilitate it, a league on the best possible terms ought to be made with these potentates; for if the conditions were not, at first, such as might be desired, yet, once in Italy, His Imperial Majesty might easily have them improved, and, in fact, do anything he pleases on that score. In order the better to overawe those who are opposed to the Emperor's aggrandisement, it would be advisable to remit to the Archduke [in Germany] a good sum of money wherewith to raise troops and bring them down upon Italy when required, which measure would, no doubt, make these people a little more obedient to His Imperial Majesty's commands. If the Emperor wishes to be better informed of the affairs of Italy, he (Herrera) offers to go to Court and report thence verbally, since there are many things which cannot well be committed to writing.

(*Common writing:*) The Imperial ambassadors at Venice, and also Lope Hurtado, write to say that the King of France is at Bordeaux; he has not yet ratified the articles of the treaty, and it is believed that he will not. The Papal court is full of these rumours, and courtiers make all manner of speculations about them, remarking that the Queen of France was not in the King's company, the cause of the separation being unknown.* (*Cipher:*) The writers need scarcely add that the Romans show great joy at this news.

(*Cipher:*) Since the above was written, he (Herrera) has received intelligence that Cardinal de Aux (Auch), who is at

* "E desto está llena esta Corte, y echan mill juyzios sobrello y sobre que no iba con el Rey la señora Reina de Francia, que no saben que haya sido la cabsa."

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Avignon, managed to get into his possession his despatch from Sienna; he had it copied and sent to the Pope, who, being unable to make out the cipher, forwarded it to Venice, there to be deciphered. Though he (Herrera) knows for certain that the duplicate of the said despatch has reached the Imperial hands, yet he feels very uneasy lest it should be deciphered and read, though he must observe that, until the present time, those who undertook the task at Venice have been unsuccessful. Should they ultimately succeed, he (Herrera) will do his utmost to ascertain the fact, and, if possible, to secure the decipherings before they are brought to Rome, for which purpose he has secretly written to Alonso Sanchez, the Imperial ambassador at Venice.

Again begs to be allowed to go to the Imperial presence, that he may inform His Majesty, by word of mouth, of the state of affairs in Italy. After the departure of the courier, bearer of this letter, he (Herrera) intends leaving for Genoa, there to wait for the arrival of the Viceroy [of Naples], and inform him of what occurs; after which he will wait for His Majesty's orders unless the Viceroy wishes him to return with him to Rome.—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Commander Herrera and Secretary Perez, 16 April."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

17 April. **387.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador at Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Since the departure of Salinas, the courier, nothing new has occurred. The news of the French King's liberation was long in coming; it has not even been officially announced to the Pope or to the French ambassador at this Court, a circumstance which makes people wonder, and increases the discontent of others, who build hopes for the future, it being publicly rumoured that up to the 29th of March last the King of France had not ratified the treaty, with a variety of other things more or less disagreeable.

Respecting Capino, the Duke has nothing to advise, except that he has arrived at Rome. He came by way of the Switzers, (*cipher*) to whom, it appears, the French King had already announced his liberation, which shows that he takes more notice of them than of all others.

(*Common writing:*) Nothing new from England. It would seem as if there, as well as here, all were waiting for the expiration of the six weeks' term to see if the conditions of the treaty will be faithfully executed or not.

The Pope still shows the same inclination, as before, to be closely united to His Imperial Majesty. Uncharitable

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people say that he is not in earnest. He (the Duke) considers it his duty, as a faithful vassal of His Imperial Majesty, to express his own opinion on the subject. He (*cipher*) believes the Pope to be anything but pleased at the turn affairs have taken; he often complains of his own ministers, declaring that were it not that he trusts in His Imperial Majesty's well-known benignity, he should be driven to despair. His own confidential people are continually singing a litany of wrongs, among which they include Ferrara, Sienna, the edicts (*pragmaticas*), and a hundred more matters of the same kind; and they lay particular stress on the fact of His Holiness being disrespectfully talked of here, and much more so in Spain. All this put together engenders animosity and bad feeling, and the more people try to dissemble the more this ill-will grows upon them; they are only biding their time. He (the Duke) thinks that, in order to secure success for the future one, of two means must be adopted: either to weaken and reduce these people to such condition that they may never again, by themselves or their abettors, injure the Imperial cause and dominions in Italy; or else to make such an arrangement as may be the source of mutual and lasting confidence. Which of the above means may be the most expedient remains for the Emperor to decide; but whichever is adopted, he (the Duke) maintains that no time is to be lost, because, if the Pope be allowed to retain the same temporal and spiritual power as hitherto, whilst nourishing the unjustifiable hatred he bears to His Imperial Majesty, people will naturally consider this a justification of the scandal. His studied silence; the steps taken to strengthen his territory and amass large sums of money; his close relations with all those whom he considers to be his friends; and his secret negotiations, if they do exist, with His Imperial Majesty's known enemies, are all signs of a danger which it is prudent to avert. He (the Duke) considers it his duty to give his own opinion and advice in these matters, though it may be disregarded, as in past times.

(*Common writing:*) In the bull *In Cœna Domini* promulgated this year, he (the Duke) has observed certain expressions and passages which are not in the preceding ones, and which appear principally directed against the Royal ordinances lately promulgated in those realms. Having inquired from the Pope the cause of such innovation, he [the Duke] was told that it was a general measure, and since Princes were using their own jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, the Church was justified in defending her own with such spiritual weapons as she had at her command.

Certain Imperial solicitors and notaries have been arrested of late and confined to prison for having presented at Court some of the warrants and Royal ordinances above alluded to, and one among the rest for exhibiting at Court a Royal warrant,

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ordering Arnao de Velasco, the Dean of Santiago, to desist from the action he had brought against Pero Bermudez, a gentleman of Galicia. He (the Duke) has done everything he could for their liberation, and has already succeeded in some cases, though two of them have complained of ill-treatment besides, which is not to be wondered at, considering that the governor of the prison where they were confined is a coarse, haughty man, not a Spaniard at heart, but a decided Guelph.

(*Cipher:*) On Good Friday last, the 30th of March, His Holiness spoke to him on the subject of the Duke of Ferrara. He had been several times requested by his ambassador to prorogue the brief of security granted to him some time ago; and, lately, a Ferrarese, who had long been a familiar of his own, came on the Duke's behalf to solicit the speedy termination of his master's affairs, suggesting, as the ambassador had previously done, that it was far better for the two parties to come to an agreement on all matters at once. His Holiness answered that he was willing to grant his request, and that, considering him a good vassal of the Church and a friend, he was ready, upon the restitution of what he (the Duke) most unjustly held, and which belonged by right to the Apostolic See, not only to grant him his request, but to give his own niece in marriage to his son, from which he might infer that his interests and those of his family would be sufficiently taken care of in future.

This the Pope told him (Sessa), that he might know how matters stood between him and the Duke of Ferrara, intimating, at the same time, that although the latter was doing his utmost on all sides, the negotiation would come to nothing.

Six or eight days after this conversation with His Holiness, the said ambassador of Ferrara called upon him (Sessa) and showed him a confidential and private letter of the Duke, his master, in which he said, among other things, that, being a faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty, he wished to reveal all that passed between His Holiness and himself, that he (Sessa) might write to Spain in his favour. The ambassador then showed another letter from his master to the same purpose, representing the Pope as the initiator of the negotiation, and adding that since he (the Duke) was expected to be a loser by it, it was not to be wondered at if he tried to get the best possible terms. He had but a scanty hope for the future when he was asked to give up what he owned by right, &c.

This very letter the ambassador of Ferrara had read to the Pope before coming to him (Sessa); but he had been so badly received, and so harshly answered, that he had determined not to bring the matter under discussion again. He (Sessa) believes that the ambassador came to him craftily (*cauteloso*), only producing those two letters to see

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what he could get. Answered him in the mildest possible terms, offering to inform His Imperial Majesty of the whole proceeding, but making no engagement of any sort. Has since remarked that the ambassador goes more frequently to the Palace, and suspects that the negotiations have been re-opened. What they really are about he cannot at present say; but his opinion is that were the Pope to give in a little in some of his demands, the Duke of Ferrara would, without much difficulty, come to some agreement with him, notwithstanding all his promises and engagements to the contrary, for he has always been known to lean to whichever side is most favourable to his own interests.

(*Common writing:*) Cannot in conscience help informing His Imperial Majesty of the news he has received from the duchy of Milan and from other districts nearer Rome of the excesses committed by the Imperial troops. They are of such nature that he would never dare to mention them were they not openly known and proved. He has been assured that from 8,000 to 10,000 ducats are levied every day, without including in that sum the soldiers' pay and many other extortions which ruin the inhabitants. The discontent grows everywhere; and he (Sessa) knows of men who get by this means five, ten, twenty, and even fifty ducats *per diem*. He should consider himself guilty were he not to acquaint His Imperial Majesty with the discreditable behaviour of the army, which, moreover, requires much supervision and discipline, since it is by no means as efficient as it ought to be should it be wanted for active service.

(*Cipher:*) The Venetians have changed their ambassador [here]. The Imperial ones residing at Venice write that he is more of a Spaniard than the last.* That will be sufficient, for his predecessor was a Frenchman at heart. The secret correspondence between them and the Pope is daily becoming closer; both are at work in France, and England is not asleep.

(*Common writing:*) Cardinal Colonna is still at his abbey of Subiaco, in the same mood as before. He goes about surrounded by a body-guard, which he might well dispense with; and Ascanio proceeds judicially against Cardinal Cesarino. He has refused to accept the terms which he (Sessa) proposed to him; notwithstanding which, every attention is paid to his suit, and his interests are protected as if they were His Imperial Majesty's.

Respecting the state of things at Sienna, Commander Herrera will report, since it is part of his duty.

Received, some days ago, the two letters of the 24th ulto. and 12th inst., to which no answer is required. On the 12th

* There must be some error in this statement, for Marco Foscari continued in the embassy till the end of 1526.

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another came, dat. the 30th March, concerning the absolution in the case of the Bishop of Zamora. Went immediately to the Pope, and told him minutely the whole affair. He at first made some difficulty, but promised to give the required absolution; though the matter, he said, being a consistorial one, he had first to consult some cardinals about it. He therefore held a congregation, and resolved, against the opinion of the majority, to grant the required absolution. Encloses the brief. The demonstration made by His Imperial Majesty on this last occasion has been very much applauded here; and it would not be amiss for the Emperor to make some sort of return for these little favours; because nothing whatever was done at the time of the dispensation brief, though it was graciously granted at a time when matters were rather unsatisfactory. He (Sessa) knows that they noticed it, and were very much hurt. His Imperial Majesty is the most prudent of men, and has doubtless sufficiently pondered on these matters; yet it is his (Sessa's) duty to remind him of it.

Congratulates the Emperor upon his marriage. Begs for the bishopric of Zamora for his own brother, Don Juan de Cordoba.

(*Cipher:*) The above was written when the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara came to him (Sessa), and showed some uneasiness at what Prothonotary Caracciolo had written to His Imperial Majesty about him. He said, moreover, that if the Duke, his master—from his not being maintained in his possession by the Emperor—was ultimately obliged to give up Rezzo and Rubiera to the Pope, he very much preferred giving those towns away with his own hand than through a third person. On hearing which, he (Sessa), not to excite suspicion, feigned to believe the ambassador's words; but knows for certain that whenever the Pope chooses to have him on his side, an agreement will be made. The ambassador added that his master had sent a gentleman of his household to congratulate the King of France upon his liberation. He (Sessa) knows from a good source that the Duke is already beginning to place all his confidence in that quarter, a thing not to be wondered at, if the habits and practices of that house be taken into account.

(*Common writing:*) The Pope, at the instigation of most of the Cardinals who have taken cognizance of the affair, has kept back the brief for the absolution of those concerned in the Bishop of Zamora's execution. He (Sessa) has made the greatest efforts to get it, but in vain. The Pope, however, has told him in confidence that if the names of the parties are only sent to him, and His Imperial Majesty intercedes in their favour, he will have it sent without any further difficulty.

In the case of Montaragon sentence has been given against

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Don Pedro de Urrias.* The Pope was very angry when he heard of it. Has promised him (Sessa) and Commander Herrera to have the sentence annulled.

The rumours about the Turk's armaments have ceased for the present.

Touching the affair of the Crusade, he (Sessa) cannot help repeating that the same difficulties still exist. He will much regret if—having always told the truth on that score—the opinion of people [in Spain] who know nothing at all about it, should prevail against his own experience and advice. Let His Imperial Majesty have his (Sessa's) correspondence examined, and if there should be anything contrary to what he has stated from the beginning, let him be punished as he deserves.

The Pope has appointed Andrea Doria to be Captain-General of his galleys. He is to have eight in ordinary, six of his own and two of the Church, besides two brigantines, with a yearly stipend of 36,000 ducats.

Has delivered into the Pope's hands the Imperial letters, presenting D. Luis de Cardona to the bishopric of Barcelona. The Pope's answer was that he had already appointed Cardinal Cortona to that Church; but if the Cardinal consented to transfer his rights to D. Luis, he should offer no objection.—Rome, 17 Apr. 1526.

P.S.—Begs for the payment of 400 ducats borrowed from the merchants [of Rome] towards the expenses of three different messengers, who, by three different routes, took his despatches of the xvi. December last; one of them is Pero Hernandez, his servant.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 17th Apr."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 11.

18 April. **388.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 149–57.

Wrote on the 10th,† conjointly with Prothonotary Caracciolo, his colleague, of what had occurred up to that date. Duplicates of their letter have since been sent by way of Milan and Genoa.

Three days ago the Signory heard from their Secretary, who, as stated in the ambassadors' joint despatch, had gone

* Pedro Jordan de Urries, Canon of Huesca in Aragon, who about this time disputed the abbey of Montaragon. He obtained it in 1528, after the death of D. Alonso de Só, Castro y Pinós, son of the Conde de Ebol, who held it till his death in 1532.

† The letter bears the date of the 11th. *See* No. 384, p. 631.

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to the French court. His name is Andrea Rosso, and he writes, in date of the 24th and 27th March, to say that on the former of those days he had an audience of the French King, who received him graciously, asked him about the Doge and other patricians whom he knows to be friendly to his cause, and told him how very grateful he was for the services the Signory had done him, and the efforts made for his liberation, as well as for the treaty of league and alliance concluded with the crown of France, which, he added, had contributed more powerfully than anything else to his liberty, owing to the jealousy the Emperor had conceived of the said treaty. The King went on to say that if the Venetians only persevered in their intentions, France would never be at enmity with them. They were to conclude the league [of the Italian powers] and try to persuade the Pope to join the said league, though he had not much confidence in His Holiness, who (he said) was always wavering. If, however, the Pope could be induced to join the league, they [the Venetians] were to conclude it at once.

The Secretary's answer was that his mission for the time was limited to offering his respects and kissing His Majesty's hands; that as he was bearer of certain credentials he would present and explain them on another occasion. He (the King) was to consider that if the Emperor became sole master in Italy, as there was reason to think probable* . . . . . His most Christian Majesty would not be secure in his own kingdom. The Secretary then tried to ascertain whom the French King wished to have as Duke of Milan. The King answered he was satisfied that it should be Francesco Sforza; and then inquired about the castle of Milan, its defences, provisions, &c.

The above intelligence has been communicated to the ambassadors by a trusty person on whose veracity they place great reliance, and who from time to time gives them most valuable information. On the 26th, Cappin, the Marquis of Mantua's secretary, whom the Pope had sent to France, arrived [in Venice], and related how, before he saw the French King, he [Cappin] had a conversation with Andrea Rosso; and that when he was admitted to the Royal presence, the King repeated to him the very same words he told Rosso, and that Cappin's commission, as given by the Pope, was equal in all its parts to that intrusted by the Venetians to their Secretary.

On the 28th Andrea Rosso saw the King again, when the King confirmed what he had said on a previous occasion; namely, that a league and alliance should be made between France, the Pope and the Venetians, but he wished the

* Paper torn: "Debia considerar que si V. Mag. se hacia señor de Italia como se figuraba . . . . . que temia no ternia su Mag. Christ^ma seguro su reyno."

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negotiations for the said league to be conducted in France, for which purpose each of the confederates was to send his ambassadors. That he (the King) wanted their help expressly to conquer the kingdom of Naples, but must have securities in France that such help would be forthcoming and that the Italian Princes would fulfil their promise, for he would not be left at the mercy of Italy, and be once more deceived. The Secretary, Andrea Rosso, replied that the necessity was one of the moment (*presentanea*) ; the castle of Milan had provisions only to the middle of May ; the Signory had in its service 1,000 men-at-arms, besides 6,000 foot and light horse. The Pope had also a good number of troops ready, so that, with a very small assistance on his part, it would be easy to expel the Imperialists from the Estate of Milan, since they were not yet masters of the principal castles. That since the King had ambassadors at Rome, the best thing to do was to send them full powers to treat there [in Italy] ; for as to the Italian powers sending their agents to France, as the King had proposed, it was out of the question ; the distance was too great and the negotiations would be indefinitely protracted ; in the meantime the castles of Milan and Cremona might fall into the hands of the Imperialists, and all would be lost.

The King, however, persisted in his former resolution, saying that the negotiations were to be conducted in France ; he was to be helped in conquering the kingdom of Naples, and must have securities in France that the conditions of the league should be kept.

The above is said to be the substance of Secretary Rosso's despatch to the Signory. He says, besides, that at his conference with the French King, Memoransi [Anne de Montmorency], the Grand Master of France, and Brion were present ; that the King spoke well of His Imperial Majesty, and said that he (the Emperor) was determined to come over to Italy this summer, not later than July ; that he was not to bring any Spanish infantry, but only about 6,000 Germans who were now in Catalonia. He counted mostly upon Germany and upon his present force in Italy, but had little or no money at all. The King further stated to the Venetian Secretary that, during his captivity, his mother, the Queen Regent of France, had collected, by means of taxation and otherwise, upwards of 1,500,000 cr. (*escudos*), with which war might be maintained during a considerable time. Of the Princes, his sons, he should take no heed for three years. He told him more still : He said that in order to hinder the Emperor's journey to Italy he had ordered considerable armaments to be got ready in Britanny, and that for that purpose it would be very convenient if the Signory would send its fleet to join his. That the Emperor had made up his mind to make his brother the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) King of

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Tuscany, and himself to remain in Italy for three years after being crowned as King of the Romans.*

The above and other news he (Caracciolo) hears from the above-mentioned individual who saw Rosso's letter to the Signory. Cannot vouch for the truth of the information, except that it comes from a very reliable source. However this may be, there can be no doubt that what Andrea Rosso has written from France cannot be either pleasant or agreeable to the Emperor; for the day after his despatch was received here [in Venice], this Signory sent a messenger to Rome; and he (Caracciolo) has since heard that they will not return an answer to the French King before they have ascertained the Pope's views and sentiments.

Has heard also that Andrea Rosso has written to say that the French King told him he intended to dissemble as much as possible with the Imperial ambassadors residing at his Court, and recommended the Signory to pursue a similar course.†

His Imperial Majesty knows best what has passed between him and the French King. He will know whether he is likely to fulfil or not the conditions of the treaty, and therefore can be a better judge in these matters. His (Caracciolo's) conviction is that if the King tries these people he will find them disposed, as well as the Pope, to favour his views. It might be that the King's avowed intention to get possession of the kingdom [of Naples] has aroused their jealousy;‡ for in that case—and the conquest of Naples being achieved—they (the Italian powers) would be placed at the mercy of France. Perhaps the King, in order to satisfy the Italians, would consent to give them some small share in the spoil; but in either case it will not be difficult for the French King to secure the affections of these people. Of one thing, however, His Imperial Majesty must be sure, that whatever provision is intended for Italy must be at once quick and ample, or else with few friends and scanty means there can be but little chance.§

Must not forget to mention that the ambassador of the Duke of Milan residing at Venice (Taverna) told him yesterday that if the Emperor consented to leave his master in possession of his Estate, the Signory would make no difficulty whatever about the other clauses in the treaty. This last conjecture he (Sanchez) has not heard from anyone but the above-

* "Que V. Mag. designaba hacer Rey de Toscana al Señor Infante, su hermano, y estar V. Mag. tres años en la silla de Roma," . . . . . after which words there is a hole in the paper.

† "Que hacia y haria grangeria á los embaxadores de V. Mag. que estan cabe él, que él tambian disimulase con ellos."

‡ "No sé si quererse enseñorear del reino, si verdad es, les dará gelosia, pareciendoles estarian tambien á discrecion del Rey de Francia."

§ "Y sepa V. Mag. que en Italia es menester hacer las provisiones muy sforçadas y recias segun los pocos amigos y la poca," . . . . . after which the paper is torn.

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named ambassador; he therefore does not know what to say about it.

Both Prothonotary Caracciolo and he (Sanchez) have repeatedly recommended to His Imperial Majesty for the office of President of the Sumaria of Naples, now vacant, a worthy individual, through whose means they get most valuable information. They have received no answer to their applications; but as people of his rank and qualities cannot be dismissed with mere words, they earnestly request a reply to their joint application, especially as the said office can be given away without injury to the Emperor, and it is but just that it should be bestowed on persons who, like him, have rendered most important services.

Yesterday the ambassador had written thus far when somebody came and informed him that the Signory had received letters from their Secretary, Andrea Rosso, of the 2d, 3d, and 4th inst. Whence the letters were dated or what their purport was he (Sanchez) could not tell, except that having the day before yesterday despatched a courier to Rome with the news of the 28th, the Signory sent, yesterday, another messenger with the news contained in the last. The only thing he has been able to ascertain is that Rosso dined with Secretary Robertet, who told him: "The Signory must not imagine that now the King of France is delivered from captivity, he is to treat as if he were still a prisoner in the Emperor's hands," whence he (Sanchez) gathers, if the report be true, that the King of France perseveres in his intention of not keeping his engagements.

(*Common writing:*) After nearly two months' illness, his colleague, Prothonotary Caracciolo, was the other day so much troubled with sciatica and lumbago (*dolor de hijada*) that he took the Sacraments and made his will. Since then he has been much better, and last night he slept very well. Fever has left him, although he is still very weak. Owing to which reason, he (Sanchez) would not trouble him with any of the above matters, and therefore signs this letter alone.—Venice, 18th April 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 18th April."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 8.

19 April. **389.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 162.

Wrote on the 14th inst., pointing out the danger in which the Imperial army was for want of money and provisions. Again begs His Imperial Majesty to provide for the safety

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and maintenance of what it has cost so much treasure and blood to establish. This courier is sent for no other purpose than to carry the enclosed ciphered letters of the Marquis (del Guasto) and Antonio de Leyva, whereby His Majesty may know the state of things here.

The fortifications of Parma and Placencia (Piacenza) continue with great activity, and it is reported that those of Modena have also begun. No Spaniard or foreigner belonging to this army is allowed to enter any one of those three cities; and at Piacenza they would not, some days ago, let the body of the Marquis of Pescara pass. It is believed that it is the fear of the Italian infantry which is on the frontiers of this Estate, towards the mountains, in that part of the country called the marquisates of Malaespina, which induces them to keep so strict a guard over their fortresses.

No news have been received about the galleys that went from Genoa in quest of the Duke of Bourbon. It is to be presumed that they have made their voyage in safety.—Milan, 19th April 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. From the Abbot of Najera, 19th of April."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1¼.

20 April. **390.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 170.

Since his last from Turin he has come to Chambery, to give the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele) some account of his doings, as well as to state his reasons for not having commenced previously the inquiry into the damages committed by the Imperial troops, &c. The Duke appears very much pleased at what has been done and at the provision made for the future. As his services have been great, and his professions cannot but be sincere, he (Hurtado) begs His Imperial Majesty to grant the Duke all possible favour, and not to allow more troops to be quartered in Piedmont, as this would be to destroy his Estate entirely.

Unless His Imperial Majesty gives an immediate answer to the Duke's letter and his (Hurtado's) that go by this courier, respecting the reprisals (*represarias*) and the quartering of the Imperial troops, as arranged between the parties, he (Hurtado) is very much afraid that the Duke will still suffer injury. Returns to Torino, to put an end to and close the inquiry. Will write from thence his opinion on the whole matter.—Chambari, 20 April 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope Hurtado, 20 Apr."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

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20 April. **391.** MINUTE OF ANSWER of CHANCELLOR GATTINARA to the above.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 171.

His Imperial Majesty has duly received the ambassador's letter, as well as the memorandum of those who ask for reprisals.* The Emperor sends his orders to the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, as may be seen by the enclosed. Should any of the plaintiffs not comply with the rules established in similar cases, and attempt to take their revenge on the lands and subjects of the Duke of Savoy, in that case he (Hurtado) is to seize their persons and keep them in close confinement until it shall be the Emperor's pleasure to have them punished as they deserve. Meanwhile he is to finish the inquiry in the manner that has been prescribed, and return with it [to Spain], in order that His Imperial Majesty may decide on the whole.†

20 April. **392.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 164–7.

His last letter was of the 26th March. On the 12th inst. the six galleys that are to escort and bring back the Duke of Bourbon sailed for their destination. Two of them belong to the Sicilian fleet; one is Il Gobo's, whose son is on board; and the rest belong to this Community of Genoa. The command of the whole has been intrusted to Don Francisco de Requesens, who is to be Captain-General until the Duke goes on board.

Considering what Andrea Doria and other captains of the King of France have done, and are still doing, with the Spanish vessels they meet at sea, and that, notwithstanding the proclamation of peace between Spain and France, the said Andrea Doria perseveres in his piratical practices, both the Doge and he (Soria) had almost made their mind not to allow the said galleys to depart; for the said Doria, pretending that he is not included in the last peace between France and the Emperor, goes on seizing at sea any Spanish ship or merchandise he can lay his hands upon. On the 3d inst. he boarded a ship of this port that was coming from Valencia, and transferred to his own galley all the Spaniards and their goods, though the master of the vessel having shown him a safe-conduct he had from the governor of Provence, he (Doria) let the Spaniards go with their property, and allowed the vessel to proceed on her course. On the same day (the 3d inst.) one of his galleys came in sight of this port, and indeed so close to it, that some of the Genoese began to get ready to go out against her, she being at the time about two leagues from this city. He (Soria) would not allow it, for fear of giving offence to the King of France, and causing it to be

* "La memoria de los que piden represarias."

† This answer, in the Chancellor's own writing, is on the back of Hurtado's original letter to the Emperor.

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said that the Emperor's subjects were breaking the peace. The aforesaid galley put some of her men on shore, and seized no fewer than 35 inhabitants of this coast, who were immediately put to her oars. So that up to this day the said Andrea Doria has done all the harm he could to the Emperor's subjects and vassals. It is further stated that he (Doria) has lately entered into a contract with His Holiness to serve him with his own six galleys and two more Papal ones, and that he is to receive annually 35,000 ducats in consideration of that service. The report is confirmed by letters [from Rome], but hitherto Doria has been, and is still, at Antibo with his own galleys.

Such being the state of things, and Doria's hostile intentions being well known, the Doge and he (Soria) were long hesitating about sending off these six Genoese galleys to escort the Duke of Bourbon on his voyage back [from Spain]. Both wrote on the subject to the Emperor, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Bourbon himself, but have had no answer to their letters. However, as both the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have since written, insisting upon the departure of the galleys, he (Soria) gave the order, and they have accordingly left for their destination, although they are not to go beyond Monego (Monaco) until receiving his instructions. Hopes that an answer from Spain will come in the meantime.

The reason which the Doge and he (Soria) had for thus delaying the departure of the galleys was that as Doria and the other French captains do not seem inclined to abide by the peace, and they have 13 galleys between them, they might, if they chose, sink or capture the six of this Signory; (*cipher*) besides which, they could at any time visit this coast and port, which are wholly undefended, and create disturbances in the city. The reason why, on the contrary, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have so pressingly insisted on their departure, is because of the mutinous spirit of the Imperial army, that is without pay, and of the discontent of the Milanese on whom they are quartered. Both the soldiers and the country people hope and believe that Mons. de Bourbon is to bring a large sum of money wherewith all wants will be relieved; and in order to maintain them in that belief the Imperial generals have ordered the galleys to go as far as Monego. The truth is that the Duke's arrival is anxiously expected by all, as he will, no doubt, bring money for the army and proper provision for the soldiers' quarters, so that the inhabitants may be relieved of so intolerable a burden.

(*Common writing:*) Until now it was not the custom for the Genoese galleys to hoist a flag when in company with the Imperial fleet. The Doge has lately expressed a wish that his galleys should have one. He (Soria) told him that it was not right, because wherever the Emperor's flag is floating

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there ought to be no other, especially in Genoa, being, as it is, a fief of the Empire. The Doge's reply was that the Community having her own galleys, and paying the crews, wished them to have a particular flag, though in subordination to the Emperor's pennant.

Soria was likewise of opinion that Captain Morales, who commands the Spanish infantry on board the said six galleys, should go over [to Spain] in one of them, for there being no other captain of note in the Genoese fleet, it seemed natural that Morales should go wherever his own men went. This, however, the Doge would not grant; and the ambassador takes this opportunity to remark that whenever the Doge and the Community express a wish which is not in direct opposition to the Emperor's instructions and orders, everything is done to please them.

This Community is quite ready and willing to furnish the four caracks for His Imperial Majesty; but as the Doge is in great want of money, he would like to know the exact time at which they will be wanted, in order to save unnecessary expense.

Count della Mirandola, the father-in-law of this Doge, has been staying here a few days. On his departure he left a letter addressed to the Emperor, which is enclosed.* The Count is considered a faithful servant of the Empire, and has his town, la Mirandola, very strongly fortified and so situated that in case of war it may be of great use to His Imperial Majesty. Begs to recommend him to the Emperor's favour.

The Lord of Monego writes, in date of the 13th inst., that Andrea Doria had, two days previously, captured a brigantine [of this port], which was taking letters for the Duke of Bourbon, and had been freighted at Final by a servant of the said Duke, so that there can be no doubt that he (Doria) perseveres in his system of doing all the harm he can to the Emperor's subjects.

(*Cipher:*) His (Doria's) last contract with the Pope is, some believe, for the sole purpose of creating disturbances in this city, so as to make his own party [the Fregosi] predominant in the Community. To accomplish this end he counts upon the help of the Pope, who, in the event of the Emperor coming to Italy, will try all he can to snatch from the hands of the Emperor this port with the many conveniences it affords for his passage. As the danger of a revolution is so great, and the faction of the Fregosi so strong and powerful, he (Soria) recommends that the galleys sent to Naples should return to this port for its protection, as they can be now of no use whatever in that kingdom.

(*Common writing:*) Has advised in some of his former letters that the Pope was fortifying Parma in haste. The works are now completed, and those of Piacenza have begun.

* Not in the volume.

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For this purpose he has summoned the best engineers from all parts of Italy, as well from Venice as from Florence and other places. Letters from the latter city state that during the Holy Week Count Pedro Navarro had been there, and sent for Vitelo (Chiapino Vitelli), who was at Pisa, and that between the two they had designed the fortifications of the city. The common report among merchants here is that the said Count [Pedro Navarro] has actually taken service with the Pope.

The generals of the Imperial army write from Milan on the 18th instant, announcing the discovery of a conspiracy of Count Guido Rangone, (*cipher*) who had been trying to seduce the Italian infantry serving in the Imperial army. In confirmation of the above report he (Soria) can add that, according to information received at Genoa, he (Count Rangone) had sent a message to the Duke of Milan offering to have the siege of that castle raised, provided he was paid his own expenses, besides the stipend of 100 men-at-arms, 200 light horse and 2,000 foot, as the Duke had promised, and was actually giving to Joannin de Medicis. Has also ascertained that the Count was collecting all the Italians lately dismissed from the Imperial army, and sending them on to the Venetian territory. Both the Pope and the Venetians would like to help the Count with money to raise a band, and as a condotiero* do all possible mischief in Italy. They are now in treaty with him; and it may be confidently asserted that should his services be secured, one of the Count's first enterprises would be against this city, he being a good friend of the Pope and a partisan of the Fregosi.—Genoa, 20 April 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 20 Apr."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

22 April. **393.** Count de la Mirandola† to the Ambassador Lope de Soria.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 172.

Most Magnificent Sir.—I have just received intelligence from the same place (*questo medesmo loco*) that the Pope is collecting 12,000 Switzers and as many Venetians. I have it from such a source that there is every reason to think the report true. They are about to fortify Modena with a wall 100 perches (*pertiche*) in circumference, and Count Guido

* "Los Venecianos y el Papa querrian ayudarle con alguna suma de dineros porque ficiesse gente, y como capitan de ventura moviese por Italia algunos garbullos contra el servicio de V. Mag."

† Count Giovanni Thomasso della Mirandola, mentioned in a former letter.

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Rangon obtained, last Wednesday, a brief for that purpose. I am not sure of being able to send the above intelligence to Milan or to Don Lope Ortado (Hurtado), as your Worship desired me to do, being, as I am, on the eve of my departure for Genoa. I have therefore thought it best to communicate it to you.—Rodo, 22d of April 1526.

Addressed: "To the Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "Copy of what the Count de la Mirandola writes to the Ambassador Lope de Soria."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

22 April. **394.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 139-40.

Milan being quiet, and Mons. de Bourbon not expected so soon [in Italy] owing to the Imperial galleys not venturing to go out for him, he (Lope Hurtado) not to lose time, came to Turin to make the inquiry on the damages caused by the Imperial troops in Piedmont. Was very well received by the Duke and Duchess [of Savoy].

On the . . . . . of March* last the Infanta [Duchess] was confined of a daughter, who died two days after.

The Duke is at Chameri (Chambery), trying to arrange matters with the people of Ginebra (Geneva) and Losana (Lausanne), which towns are now for the Switzers. He has hopes of success at a Diet which was being held, and must have begun† on the 5th instant.

When he (Lope Hurtado) left Milan, on the 24th of March, the Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva were trying to raise money for the Germans. The quartering of the troops caused much uneasiness, as the country people could not bear it any longer.—Torino, 12th of April 1526.

Post data.—From the inquiry now being made in Piedmont of the devastations said to have been committed by the Imperial army ever since the first war, it appears, in reality, that many people were murdered and much property destroyed [by our men], even to the amount of many thousand ducats. The statement has been drawn up by the Communes themselves, and attested by proper witnesses. But were His Imperial Majesty to order the Abbot of Najera or any other of the Imperial officials in Italy to institute a similar inquiry on the atrocities and murders (*muchas bellaquerias y muertes*) perpetrated here at Turin and at other places in Piedmont upon our soldiers, there might be a considerable account to set

* There is a mutilation just at the place where the date ought to be. This Duchess of Savoy, Maria Beatriz by name, was the daughter of King Manuel of Portugal, and of Maria, a Spanish Infanta. Her sister Isabella was married to Charles V.

† "En una Dieta que tiene á V de este." The letter appears to be a duplicate of that of 7th, with some additions. *See* p. 628, No. 380.

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against theirs, in discharge and acquittal of the injuries which our men have caused them.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado, 22d of April."

Spanish Original. pp. 3.

23 April. **395.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 178.

Since his last of the 17th instant nothing new has occurred. (*Cipher:*) On the 19th letters came from Capino, whom the Pope sent to the King of France by way of Switzerland and Venice. The intelligence communicated to him (Sessa) by the Pope is that the French King was very much pleased with Capino's visit. He had a long conversation with him on general matters, and more particularly on the subject of his late illness at Madrid, the King complaining that he had not been well treated there.* It was then Holy Week, and the King put an end to the conference, promising to renew it after Easter. His (Capino's) impression, from what he had heard, was that the ratification of the treaty would not take place; that the French showed a determination not to give up Burgundy; and that frequent couriers went to and fro between the King of France and the Viceroy of Naples.

Such is, in substance, Capino's account of the conference, as the Pope related it to him (Sessa). Some of the courtiers add that the King of France had not expressed his opinion so openly as he would otherwise have done, because he was unwilling to declare war at present, but that his intention, nevertheless, was to come to a rupture as soon as an opportunity occurred. He (the Duke) has reasons to suspect that the negotiations are now more active than ever they were. What confirms him in his suspicions is that the Pope shows much discontent at the past, and says that His Imperial Majesty has not, and never will, show a desire to become his friend, whilst there is nothing he (the Pope) wishes for so much as to be closely united to the Imperial cause. Couriers from Venice come daily to this city, and Alberto di Carpi is as busy as ever. Some people think that it is the Pope who solicits the French to make a stir, whilst others assert that the contrary is the case, and the Pope swears that he is being solicited continually. However this may be, one thing is certain, that the negotiations are warmer than ever. He (the Duke) will not fail to advise of what occurs, without, however, expressing any opinion or making any

* "Y en lo que mas se detenia era en contarle la enfermedad pasada, y en dolerse de no haber sido bien tractado."

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engagements, since he does not know what line of policy to follow. Those who profess to be good servants of the Emperor are divided in opinion; some of them—led away by their own passions and inclinations—recommend a rupture with His Holiness, and the seizure of everything he possesses; others think that His Imperial Majesty should, by all means, secure his friendship and alliance.

The ambassadors of the Duke of Milan have frequent audiences with the Pope. He (Sessa) has heard from a very good source that he said the other day to one of them: "If the King of France talks about the Duke being deprived of his Estate, I will immediately turn my back on the negotiation, for my chief aim is, and has always been, to maintain the Duke."

(*Common writing:*) Very bad news from Hungary. The Turk is about to invade that country on three different sides, war having actually commenced at one part of the frontiers. The Turks had thrown two bridges over the Danube. Everyone considers that kingdom utterly ruined unless some help be immediately provided. King Louis has only 200 horse at his disposal, and is sadly in want of infantry and money. The Pope is holding congregations and devising all manner of means to help the King with money, and has publicly declared he will do his utmost to discharge his conscience both with God and with the world at large.—Rome, 23 April 1526.

Since writing the above, he (Sessa) has heard that the Duke Francesco Sforza, being in want of provisions [for his troops], and unable to maintain them for more than two weeks longer, has applied for help to Count Guido Rangone, and offered him the most advantageous conditions if he will only come to his assistance with all the forces at his disposal, and also induce the Pope to send the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) to Piacenza, for, once there, the Milanese (he says) will take courage and rise against the Imperialists, and he (Sforza) will be enabled to revictual his castle. Though these and other similar reports seem devoid of all foundation, and are undoubtedly the invention of mischievous people, the Duke and Commander Herrera mentioned them to His Holiness, who laughed heartily, protesting he had never heard of such projects, nor could he imagine that such a desperate and foolish plan could ever have been in contemplation. There can be no doubt, however, that no Italian Prince will now dare to move unless they first have proper pledges from France. Due notice of the said reports shall be sent to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva, that they may take proper measures.

(*Cipher:*) Hears from a reliable source that a courier has arrived from England, though the Pope and all the rest deny the fact, and keep the matter secret. They cannot, however, conceal the fact, for Casale, the ambassador, who is rather quick-spoken (*caliente de boca*), and wishes to pass for a man of importance, occupied in weighty matters, went, the

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other day, so far as to say that the King, his master, and the King of France are closely united and have both decided that Burgundy shall not be given up to the Emperor; they are to make war conjointly and in such a manner as to obtain the release of the French hostages, and count upon Italy siding with them. He (Sessa) owns that the Pope's dissimulation in this particular is to him a matter of greater concern than the out-spokenness of the English ambassador, for there is undoubtedly some very serious business on hand. He is the more confirmed in his suspicions since, in the last three or four audiences, the Pope has expressly declared to him that he was gradually losing all hope of ever becoming, as he wishes to be, the friend of His Imperial Majesty, for (says he) "So little notice is taken of me [in Spain], and the answer to my applications is so long delayed, that all my best hopes are completely vanishing," from which declaration he (Sessa) concludes that the negotiations of the confederated Princes are closer and brisker than ever; otherwise His Holiness would not speak out as he does, and declare his sentiments so openly.

(*Common writing:*) The Pope has often requested him to write to Court about Micer Angelo de Bebiena (Bibiena) and his abbey of Santa Maria de Ossera (in Galicia), which abbey he has held for many years, owing to the resignation made in his favour by his uncle, the Cardinal of Sancta Maria *in Porticu* [Antonio di Bibiena]. He (the Pope) says that the monks of the congregation of St. Bernard do not send him [Bibiena] the rents of the said abbeys, on the plea that he is a Frenchman [at heart]. He [Sessa] can certify that such is not the case; on the contrary, he considers the said Micer Angelo to be a good servant of His Imperial Majesty; and although it is true that he holds property in France, which he inherited from his uncle, it cannot be said of him that he has secret understandings in France, nor is he the sort of man to mix in politics, being chiefly occupied with his studies and living an honest and quiet life.—Rome, 23 Apr. 1526.

Post data.—Has received letters from the Marquis del Guasto and from Antonio de Leyva in confirmation of the report about the Duke of Milan having applied to Count Guido Rangon for assistance, almost on the same terms as those specified above. They add that Fabricio Marramao, who commands the Italian infantry, had been solicited to go over to the Papal service with all his force. Every possible diligence shall be employed to arrive at the truth of these negotiations; it remains for His Imperial Majesty to decide how his servants are to act.

A report is likewise current here that His Holiness is about to send again to the King of France Count Hugo di Popoli (Pepoli?),* a gentleman of Cologne, and Captain of Men-at-arms

* This captain, whom Guicciardini calls "Ugo dei Peppoli," served in the Papal and Venetian armies, and ultimately succeeded Orazio Baglione in the command of the Florentine army. He was made prisoner by the Imperialists in 1527. *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVIII. and XIX.

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to the said King [of France]. In short, negotiations are very far advanced, and a rupture is imminent. But few doubt of this.

Addressed : "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Duke of Sessa, 23d Apr."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

23 April. **396.** KNIGHT COMMANDER HERRERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 174–6.

As the Duke (of Sessa) has written, he (Herrera) need not trespass on the Emperor's attention further than to say that he is waiting anxiously for instructions. Wrote on the 17th, announcing his intention to start shortly for Genoa; but afterwards changed his mind, thinking he had better wait for the Viceroy's arrival in that port, and see what course he was likely to pursue. As no news has come of the Viceroy's arrival, he (Hurtado) has not moved from Rome.

(*Cipher :*) Has been informed that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) is about to come to terms with the Pope, if he can,* without the Emperor's knowledge, and that negotiations are very far advanced between the parties.

(*Common writing :*) Has also been told by persons much devoted to the Imperial service that there was a plan for relieving the castle of Milan. This intelligence he (Herrera) communicated to the Duke [of Sessa], when both agreed to interrogate His Holiness about it. They did so, and the Pope gave them the answer which the Duke sent by the last post.

As he (Herrera) was writing the above, letters came from Milan confirming the above intelligence about the castle and the relief in contemplation; but as the Marquis del Guasto says he has informed His Imperial Majesty of these particulars, there is no need for him (Herrera) to allude to them.

(*Cipher :*) He can only say, with due respect, that the Emperor's service in Italy is very much neglected, especially in Lombardy, where the army is so badly paid and is so discontented that a mutiny is apprehended.†

(*Common writing :*) What the French King's intentions may be, and whether he will keep his word or not, is more than he (Herrera) can say, as stated in his last despatch. Most people here believe that he will not fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

* "Anda per concertarse con el Papa a excuso de V. Mag. si él puede."

† "En especial en Lombardia, donde temo que aquel exercito no haga algun tiro de su mano, siendo tan mal pagado, y estando tan mal contento como está."

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The governor of Bresa (la Bresse)* is already on his ground (*en su tierra*), waiting for the delivery of Burgundy to the Emperor. God grant that the King of France fulfil his engagements, for although some here would be very sorry for it, many more would like to see him break his solemn promise.—Rome, 23 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Commander Herrera, 23 Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1½.

24 April. **397.** The Abbot of Najera to Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 202.

In consequence of a rich town officer (*oficial*) of this city† refusing to open the door of his house to certain bailiffs who came for the purpose of levying a fine (*espesa*) and collecting the tax lately imposed for the maintenance of this Imperial army, there has been a slight disturbance [in Milan]. Not one of the gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*) took part in it, only the mob (*populacho*); so that shortly after things were right again. Hopes the Milanese will not try it a second time, for, if they do, they must be severely punished. There were only three or four wounded on both sides (the people and the troops). This is the plain truth. Should badly-intentioned persons send a different account, they are not to be believed.

A promise has been made to the citizens not to ask them for any more money for the maintenance of this Imperial army; but if we are to keep our promise, it is necessary that His Imperial Majesty immediately provide the means. An express is being despatched this very day [to Spain] to ask for remittances; in the meantime your Worship must try and procure us money.—Milan, 24 April 1526.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Addressed: "Al Embaxador Don Lope de Soria."

Indorsed: "A copy of the Abbot's letter to me [Lope de Soria], 24 Apr. 1526."

Spanish. Contemporary copy in Soria's handwriting. p. 1½.

* This governor of La Bresse was the brother [-in-law?] of Gattinara, the Emperor's Chancellor. In a letter from Gasparo Contarini, Venetian ambassador in Spain, dat. Toledo the 6th or 8th June 1526, it is stated that Pope Clement VII. conferred on both brothers the honours of Cardinal. The Chancellor had a cousin named Gio. Bartholomeo, who was Bishop of Maurienne (Moriana?). *See* Rawdon Brown, vol. III., p. 445.

† *Oficial* may mean also a man exercising a trade (*oficio*).

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26 April. **398.** Knight Commander Herrera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 231–6.

Since despatching the letter of the 23d April, written conjointly with the Duke of Sessa, and sent by way of Genoa, a duplicate of which is enclosed, he (Herrera) has heard from a reliable source (*cipher*) that the Pope is about to send, as his Nuncio and ambassador to France, a Florentine named Uberto Acuarole.* Has heard likewise that Count Pedro Navarro has been ordered by the Pope to go to Florence and see whether that city could not be put into a state of defence. The Count has inspected the fortifications and traced out new ones. The works have already been begun; and although it will take some years to complete them, great activity is being displayed. The Florentines are not much pleased at this, because they fear the Pope wishes to take possession of their city and territory.

(*Common writing:*) The Patriarch [of the Indies] is, as it would appear, throwing impediments in the way of a pension of 2,000 ducats which His Imperial Majesty granted, some time ago, to the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) on the bishopric of Burgos. In the same manner, Micer Agostino Folleta (Foglieta), who has another annual pension of 500 ducats on the archbishopric of Granada, and 500 more on Mazzara (in Sicily), has not yet received a *quatrino*. Both are good servants of the Empire, and particularly attached to Spain. Takes leave to recommend their suits to the Emperor. The father of the latter (Foglieta) lives at Naples and holds the office of Regent of the Sumaria in that kingdom. He can on the shortest notice expedite his claim.—Rome, 26 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Herrera, 26 Apr."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines. pp. 2.

26 April. **399.** The Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and Abbot of Najera to Lope de Soria.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 201.

On St. George's day a question (*quistion*) arose between the Germans in the advanced posts (*guardia*) of this castle and the people (*pueblo*) of the city, originating in one of those accidents so frequent wherever soldiers are quartered side by side with the citizens. We ran to the spot, and the quarrel was soon appeased.

Last night, at the 23d hour, the garrison of the castle sallied out to skirmish with our men. The alarm was sounded,

* So written in the original; but Acciaioli or Acciajoli (Roberto) is no doubt meant.

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when some young men of the city, who were no doubt looking out for something of the sort, took up arms and attacked us just at the moment that the enemy was falling upon our outposts. We met both attacks, and gave the assailants such a reception that they were glad to leave us alone, for, knowing that it was in our power to destroy them completely, the citizens soon after sent a deputation asking for mercy; and perceiving that it was only the populace [of Milan] who took part in the affray, and that there was no gentleman among them, we consented to pardon the rioters, and punished only a few of the ringleaders.—Milan, 26 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Guasto," "Antonio de Leyva," "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter which the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot wrote to me [Soria] on the 26th."

Spanish. Copy in Soria's handwriting. pp. 2.

26 April. **400.** The Emperor to Knight Commander Herrera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, f. 304.

The King. Commander Miguel de Herrera, our Chamberlain, Councillor, &c.—We have received your letters, in date of the 29th December (1525) and 26th March, to which We need not reply, having already done so in our letter to the Duke [of Sessa].

The manner in which the said Duke and you are conducting the present negotiations deserves all our approval; but since His Holiness refuses to accept the treaty, with the amendments and additions which We have considered necessary, there is no need for you to press him any further until the arrival of Don Hugo de Moncada, who is to start in all possible haste, and take our final resolution on such difficulties and objections as His Holiness may be inclined to raise.

As the inquiry that you were to institute about the late occurrences at Sienna must already be terminated, and your report drawn up, you will leave Italy and return home on the receipt of the present letter.

Respecting all other matters We refer you to our letter to the Duke of Sessa.—Seville, 26 April 1526.

Spanish. Original draft, docketed by Gattinara. p. 1.

27 April. **401.** The Emperor to the Duke of Sessa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 301–3.

The King. Illustrious Duke, our Cousin, &c.—Your letters of the 19th December and 16th March last have been duly received. Our answer is as follows:

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Your negotiations with the Pope have been conducted in a manner that gives us much satisfaction; but since His Holiness refuses to accept the treaty, as sent from hence, We think that you ought not to press him further on that subject until the arrival of Don Ugo de Moncada, whom We shall shortly despatch with a suitable answer to all and every one of His Holiness' objections; and as the said Don Ugo will leave this very soon, fully instructed as to what he is to do in this affair, there is no reason for His Holiness to delay the settlement of the said treaty until our own arrival in Italy, nor until that of our Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), which cannot take place so soon, owing to his having to stop in France longer than We at first calculated. However, should His Holiness feel inclined to give us an answer in the meanwhile, We have ordered Commander Herrera to return post-haste with it.

What We said in our letter respecting Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna was not intended to cause His Holiness any uneasiness or displeasure, but merely to bring about the Cardinal's return to Rome, without our appearing to know the reason of his voluntary absence. Such was our purpose in view of what you and Commander Herrera wrote to us about it; but since it appears that the said Cardinal refuses to go back, We think you ought not again to mention the subject to His Holiness.

We have also seen the Pope's answer respecting the Cardinals' hats. You will drop the subject, and let him do as he pleases.

We are very glad to hear that Jacopo de Salviatis shows such affection to our service. Thank him in our name, encourage him for the future, and tell him that whenever the opportunity occurs for granting him a favour, We shall be glad to reward his services.

The agreement made with our secretary, Alonso de Soria, respecting his archdeanship of Belchite, has been very much to our satisfaction. We now write to Cardinals Rangone and Cesarini, thanking them for their good offices and the interest they have taken in the affair.

We have also seen what you and the Commander said to Cardinal Campeggio in respect of presenting the son of Doctor Carvajal,* of our Council, for the abbey of San Giovanne del Poyo (Poggio). The Cardinal, however, has not written to us in the terms he told you (*como os dijo*). We therefore order you again to speak to him, and say that We will never consent to an ecclesiastical benefice in our own gift being bestowed upon a foreigner, since the renunciation which Juan Battista de Divicis made in his (Campeggio's) favour had evidently no other object than that of setting up against the said Carvajal a more powerful and influential adversary.

* Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, author of a history of the Catholic Kings Don Fernando and Doña Isabel.

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Even in the case of the proposed treaty not being to His Holiness' taste, there was no reason whatever for delaying, as he has done, the concession of the Crusade revenues at such a time as this, for he knows quite well that our intention in applying for it is solely to procure funds wherewith to wage war on the Turk; but since His Holiness delays to grant our application, he must not complain if We do not assist the King of Hungary, as We should otherwise have done; and certainly any calamity likely to fall upon Christianity owing to this invasion of the Turk will be placed to his account rather than to ours.

Nor is His Holiness justified in refusing the incorporation of the priorate of Exea, since it is in our patronage and We consent to it, as likewise the Cardinal who bears the title of such prior. Should the Pope still persist in his refusal, the said incorporation will be made at a future period; and in the meantime We will not allow the said priorate to pass into other hands.

The same may be said respecting the priorate of San Marçal, which has been incorporated without our consent and against our rights and those of the Marquis de Falces, as patrons. You will ask His Holiness to annul and cancel the said incorporation.

We are glad to hear about the Pope's Nuncio, residing at our Court. We consider him an affectionate servant of ours, and shall treat him as such.

For the difference now existing between Cardinal Cesarini (Alessandro) and Ascanio Colonna We are sorry, because both are good Imperialists. You will try to conciliate them there, because were the affair to be brought before our Court We could not help deciding according to justice, especially as the Cardinal has sent us many proofs of his right.

We have ordered the 400 ducats which you borrowed for the expedition of couriers to be immediately repaid to you. It was no fault of our Grand Chancellor if your bills were not honoured at once, as he has nothing to do with our finances. —Seville, 27th of April 1526.

Addressed: "To the Duke of Sessa, our Vice-Gerent in Rome."

Spanish. Original draft, docketed in Gattinara's own hand. pp. 4½.

27 April. **402.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA, Imperial Commissary in Lombardy.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 198.

The King, &c.—Your letters of the 14th, 26th and 28th Feb., 10th, 14th and 16th March have been duly received. We thank you for your good services and for the zeal and activity you have displayed.

Respecting the wants of the army We intend to provide for them soon and in a most efficient manner. Don Ugo de

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Moncada is about to be sent to Rome on a very important mission. He will pass through Milan, and take with him money and instructions until the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon, whose departure, however, has been delayed for want of galleys to convey him. In the meantime no change is to be made in the army or in matters concerning that Estate.

The Milanese ambassadors came, and We listened to their complaints. They were told that until the Duke is put on his trial no change will be made in the affairs of that Estate. Their business will be shortly attended to in a manner that will leave them no cause for complaint, for you know how much We feel the miseries and troubles to which that Estate has unavoidably been subjected.—Seville, 27 Apr. 1526.

Addressed: "To the Abbot of Najera, our Commissary General of the Imperial Army in Lombardy."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

7 April. **403.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 189.

Wrote on the 18th* by duplicate what had occurred up to that date. His despatch went by way of Milan, under cover to the Abbot, the duplicate by Genoa to Lope de Soria.

(*Cipher:*) This Signory, on the receipt of letters from their secretary [Andrea Rosso], who left this for France on the 28th of March, despatched a courier in all haste (*volando*) to Rome. On the ensuing day they sent another, having received fresh letters from the said secretary, in date of the 4th inst. In answer to these two messages, sent respectively on the 16th and 17th inst., no fewer than four despatches have come from Rome between the 19th and 23d inst., the bearer of them having ridden the distance in less than 36 hours. Has been told that the negotiations which the Pope and this Signory are now carrying on with France are the cause of this frequent correspondence. They have lately decided to send on the agreement with their signatures appended, and try whether the French King will sign it also. Has been informed that the contents of the agreement are nearly the same as they were when King Francis was a prisoner [in Spain], viz., that the Pope is to furnish 400 men-at-arms and 6,000 foot; the Venetians 1,000 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot; whilst the King of France will put in the field 400 men-at-arms and 10,000 Switzers, besides a proportionate number of light cavalry and artillery. The whole of which armament has no other object, as reported, than to drive the Imperial army out of Italy. With regard to Milan, they have agreed to maintain Francesco Sforza in the Duchy, or else to give it to his brother

* In the original "a viii. del presente," which is evidently a mistake of Sanchez' clerk for xviii.

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Massimiliano, this being a matter on which neither the Pope nor the Venetians seem to have any choice. Naples to be given to whomsoever the Pope chooses. Has likewise been told that His Holiness stipulated that in case of any clause being added to, or withdrawn from, the above agreement between him and the Signory, he (the Pope) will not be bound to its observance.* This last condition, however, has not been expressly mentioned in the proposed treaty, though it is an understood thing between them; and the Venetian secretary in France has been instructed to act accordingly.

Such appears to be the substance of the agreement which, according to the best information, has been forwarded to Andrea Rosso for the French King's signature. He (Sanchez) cannot say for certain whether this information be correct or not, but has no doubt that something of this kind is in contemplation. He is the more induced to believe this that the Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux) had, on the eve of St. Mark, a long audience, of one hour and twenty minutes; that the day before he (the Bishop) was received at the College Hall for a whole hour; and that on St. Mark's day the Senators held what they call the Council of *Pregadi* (*Su Consejo de Pregay*)—a rather unusual thing on such a festival—when the treaty of league was read and signed. Besides which, the delay on the part of the French King in fulfilling the conditions of the last treaty is to him an abundant proof that the above practices of the confederates and many more he, perhaps, does not know of, are substantially true.

Has written by this post to the generals in Lombardy and to the Imperial ambassador at the court of France (Praet), informing them of what has occurred, as well as of the report—which obtains much credit among the lower classes here—that the Signory is soon to take up arms against the Emperor.

Hears from a trustworthy source that Capino wrote . . . . . † His Holiness proposing to prevent the Emperor's journey [to Italy], and saying that if he (the Pope) did not devise the means of doing so, he, the King, would.

(*Common writing :*) The Signory, it is asserted, have had letters of the 7th March announcing that the Turk has decided to invade Hungary with a force much superior to any that has ever yet left Turkey for an expedition [against Christianity].

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* "El Papa quiere que si en la dicha capitulacion se quita ó añade algo, que no sea obligado á nada."

† The original is torn at this place, leaving a blank as for two or three words. It may, however, be inferred from this, as well as from other previous or subsequent despatches, that it was the King of France who made that proposal to the Pope. With regard to the contents of this letter and the intelligence it conveys, the reader had better consult, on this particular, Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, &c., Nos. 1247–53. Capino, whose name is variously written *Capin*, *Cappino*, *Chiapino*, &c., was a native of Mantua. Guicciardini calls him *Capino da Mantova*, lib. XVIII.

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Prothonotary Caracciolo is still confined to his bed with fever, though somewhat better than he was some time ago, that being the reason why he does not sign the present despatch.

(*Cipher :*) That the Emperor may be better informed respecting the matters contained in this present despatch—which is sent by duplicate through two different channels—the ambassador may add that he knows as a fact that one of the last couriers brought from Rome the Pope's final resolution concerning, and signature to, the contemplated treaty.—Venice, 27 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. From Alonso Sanchez, 27th Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (at fol. 196). *pp.* 6.

27 April. **404.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 184.

Wrote on the 20th inst. by Solorzano, the courier, and the next day (21st) received the Imperial letter of the 13th, the bearer of which he (Soria) despatched immediately [to Milan] with the enclosures. Gave the Doge the Emperor's letter, and told him how it had been decided that his own six galleys, added to the three Spanish ones now in these ports, should immediately sail [for Spain] to bring back and escort the Duke of Bourbon [to Italy]. Everything shall be done agreeably with the Imperial commands. The Doge has already sent orders to the captain of his galleys now at Monaco, and he (Soria) has written to Don Francesco and Don Berenguer [de Requesens] and to Gobo (Il Gobbo) to get under sail.

The Doge and Community are very thankful at their having been included and expressly named in the last treaty with France. They hope, with the Emperor's favour and assistance, to be soon able to recover what Andrea Doria and other sea captains took from them during the truce.

(*Cipher :*) It would be doing God service if the said Andrea Doria were to be severely punished for his misdeeds. The Emperor permitting, that would be no difficult matter; and he (Soria) has a plan, which, if required, he will communicate to the Doge and to Portundo, so that the said Doria may not escape this time without the punishment he so richly deserves.

(*Common writing :*) This Doge had a secretary at Milan, Francesco Tusignano by name, who resided in that city, as his agent, near the person of the Marquis del Guasto and other Imperial generals and ministers. Being suspected of close relationship with some of the Duke of Milan's partisans, he received orders to quit, and returned to Genoa; though, on the

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application of the Doge, who made himself answerable for his behaviour, and on his (Soria's) recommendation, he was allowed to return to Milan, where, it would appear, he soon began to treat again with the rebels. On the 16th inst. a man—coming, as he said, from Crema—was arrested in the attempt to penetrate furtively into the castle. Interrogated as to the object of his mission, he owned that the besieged, unable to procure intelligence from the outside, had devised a plan for communicating with the Milanese by means of certain arrows (*passadores*) shot over the walls containing letters of advice, &c., and that the Doge's secretary, Francesco Tusignano, was at the bottom of it. No sooner did the latter hear of the man's arrest than he presented himself to the Marquis [del Guasto], and declared a few matters of little importance in which he had been concerned, though, being afterwards cross-examined by Antonio de Leyva, he denied everything. That Captain having uttered some angry words about him, Tusignano quitted Milan and returned to Genoa. He (Sanchez) fancies that the Doge's secretary may possibly owe gratitude to the Duke for some past favours, and that for that reason he is in communication with Sforza's partisans; but whatever his guilt may be in this matter, he (Soria) is sure that the Doge has nothing to do with it.

Must not omit a rather disagreeable occurrence which took place since his last despatch, though, luckily, it has had no bad consequences. On the arrival of the three Spanish galleys at Monaco, with the infantry on board, the Genoese captain declared that he would forthwith return (to Genoa) with his six galleys. The Spanish captains protested against such a proceeding, and asked to see the Doge's written order to that effect, and, as it could not be produced, seized on the galleys of Genoa, declaring that they should be cut to pieces or sunk rather than be allowed to go back [to Genoa], and create such disturbance in the Imperial army as that which would be caused by their return. The Doge and Community were rather angry at this, which they emphatically called "the seizure of their ships by the Emperor's soldiers;" but on his (Soria) representing that he had previously shown the Doge his own orders to Don Francisco de Requesens; that as he (the Doge) had made no objection whatever at the time, nor explained the necessity for his galleys to return to Genoa, he could not reasonably expect that the three Spanish galleys should remain alone at Monaco, and be the cause of such anxiety in the Imperial camp, where, as he well knew, the speedy arrival of the Duke of Bourbon was confidently expected. The Doge's reply was that he did not wish his galleys to be manned by Spanish infantry; but upon Soria observing that in case of an attack at sea (*afruenta*) his galleys could make but a weak defence, being insufficiently manned, he consented that each of his six should take 20 Spaniards on board.

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The bearer of this, Hernando Yciz,* goes in one of the Genoese galleys; also Thomas de Fornariis, a rich and influential citizen of this place, from both of whom His Imperial Majesty will learn many particulars respecting the state of affairs here, which would take too long to relate in writing.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter received from Count della Mirandola, giving an account of certain negotiations between the Pope and the Switzers. He (Soria) does not believe that matters are as far advanced between them as the Count says; but there can be no doubt that the fortifications of Modena are being proceeded with, and those of Parma and Piacenza increased, which is an evident sign that the Pope fears that war may be undertaken against his Estates.

Begs for the title-deeds of the estate and castle of Gavi, which the late Marquis of Pescara, and, after him, the Marquis of Guasto, granted him (Soria) in the Emperor's name, as a reward for his long services. As the Duke of Milan would not surrender the castle, he was obliged to besiege it with a force raised at his own expense, and took it after a siege of four months. It is a very important fortress, being situated in the confines of Lombardy and close to the Genoese territory. Has appointed a warder (*alcayde*) with a competent garrison, at a cost of 500 ducats per annum, the rent of the whole estate being scarcely 1,000.

News has been received here that Andrea Doria, with his galleys and two brigantines, has sailed from Villafranca de Niça; in what direction is not known. Yesterday a servant of the Grand Master of Rhodes (Villiers de l'Isle Adam) passed by here on his way to Rome, bearing, as he said, orders for the galleys of the Order [of St. John] to go to Provence.

This Community have already begun to fit out the four caracks which are to be sent [to Spain] in readiness for the Emperor's intended visit [to Italy].—Genoa, 27 April 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 27th Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 188). *pp.* 4½.

28 April. **405.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. P'a. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp. No. 73.

On the 19th inst. a courier left this town with letters for His Imperial Majesty, wherein the precarious state of this army and Estate were fully described. Previous to that date, on the 14th, he (the Abbot) had written to say how, in order to

* A servant of the Marquis del Guasto, elsewhere called *Ciz.*

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meet the pressing wants of the Imperial army, it had been decided to ask from the merchants (*mercadantes*) a loan of 15,000 crowns with a proportionate interest. But that very day, after the courier's departure, something happened which spread alarm through the city; and had it not been for the prudence and courage displayed on the occasion by the Imperial commanders, might have caused its destruction and ruin.

The case was this: Soon after the departure of the courier, on the 19th inst., the Vicar (*Vicario de la Provision*) and the deputies of this city called upon the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, to protest against the intolerable burdens imposed upon the citizens, and request that part of the Imperial forces, at least, should be removed from this Estate. The generals, after duly consulting about the matter with the captains and officers of this army, considering that the country is completely exhausted, and that any further demands upon the inhabitants would only drive them to despair; considering also that the troops, for want of pay, are on the verge of mutiny, decided to comply with the request of the deputies. Accordingly orders were given for four banners of infantry to go to the marquisate of Montferrato, and 10 more to Piedmont; besides which, six companies of men-at-arms and 600 light horse (who, by the way, are dying of hunger) were to be sent to the territory about Asti and to the marquisate of Cevá. The men were ready to march to their different quarters when suddenly a counter-order was given, and six more companies of infantry, taken from those stationed in the neighbourhood, were made to advance upon the city, owing to a tumultuary rising of the inhabitants, which took place as follows:

Perceiving that out of the 15,000 cr. loan only 10,000 had been obtained, and that, in consequence of instructions received from Spain on the 26th inst., 25,000 were required to meet the immediate wants of this Imperial army, it was resolved to raise that sum at any risk. Therefore, after getting 13,000 more cr. from the merchants and other wealthy citizens, on the same terms and with the same interest as the preceding loan, certain warrants were issued and distributed among private individuals and officials of this city, calling upon them to advance—each according to his means and on the same conditions—the money required for the completion of that sum. Upon the refusal, however, of some of them to pay the allotted sum, the army provost (*Capitan de Justicia*) sent a few soldiers to each of the refractory citizens, to stay at their houses and levy a fine (*espesa*), as customary on such occasions. One of those who most resisted payment happened to be a rich town officer (*oficial*), who not only shut himself up, but would not give admittance to the Provost guard (*soldados de justicia*), who tried in vain to force the doors. The neighbours coming to the assistance of the town officer, a scuffle

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ensued, in which the Provost's men got the worst, and were obliged to seek refuge in the quarters of the Germans, who came down armed in numbers. God Almighty permitted that Antonio de Leyva, who happened to be close by, should arrive in time to prevent seven or eight Germans, who were in the market-place buying provisions for their comrades, from being murdered by the rioters. The Marquis del Guasto also came to the spot; and between the two they managed to stop the Germans, who wanted to sack the place.

Shortly after this the city deputies came to beg for mercy, alleging that the origin of the riot was simply the belief of the people that a new tax (*tallon*) was about to be imposed. To remove all cause of discontent, the Marquis and Leyva promised not to make any more exactions or bring fresh troops into Milan; but they declared, at the same time, that none of the infantry in the place should be sent away, and that the Spaniards who were quartered 10 miles off, and had received orders to stop, should continue their march and encamp close to the city walls. In short, that they had taken measures for their security and the protection of the Estate.

Such being the state of affairs, His Imperial Majesty is humbly requested to provide means for his army, as there are no resources left, and the credit of the generals is entirely ruined. Indeed, their last expedient has been to borrow money from the captains and soldiers of this Imperial army. Antonio de Leyva himself lent, the other day, 2,000 cr., which he took on bills payable at Naples at 15 days' date, and has, besides, pledged silver-plate, jewels and costly articles of dress, to the amount of 2,000 more. The Marquis del Guasto, though greatly in debt just now, has likewise pledged some of his own jewels and wearing apparel. In this manner the remainder of last month's pay has been issued to the Germans, to whom another will be due in two days hence. To meet which, and to be the better able to await the promised relief, it has been decided to make a fresh loan among the captains and soldiers of this Imperial army, though without much hope of success, for the people are poor, and those who earned some money in the battle [of Pavia] have long ago sent it home. This expedient was tried once before, in Pescara's lifetime, when the sum collected was so insignificant that it is not likely to succeed better now, especially as the sums borrowed on that occasion were never repaid, which is a very potent reason for the captains and men of this army not to lend what little money they have left. Nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty may rest assured of one thing, that no means shall be spared by his generals and ministers in Italy to keep up the army.

When, after Morone's arrest, the Marquis of Pescara took possession of this Duchy in the Emperor's name, he consented that out of its ordinary revenues 50,000 cr. should be applied every year to the payment of the 200,000 borrowed

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by the Duke Francesco Sforza and the said Morone, his secretary.* It was, moreover, agreed that, for the better settlement of the said debt, a certain quantity of State lands should be sold; and as some of the creditors seemed desirous of such an arrangement, a mandate has been issued, similar to the one which appeared then in the Duke's name. Copies of both are enclosed,† that His Imperial Majesty may have them examined, and returned with his approval, and that these people may see that our deeds agree with our words.

Since the above was written, the Vicar (*Vicario de la Provision*) and the city deputies have come to the Marquis and to Leyva to complain that, although they are the faithful subjects and vassals of His Imperial Majesty, and have suffered so much in his service, they are yet so unkindly treated. They say they have had letters from their ambassadors in Spain, stating that after a most gracious audience from the Emperor, at which they presented the memorandum of the articles they wished to obtain for this city, they were told that a suitable answer should be given to their claims at the same time that the Duke's affairs were definitively settled.‡ As these people see that after so long a confinement the Duke has not yet been declared guilty, they naturally fancy that he has in no way incurred the Emperor's displeasure, and that even if he should ultimately forfeit his favour, he will nevertheless be maintained in his Estate. Hence they fear the Duke may hereafter punish them for the oath of allegiance recently given, and for other similar demonstrations made in the Imperial service. Begs, most humbly, that the said ambassadors may be kindly entertained, and impressed with the Imperial munificence, so that they may write home and confirm their friends in their devotion. This can be easily obtained without entailing any declaration from His Imperial Majesty as to what his ultimate designs respecting this Estate and the Duke Francesco may be.

No news of the Pope, Venetians or Switzers. The fortifications of Parma, Piacenza and Modena are still being increased, by order of the Pope; and, on our side, those of several towns in this Duchy are being actively proceeded with.

Respecting this castle and the Duke Francesco there is nothing new to report. It is generally believed that the garrison has only provisions for one month. Would to God they had only food for half that time, and that the Duke would attempt to escape to Venice—as the rumour was these last few days! The report, however, cannot be true; for, besides the double guard on the trenches, which would render his escape difficult, we are positively assured that he himself is not in a condition to leave his bed, much less to ride on

* No doubt to pay the investiture price, which amounted to that sum.

† Not in the volume.

‡ *See* the Emperor's letter to the Abbot of the 27th April, No. 402, p. 664. The names of the ambassadors, according to Guicciardini, lib. XVII., were Francesco Crivelli and Giovanni Andrea Castiglioni.

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horseback and try so dangerous an experiment.—Milan, 24 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Postscripta.—On the 25th inst., at the 23d hour, the garrison of this castle sallied out to skirmish as usual with our men at the trenches; when the alarm being given by some of the lowest rabble (*plebanos*)—always desirous to create confusion and see how they can plunder—the people collected in the market-place, whence, with banners unfolded and drums beating, they marched in the direction of the castle, just at the time that about 100 of the garrison were making a sally. Hearing which, the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva hastened to the spot, and, placing themselves at the head of the Germans, gave the besieged a good drubbing, and compelled them to fall back behind their walls. The townspeople dared not approach nearer—though they occupied some of the streets and lanes leading to the German quarters—and were at last repulsed with considerable loss. The Imperialists had four men killed in this affair; a servant of the Marquis del Guasto and a page of Antonio de Leyva, besides two Germans, one of whom was slain by a shot from the castle.

Perceiving that their attempt to relieve the garrison had proved ineffectual, the townspeople begged Francesco Visconti, the head of that noble house, and other gentlemen of rank, who from the very beginning had tried, though in vain, to appease the tumult, to go to the Palace, offer their excuses to the generals, and implore pardon for them. It was at 6 o'clock of the night that the deputation arrived, when the Marquis and Leyva, perceiving that the citizens in general had taken no part in the affair, and that the conspiracy had been planned and got up solely by a few malefactors of the lowest class, readily consented to the request of the deputies on condition that all citizens should immediately lay down their arms and retire to their dwellings. Such, however, was the number of those who had taken up arms that it was day-break before the people returned to their homes and the city was restored to quietness, which gave the ringleaders abundant time to quit the place and escape the deserved punishment.

To-day, the 27th, a general pardon has been proclaimed throughout the city, and people's minds are more calm in consequence of the assurance given to them by the Imperial generals that no more forces will be brought to Milan. Orders, therefore, have been sent to the Spaniards—who, hearing of the popular rising, and fancying that our lives were in danger, were hastening from all sides to our assistance—to stop where they are. Such, with God's help, has been the result of this affair.* May He be praised for it!

* The Abbot, in his private letter to Soria (No. 398), as well as in that which he wrote conjointly with Guasto and Leyva (No. 400), does not seem to attach so

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Great have been the services of the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva on this occasion, for not only have they been on the spot wherever there was danger, but warded off a catastrophe by placing the Germans in certain military positions, and stopping their fury, when, irritated by resistance, they wanted to rush into the heart of the city. The order which was sent to the Spanish infantry in time to stop their march and return to their quarters proved equally beneficial, for some of them had already reached the gates of this city, and, eager for revenge, as they were, nothing could have prevented their sacking and burning it to ashes. In order to guard against a similar attempt in future, and the better to disarm the people—which is the very first thing these generals have agreed to do—14 companies of Spanish infantry have been posted at different villages round this city, and at a distance of 10 or 12 miles.

But notwithstanding the above military precautions and other prudent measures adopted by the Imperial generals, certain it is that the inhabitants, oppressed as they are by the intolerable burden of a large army living upon them, and having besides in prospect this contingent of further 14 companies taking up their quarters in this city without any other food or money but what they can procure by sheer plunder, are almost driven to despair. It therefore behoves His Imperial Majesty to make such a provision that the Imperial army may henceforth live on its own resources.

Juan de Urbina, who happened to be here at the time of the rising, with only two hackbutters, has performed wonders in the defence of certain narrow streets where he took up a position. This is by no means the first feat of arms accomplished by this brave officer, who well deserves the Emperor's consideration and reward. The same might be said of Captain Corbera, who accidentally found himself in the midst of the fight, and behaved like a true soldier.

The war-cry of the garrison on the night they sallied out was *Duca, Duca! Papa, Papa! Marco, Marco!* His Imperial Majesty will thereby judge how far this agrees with Giulino's report.*—Milan, 28 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 24 and 28 April."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 12.

much importance to the rising of the Milanese as this official despatch to the Emperor seems to imply.

* The same individual elsewhere called Gilino.

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28 April. **406.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 200.

After despatching the brigantine to Monego (Monaco), with orders for the galleys to set sail [for Spain] for Mons. de Bourbon, there came letters [to him] from the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera, of which the enclosed is a copy,* relating to the late occurrences at Milan, which seem to have been of some importance. (*Cipher:*) Although it is therein stated that everything was quiet at Milan, there are other letters from Pavia, of the 27th, stating that citizens and soldiers were still fighting against each other; that the Milanese had taken possession of the city gates and gutted the residence of the Marquis del Guasto and Leyva; that the roads had been cut up, the country had everywhere risen against the Imperialists, some men-at-arms had even been insulted and robbed, and a few soldiers slain in their quarters.† Some companies of [Spanish] infantry were already posted between Milan and Pavia, and ready to enter the former city, and great commotion was apprehended. He (Soria) thinks all this is the work of the Venetians or of the Pope, perhaps of both together.—Genoa, 28 Apr. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 28 Apr. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1½.

29 April. **407.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 217.

The tumult is not yet completely appeased at Milan, owing to some of the ringleaders not having yet left the city, whilst others who fled are returning. The gravity of the case, and the 14 companies of Spanish infantry quartered round Milan, make them fancy that there will be no amnesty for them. Nothing will be left undone on our part to calm the minds of the people, but anything may be expected, exasperated as they are by this Imperial army, which consumes and destroys them.

(*Cipher:*) Encloses a letter from Alonso Sanchez, showing the state of things at Venice and the close alliance of the confederates with the Pope against His Imperial Majesty. The news is of such importance that they (Guasto and Leyva)

* *See* Nos. 398 and 400, pp. 659, 661.

† "Y que en el pais habian esbalciado (*sic*) algunos hombres de armas." *Esbalciado* is not a Spanish word. I take it to be a corruption of the Italian "svaliggiato;" in Spanish *desbalijado.*

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have not hesitated to despatch the present courier in all haste, that he may reach Spain before or at the same time as the Venetian one, who, according to Sanchez, is going to France by way of the Switzers.

Two things, in his opinion, are likely to encourage the confederates in their plans. One is the idea that this Imperial army must be disbanded for want of money and quarters; the other, their confidence—nay certainty—that the French King will not fulfil the conditions of the treaty. It might well be, after all, that in order to give money rather than land—in which idea the confederates are perhaps strengthening him—the King listened to these Italians. In that case nothing will prevent them from making league together. Some say that the Duke of Ferrara is daily being urged to join the confederacy. Perhaps when he has lost all hope of serving the Emperor he might be induced to make common cause with our enemies.

(*Common writing:*) The Archduke has been duly informed of these Venetian and Papal intrigues, that he may be on his guard and in readiness for an emergency.—Milan, 29 Apr. 1526.

Postscriptum.—Several captains of this Imperial army and other private persons, Spaniards as well as Germans and Italians, have applied for some of the estates and lands confiscated from rebels and outlaws (*foraxidos*). To avoid discontent or any occasion for new tumultuary risings (*motines*) like the past—which very often have no other origin than the ill-will and artful suggestions (*voluntad e industria*) of the interested parties themselves—the Imperial commanders have given some of them to be held in administration under the *Camara* of Milan, and have also filled up certain vacant offices of no great importance (*algunos pequeños oficios*). This has been done, as already mentioned, in order to remove, if possible, all causes of discontent among the citizens of this place, subject, of course, to the Emperor's approval, and waiting for the arrival of the Duke [of Bourbon], on whom the grant devolves as Commander-in-Chief of this Imperial army.—Milan, date *ut supra.*

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 29 Apr."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2⅓.

29 April. **408.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 216.

Writes by one of the Pope's couriers, who goes to Spain in all haste. The Doge and he (Soria) despatched two brigan-

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tines yesterday to Monaco, with order for the galleys to sail for the Duke of Bourbon. Fancies they will leave the port this very night.

Does not write about the late occurrences of Milan, because his last despatch contained all the information that could be desired; besides which, he now encloses duplicates of letters of the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva and the Abbot of Najera to him* about the popular rising in that city and other matters. Encloses also letters of the Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera, received that day.—Genoa, 29 April 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 29th Apr."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

1 May. **409.** The Emperor to the Abbot of Najera.

Arch. Hist. Cent. Madrid. *Priv. y Cart. Re. de Sta. Mar. d. Najera.*

Letter of credence in favour of Don Ugo de Moncada, Prior of Mesina and Santa Eufemia, of our Privy Council, &c., who goes to Italy for the purpose of promoting our affairs, and for the benefit of the public cause.—Seville, 1st of May 1526. "I, the King. By His Majesty's command, Joan Vallés, in the absence of Secretary Soria."

Addressed: "To the Abbot of Najera, Commissary of the Imperial Army in Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

2 May. **410.** Instructions to Don Iñigo de Mendoça.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 2.

The Emperor and King. What you, Don Iñigo de Mendoça, now going as our ambassador to England, are to do, &c:

1stly. To pass through Flanders and wait upon Madame, our good aunt, and, after showing her these present instructions, to request she will appoint one of our councillors [in those parts], of sufficient learning and experience in English affairs and everything else relating to the intercourse of trade between the two nations, who may accompany and assist you in the said embassy.

2dly. Arrived in England, you will give our letters to the King, to the Queen, our aunt, and to the Cardinal, offering to each of them our most cordial commendations in the best possible manner; and if they should inquire about us, you will say that We have hitherto been prevented by press of work from writing or sending a fit person to visit them in our name. You shall inquire after them, and beg they will send us news of their good health, &c.

* They are the same already abstracted. *See* above, pp. 659–61.

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3dly. As soon as an opportunity occurs, you are to inform the King, our brother, and also the Legate, that for the prosecution of the business now pending between us two, and often discussed by his own ambassadors—as well by those who are now back in England as by Doctor Lee, at present residing in this our Court—We send you and the person from Flanders whom Madame may be pleased to appoint with sufficient powers to treat, settle and conclude on any matters tending to the consolidation of our mutual friendship and good understanding.

4thly. You shall endeavour to ascertain what the King's intentions are on this particular point, and how he purposes to negotiate, taking care to inform us and Madame, our aunt, of anything you may happen to observe in the course of the negotiation.

5thly. Should the King refuse to come forward and return an answer to our offers before knowing our intentions respecting the renewal of the said friendship, you will tell him, in general terms, that anything he may propose and suggest for the preservation and defence of our kingdoms, as well as for our common prosperity and repose, shall be readily accepted by us. And you shall take care to put down the King's answer in writing, and communicate the same to our aunt [in Flanders] and to ourselves, that We may inform you of our good pleasure thereupon.

6thly. As it is most likely that the said King, before entertaining the subject, will claim the sums which he alleges are owing to him, and the payment of which has often been demanded by his ambassador [Doctor Lee], you and your colleague, whoever he may be, will shield our honour and reputation, anticipating any such claims, and endeavouring to show in the best manner and in the mildest possible terms that the delay in the payment of the said sums is solely to be attributed to the causes to be expressed hereafter.

7thly. With regard to the sums claimed on account of the indemnity, as stipulated in the treaty of Windsor, you will represent that had it not been for the enormous and almost incredible expenses of the late war, We should never have thought of delaying the payment of the said money or in any way contravening the stipulations of the treaty. Thanks be to God, the money was spent to such advantage in ensuring us the most complete success at Pavia that the King of England was enabled to settle his own affairs with the King of France, who has since promised to meet all claims that might be brought against us on account of the said indemnity, binding himself by one* of the articles of the treaty recently concluded [at Madrid], to make over to the King, my brother, any sums that might be owing to him on account of the afore-

* The 19th in the "Concordia" of Madrid. *See* Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, tom. I., p. 711.

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said indemnity. You may, if required, show the King and Legate the article alluded to, and also, if our good aunt [Madame Margaret] should deem it opportune, the whole of the said treaty [of Madrid], whereof We enclose you copy. And whatever answer the said King and Legate shall make you on this particular, you shall not fail to inform us post-haste by express messenger.

8thly. With regard to the other debts, old and new, amounting in all to the sum of 150,000 cr. of the Sun, lent to us by the King at different times, that is to say, 100,000 for the expenses of our journey back to Spain, and 50,000 more for the defence of the duchy of Milan against the French, you will represent that We should willingly have paid, long ago, the said debt had not the various accidents and heavy expenses of the late campaign prevented us from meeting our engagements. But as the King, our brother, was equally interested in the issue of the war—which has since turned out so much to our common advantage—We hope that he will excuse us if, contrary to our wishes and intentions, We have hitherto been compelled to postpone the payment of the said sums, promising once more, in the most solemn manner, to discharge our debt towards him at the earliest possible date, even if We have to pawn and mortgage for that purpose part of our patrimonial kingdoms and estates. If, in the course of the negotiation, allusion should be made to the large sums granted to us by the last Cortes of Toledo,* as well as to those obtained from the King of Portugal [Joaõ III.] in consideration of our marriage to his daughter [Isabella], you may answer that the greater portion of that money went towards paying the many debts We had contracted for the prosecution of the late war, and that the small sum We received from Portugal, after deducting what We owed the said King, our father-in-law, must now be spent for the support of our armies in Italy, as well as for our intended journey to those parts, and subsequent coronation in Rome, since it is highly important that both the King, our brother, and ourselves should make every effort to uphold and maintain a peace through which he and his kingdom are to be so much benefited, besides obtaining from France a speedy settlement of his (Henry's) money claims. And should the King make any allusion to the 800,000 ducats which our subjects of Spain have lately granted us in consideration of our said marriage to the Princess of Portugal, you will say that the long dates assigned for the payment of the said grant do not allow us to dispose of that money as soon as We should otherwise have wished, since it is to be paid by instalments three years hence, and not before the expiration of the period at which the previous sum, already spent and consumed, was granted. So that four years will elapse before We can appropriate the aforesaid grant,

* In September 1525.

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which We fully intend—after such deduction as may be required for our own defence—to apply to the payment of the said 150,000 crowns of the Sun owed by us to the King, our brother, whom We earnestly request to accept our excuses for, owing to the above reasons, having hitherto been prevented from discharging this debt.

9thly. Should the King consent to grant us reasonable time within which to meet our said debt towards him, and ask you what securities We are ready to offer, you may assure him of our readiness to give such pledges and securities as he may demand, and to order part of the above service money, as it comes in, to be at once destined and consigned to the payment of our debt. Should you obtain this from the King, you will inform us, as soon as possible, of the fact, and in the meantime use every endeavour to preserve the friendly terms at present existing between us and the King, our brother, without giving him cause to listen to any overtures of our enemies.

10thly. Respecting other and older debts—such as the money once borrowed by our grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, in his own name, and during our minority, and for which the King, our brother, has still in his hands a proportionate security, such as the diamond jewel in the shape of a "fleur de lis,"—you will say that, after consulting Madame, our aunt, as to the amount and quality of the said debts, We are ready to pay any sums owed by us and our said grandfather, the Emperor. But, in order to gain time, you will feign ignorance of these matters, and ask to see and inspect the public deeds and the engagements made on that occasion and all other papers relating thereto, sending us attested copy of the same, as well as a transcript of the King's decision and the time fixed for the payment, that We may deliberate on the whole and signify our pleasure to you.

11thly. The last and most important point to be discussed and settled by you and your colleague is the commercial intercourse between our dominions [of Flanders] and the kingdom of England; the wool trade; the Staple of Calais; the tolls (*tolins*) of Gravelingues and Antwerp; the coin currency; the duties to be levied on clothing and other manufactures imported in England from Flanders and Spain, or coming from that country into our said kingdoms; and everything else concerning the welfare and prosperity of our subjects, especially those of Flanders. To which end Madame, our aunt, after having the ancient treaties of commerce existing between the two nations properly examined and inspected in our Council [of Flanders], will prepare and send such instructions and memoranda as may guide you in the negotiation, with this proviso, that the instruction is to refer exclusively to the commercial intercourse between our Low Countries and England, not in any way to the trade of these our kingdoms [of Spain], whose laws and habits are different, and respecting which particular instructions shall hereafter be forwarded to

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you, that you may negotiate accordingly, taking, however, care not to conclude anything before consulting us and knowing our pleasure.

12thly. With regard to commercial intercourse between these our realms and the kingdom of England We shall shortly send you a copy of the ancient treaties of commerce made with the Catholic Kings of glorious memory, that you may treat and negotiate accordingly. But you shall not conclude anything without consulting us first and knowing our opinion and wishes on every one of the points under discussion, taking care to advise us as fully and secretly as you can, by means of your ordinary cipher, of the progress of the negotiation.*—Seville, ——— of ——————— 1526.

Indorsed: "Instructions to Don Iñigo de Mendoça, 2 May 1526."

French. Original draft. pp. 9.

4 May. S. E. L. 1554, f. 526.

411. The EMPEROR to the INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND DUCHY OF MILAN.

Enumerates at full length the sacrifices he (the Emperor) has made to procure a peace and put an end to the miseries of war, by which they (the Milanese) have suffered so much. His enemies have rejected his offers. Has been accused of aiming at universal empire and wishing to become a tyrant, whereas his only object has been the peace and welfare of Christianity. —Seville, 4 May 1526.

Addressed: "Imperator Mediolanensibus."

Latin. Original draft, in the handwriting of Alphonso Valdés, one of the Emperor's secretaries. p. 1.

4 May. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 222-9.

412. The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

His last despatch went by a Papal courier on the 23d of April last; the duplicate by way of Genoa. Since then the report is gaining ground here that the French King will not give up Burgundy, as agreed. His Holiness is also of that opinion, and has heard, besides, from Bourdeaux that it is a settled thing. No cession of territory is to be made, but there will be, instead, compensation money to a large amount,† of which, most likely, Italy will pay her share.

* The date of this minute, which was probably drawn on the day specified in the endorsement, is not filled up, as was the case in most drafts emanating from the Imperial Chancery at this time.

† To a memorandum or summary of this letter in A. 39, f. 218, the following note is appended, in Gattinara's handwriting: "It is quite true that the King of France has not yet fulfilled his promises, on the plea that the Estates of his kingdom will not allow him, and that he offers to pay, instead, two millions of money. But it is also true that we do not agree to this, and insist upon his fulfilling the treaty in all its parts. As to the bad treatment of which he complains, that is a pure invention, &c."

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(*Cipher :*) On various occasions has the Pope bewailed to him (Sessa) of the little credit he has at the Emperor's court, and how, moved by filial love, he has done all he could for the Imperial interests. He now perseveres in the same intentions; but seeing that no efforts are made to secure his friendship, he will, in the end, be obliged to call at another door where he may be well received; not that he considers this step as at all dangerous to the Emperor, but because he does not choose to be made the plaything of Fortune (*el juguete de la Fortuna*) any longer. The Duke replied as suitably as possible, and concluded by telling His Holiness that it was publicly said at Rome that he (the Pope) and the Venetians were inciting the French King not to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and thus come to a rupture. This he denied upon oath, adding that he had been every day solicited by his friends to take France's part, and would have done it long ago had it not been that he wishes to remain the Emperor's friend and ally.

His Imperial Majesty's answer to the Pope's last letter concerning the message brought by Pero Hernandez is anxiously expected. In the ambassador's opinion, the hope of its being favourable still retains the Pope from joining the confederates.

(*Common writing :*) A certain Ruberto Ayaçola (Acciajoli), who enjoys the Pope's favour and has been appointed member of his Council, is now going to France as ambassador from Florence. He has the reputation of being a very wise and learned man, and Sessa believes him to have full powers to treat. He goes by way of the Switzers, and not by the usual postal road. It may be safely asserted that until the said Ruberto arrives [in France], no decision will be come to here [at Rome]; and in the meantime such an answer may come [from Spain] as may satisfy all parties.

(*Cipher :*) Letters from England, of the 27th, have also been received. They confirm the news conveyed in the ambassador's last despatch, namely, that they (the English) wish to help the French, and are secretly encouraging them, so that the quarrel may last longer, and that they may, in the end, be the arbitrators of peace, as they imagine they were on the last occasion.

(*Common writing :*) The army of Lombardy is in such a state of demoralisation and want that unless proper remedy be applied it will be the ruin of the Estate. The Milanese, too, have lately lost all respect, and risen tumultuously against the Emperor's ministers, thus affording the Spanish infantry an excuse for sacking their city and destroying them, which the Imperial generals have great difficulty in preventing. This, indeed, would be highly detrimental to the Emperor's interests, besides being a burden on his conscience as a Christian monarch, and therefore must by some means be avoided. So considerable are the extortions of all kinds and the taxes imposed on the inhabitants that one half of the sum collected

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would have been quite sufficient, if properly managed, to defray all the expenses of the Imperial army.

(*Cipher:*) Both the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva write to say that in the judicial inquiry just instituted upon the occurrences at Milan, Bernardino de la Barba, the Pope's Nuncio residing in that city, appears guilty. The Pope has sworn to him (Sessa) that he knows nothing about it, and is quite ready to recall him and have him properly punished, if, after perusal of the legal inquiry (*informacion*) and other papers, he (the Pope) should find that he had incited the rioters. He (Sessa) has written to Milan asking for it.

Count Guido Rengon (Rangone) has vindicated himself of the charge brought against him. He says that, whilst in charge of Modena,* he heard that the Duke of Ferrara increased his forces at Rezzo (Reggio). Perceiving that many Italians lately dismissed from the Imperial army were going the way [of Reggio], and suspecting they might take service with the Duke, he (Rangone) tried to ascertain from one Jacopo Sirapan, an intimate friend of Marramao, the colonel of the said Italian infantry, what their designs were. For this sole purpose, and in order to guess from his answer what they were about, he (Rangone) had proposed to Sirapan to enter into some sort of contract with His Holiness.

Letters from Hungary confirm the report of the Turk's invasion of that kingdom. The Pope has sent already 60,000 ducats, and promises to send as much as he can in future.—Rome, 4 May 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Cesar, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Duke of Sessa, 4th May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3½.

4 May. **413.** COMMANDER HERRERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 237.

(*Cipher:*) Advices from France state that the King spoke to Cappino, the man whom the Pope sent to him with the Secretary of Venice (Andrea Rosso), and complained of his not having been well treated [whilst in Spain], and that he had heard [at Madrid] that the Emperor was to come to Italy in August; that the Archduke [Ferdinand] would also come down with an army, and have a large estate given to him in Romania. He (Herrera) cannot believe that His Imperial Majesty ever told the King anything like this; no doubt

* "Que teniendo cura de la guarda de Modena."

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the latter is only spreading these and similar rumours to incite the Italian powers to do all they can to prevent the Emperor's journey.

(*Common writing:*) The courier who was to have taken his despatch of the 29th ult. has been delayed until this day, owing to which reason and to the Duke of Sessa having written since, he (Herrera) need not repeat its contents, but only refer to his colleague's letter. Both wait for instructions in answer to their joint despatch of the 16th March.—Rome, 4 May 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

Postscriptum (*in cipher*).—Since writing the above, Herrera has heard that His Holiness wishes the Emperor to send his powers to some person who may bring to an end the pending negotiations, and that he is about to write to his Legate [in Spain] and also to His Imperial Majesty about it. His (Herrera's) advice—and that of all the good servants of the Empire—is, that unless the treaty with the French King binds him very strictly, the Pope's offers ought to be accepted and his friendship secured.—Rome, *ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Herrera, 4 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

4 May. **414.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 257.

Wrote on the 27th and 28th of last month by the galleys that were at Monaco, and that left [for Spain] on Monday the 30th. That very day, according to advices, Andrea Doria, with his six galleys, had sailed from Antibo in the direction of Rome, where, it was said, he was to take service with the Pope.

(*Cipher:*) Hopes the Imperial fleet has had a prosperous voyage and reached Barcelona in safety. This will enable Mons. de Bourbon to return to Italy as soon as possible and bring money (*recaudo*) with him. The army, he hears, is in great distress, and the generals afraid of a mutiny. They had been obliged lately to raise a sort of forced loan (*tallon*) of 12,000 ducats on the captains of the army, and had written to him (Soria) to send them at least 3,000 ducats, which he had raised among his own personal friends and remitted to Milan.

His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of the Milan riots on the 25th of last month. Everything is quiet now; and they write to say that all the property (*ropa*) taken from the dwellings of the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva

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and other private individuals (*otros particulares*) has been duly restored. Nevertheless, the Milanese are still agitated and discontented; and had they the assistance of some other power, there is no saying what they might do against the Emperor. The intrigues of the confederates continue; and it is publicly asserted that the French King will not fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

On the 29th last a Papal courier passed through this place; he said he was going to Spain.—Genoa, 4 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 4 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

8 May. **415.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 245.

Wrote on the 29th of April, announcing the popular rising [at Milan]. Since then the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva have made a report, giving details, explaining the origin, &c. As he himself had a share in the said official report, drawn up by the Imperial generals, and which Bartholomé de Tassis now takes to Spain, he (the Abbot) need not dwell any longer on the subject, and will only confirm their statements. The said Bartholomé will, besides, inform the Emperor by word of mouth of the desperate condition of this army, and, consequently, of the insecurity of this Estate unless a prompt remedy be applied. Were the Imperial troops to be provided with money for their wants, the inhabitants would be happier and more contented than ever they were, and the intrigues of those who do not wish the Emperor to come [to Italy] would cease at once.

The fortifications of Parma and Piacenza are being carried out more actively than ever. Letters from Pavia, of the 7th inst., state that the Papal Vice-Legate in the latter city had issued orders that no provisions of any sort should be brought to Milan from the lands of the Church. To-day advices have been received that His Holiness has ordered all fortresses in the Piacentine to be dismantled, and Piacenza and another town called Castil de San Giovanne, on the frontiers of Pavia (*del Pavés*), to be considerably strengthened. All these are symptoms of the fear these people have of the Emperor's intended visit.—Milan, 8 May 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526, at Granada. From the Abbot of Najera, 8 May. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1⅓.

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8 May. **416.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 241.

Since his letter of the 4th, of which a duplicate is enclosed, Andrea Doria has been within sight of this port with his six galleys and two brigantines. He arrived on the 6th, remained at anchor for nearly six hours, and went away on the evening of the same day, without committing any act of hostility or causing any disturbance (*alteracion*) among the citizens. He is going to Rome, to take service with the Pope, as agreed. But, some days previous to his arrival, the said Doria met and captured at sea a caravel from Barcelona, bound for this port with merchandise, belonging to people of Florence and Niça, in which caravel there were 12 Spaniards as passengers. These Doria took prisoners, and destined to the service of the oars in his own galleys, although he let the caravel go without touching her cargo, which would show that he is intent upon doing all the harm he can to the Emperor's subjects. He (Soria) has written to the Duke [of Sessa] about it, that he may acquaint the Pope with Doria's misdeeds, and tell him how very shameful it is that captains who are in his pay should, in time of peace, make war on the Emperor's vassals, especially at a time when he (Soria) is known to have instructed Don Francisco de Requesens—now in command of the Spanish and Genoese galleys that went to fetch Bourbon—to use all possible courtesy towards him (Doria), if he happened to meet him at sea under the Papal flag.

(*Cipher :*) Should His Imperial Majesty decide on having this pirate (*ladron*) punished as he deserves, a mere order will be sufficient ; and when Portundo comes back, the thing will be done very easily. He shall be attacked and properly punished, wherever he may be found, whether at sea or in any port of the Papal Estates where he may have taken refuge. It will be one of the most signal services ever rendered to the Emperor.

The negotiations between the Pope and the Venetians, and of both those powers with France, are as brisk as ever. They are now trying to induce some towns in Lombardy to take up arms against the Imperial army, which, judging from what the generals write, is sadly in want of money and provisions.

(*Common writing :*) The Florentines are now sending ambassadors to France. It is also reported that Juanin (Giovannino) is in that country, and that he is arming at Ancona two galleys and two galleons, the destination of which is unknown.

(*Cipher :*) We are here with our eyes wide open (*con los ojos abiertos*), dreading some attack of the enemy, for, besides the ardent partiality of the Fregosi—always prone to create disturbances—the absolute want of money, and the delicate health of the Doge—always suffering from the gout (*puagre*)—there

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are many other causes for apprehension. Should the French King and the Italian confederates attempt anything, they are sure to begin by Genoa, so as to deprive us of the advantage of its port, especially as our enemies know that there are no galleys now to defend it. These considerations and others that might be pointed out make it imperative that the Spanish galleys now at Naples, where they are doing nothing, should be sent here.—Genoa, 8 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 8 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. $2\frac{1}{3}$.

8 May. **417.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 247.

After writing from Chamary (Chamberi), he (Hurtado) came here (Torino) and heard that part of the Imperial army was to be quartered in this Duchy. Wrote immediately to the generals in command, as well as to the Abbot of Najera, entreating them not to do it, telling them how utterly wasted and ruined the country is; how much Mons. [the Duke] of Savoy would feel the breach of our promise, and that their subjects would rather turn Moors (*tornarse Moros*) than consent to such indignity. Got no answer to his request, though they wrote to him about other matters, and he decided to despatch to them one of his own servants to warn them of the danger of so rash a measure. No reply was made; neither did the Imperial generals write—as it was their duty—a letter of excuse to the Duke and Duchess. The consequence has been that the companies of light horse that were formerly in the county of Asti, two companies of Italian infantry and eight more of Spaniards under Captain Aponte have already entered the Duchy, and are so ravaging the land, according to the Duke's version, that the excesses of the past are nothing in comparison of those they are now committing on their way. What the Duke feels, above all things, is that these new-comers seem to have made some sort of compact with the Italian bands of the Marchioness of Saluzzo in the Carmagnole, close upon his territory, and they are coming as so many enemies without giving him proper notice. The Duke is exceedingly angry, and so is the Infanta (Beatrix); because both the Duke, her husband, and he (Hurtado) assured her that never again would the Imperial troops be quartered on their estates; and she now hears that, four leagues from this city, numerous bands are actually taking up their quarters without giving warning.

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Great are, no doubt, the wants of the Imperial army; but a remedy ought to be thought of without wasting the land of so faithful an ally as the Duke has hitherto proved to be.

The inquiry about former excesses and damages is nearly finished. Intends to return to Milan in two or three days, where his presence, it would appear, is much wanted. Will wait there for orders.—Turin, 8 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Turin. Lope Hurtado, 8th May."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1½.

8 May. **418.** JEAN JONGLET, Sieur des Maretz,* to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

Has written all the news he had, and described the great solemnities with which the peace between France and England was celebrated; also the frequent visits, of a most private and familar nature, which the ambassadors residing at this Court have been paying to each other; the many couriers despatched in different directions; the rumours afloat among merchants: all which circumstances put together make him (Jonglet) fancy that there is something going on against the Emperor's interests in Italy. All this Madame must have seen by his (Jonglet's) letters. Has since written by the Pope's ambassador, who, on his way back to Rome, is to pass through Flanders. Since then a piece of news, to which the ambassador can scarcely give credit, has been circulated among the people of this capital. It is said that the castle of Milan has been revictualled; the Spaniards routed with great loss; the Germans either made prisoners or allowed to go home, and that the Emperor's journey to Italy is to be prevented at all risks. It is also publicly asserted that the King of France will not keep his treaty with the Emperor, as the Estates General of his kingdom will never sanction the dismemberment of his crown.

There is likewise a report that the Emperor intends to recover and retake from the Pope the territories and lands which once belonged to the Empire.† He (Jonglet) imagines that this and other like rumours are only spread to detach His Holiness from the Emperor's friendship and alliance.

Such are the news. Which are true and which are false the ambassador cannot say; but, in his poor opinion, there is enough in them to cause alarm. The President of Normandy (Jean Brinon) has taken leave of this King, and is returning

* He came to England to replace Jehan le Sauch.

† "Que l'Empereur veult reintegrer et reprendre le temporel que tient le Pape."

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to France. He has been very handsomely entertained, and received at his departure a rich present, consisting of a gold chain, valued at 2,000 ducats, and several pieces of plate. Jehan Jocquin remains as French ambassador; the hostages (*les hostagiers*) have been given up* and returned home (*chascun à sa chascune*), and have been very well treated by the King.

Has been obliged to quit London and take his lodgings in the country (*au villaige*), as many others have done, owing to the plague having broken out in London; and even where he now resides many deaths have occurred. The Pope's ambassador above mentioned as having taken his last letter to Madame lost three of his people. Begs to be recalled from such an unhealthy place.—London, 8 May 1526.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

10 May. **419.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 265.

Has advised up to the 4th inst. by a courier from Naples going to the Viceroy. (*Cipher:*) Since then his suspicions have been fully confirmed. The Pope has actually sent a draft of the treaty to France, to be approved of and signed there. This intelligence has come both from Milan and from Venice. What convinces him (Sessa) of this is the Pope's eagerness to despatch the last messenger to the Emperor, asking for a confidential agent (*persona propia*) with whom to treat, as if His Holiness wished to show that he had done his duty in this particular. Whatever answer be made to his overtures, if the conditions are not to his taste, he (the Pope) will have plenty of excuses for not accepting the offer.

The plots of the confederates are thicker than ever. Some days ago His Holiness was thinking of sending to Spain the General of the Franciscans, Fray Francisco de los Angeles,† to treat of the means for coming to an agreement on these matters (*para tractar medios de acordio*), but has since changed his mind. Father Francisco, as the virtuous and pious man that he is, spoke freely to His Holiness, and told him what the Romans thought and said of him, and the injury likely to result to Christianity from his present behaviour. So strongly did the Friar speak that the Pope was deeply moved, and decided to send him over to Spain; but yesterday the Pope suddenly changed his purpose, on the excuse that he wished to know first what answer His Imperial

* Probably the same alluded to elsewhere as having been given by France for the settlement of Tournay.

† Otherwise called Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, afterwards created Cardinal, under the title of Santa Croce.

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Majesty would make to his messenger. Which change, as it would appear, is merely owing to the fact of his having very lately received letters from France, assuring him that the King will not fulfil the stipulation about Burgundy, and also that he is ready to join him and the Venetians in what is called the "Italian Confederacy."*

He [Sessa] being shut up, on account of the plague, cannot verify the accuracy of this last report, but has not the least doubt that something of the kind is going on. The Viceroy, who is still at Victoria,† is sure to know what these people and the French are about, as their manner of negotiating at present sufficiently indicates what they are aiming at. Here, at Rome, the affair is exclusively conducted by Jacopo di Salviatis and El Guacachino (Il Guicciardino); the Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolao di Schomberg) has nothing to do with it, and, in fact, they do not let him into their secrets. Certainly things are in such a state that the Emperor must soon decide, either to make such arrangements as may satisfy these people, or else to pluck their feathers so that they cannot fly,‡ and then provision and strengthen the army for any emergency. In case of war it would be necessary to send to Naples 2,000 Spaniards or Germans and some cavalry, for certainly the defenceless state of that kingdom encourages these people to strive, as it were, to become the arbiters of the world (*á partir el mundo*). This precaution would be sufficient, for the resources of the confederates are not great, and we know what they can do.

(*Common writing:*) Has been shut up for the last five days, owing to one of his servants having died of the plague. Commander Herrera is outside the embassy negotiating, but they communicate with each other through a grated window.

(*Cipher:*) Has already mentioned the danger there is of the Imperial troops sacking Milan, which would be a great pity, for in such an event the whole Duchy would be so wasted and ruined that no help or provisions could be expected for some time to come. Indeed, some people here assert that the deed has already been accomplished, and that our men have plundered that city. He (Sessa) does not believe this report, not having received any news of it from the generals there, but fears it may hourly happen.

His Holiness complains of certain parties having lately set on foot intelligences within Piacenza, with a view to gain possession of that city. The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio

* More properly called the Clementine League.

† Lannoy must have left Vittoria, in the province of Alava, before this; for Francis, whom he accompanied to France, arrived at Bayonne on the 19th of March.

‡ "O abaxandolos de suerte que no les quede pluma para volar de por si."

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de Leyva have been duly informed of this.—Rome, 10 May 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. From the Duke of Sessa, 10 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

12 May. **420.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 305–6.

The King, &c.—Received his of the 17th April. Respecting the public* negotiations at Rome, the Emperor has nothing to say, as Don Ugo de Moncada, who left on the 1st inst., will communicate his intentions and orders verbally. He (Sessa) is to gain time and dally with the Pope until the arrival of his ambassador, which will take place very shortly.

The copy of the Papal bull *In Cœna Domini* has been received, and sent to the Council [of Castile], there to be examined and reported upon. Respecting the inconvenience arising out of different—and at times contradictory—orders issued in his name by various secretaries in certain ecclesiastical affairs, of which he (Sessa) complains, it is the Emperor's wish that his Vice-Gerent in Rome should implicitly follow the instructions he has received, and in doubtful cases refer home for advice.

Touching the Duke of Ferrara, it must be owned that the language held by his ambassador at this Court is similar in every respect to that of the Duke, his master. Nevertheless it is generally believed that when called upon to decide, the latter will choose that side which is most profitable to his own interests.

Is to thank the Pope, in his name, for the brief of absolution to the parties concerned in the execution of the Bishop of Zamora (Acuña), and for those of dispensation on his marriage, as well as for the condonation of certain debts in Pope Adrian's time, all of which have been duly received. A list of all persons who had anything to do with that Bishop's arrest and execution has been sent with this, that the Pope may know the names of the parties; but as at the time that the Bishop attempted to escape from the castle of Simancas, several inhabitants of that town rushed after him, and their names are unknown, it would be well to ask the Pope for another brief of absolution in favour of all and every one of those who,

* "Y en lo que toca à la *negociacion publica*," implying that there were others conducted with great secrecy.

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having taken part in the Bishop's arrest and execution, are deemed to be under sentence of excommunication.*

Abbey of Montaragon.

The Duke had better defer for the present any application for the Crusade revenues. Since the Pope is unwilling to grant that which he ought to give without being asked, and which is exclusively destined for waging war on the Turk in defence of Christianity, it is not for us to importune him any longer.

Is not sorry to hear that His Holiness has taken Andrea Doria into his service; but unless he ceases to be a corsair and a pirate, and makes full restitution of the prizes he took in time of peace and during the last truce, the Pope cannot expect that We shall treat him otherwise than as a pirate and robber, placed by his misdeeds beyond the pale of common law.

Respecting the church of Barcelona, the appointment to which His Holiness has unduly decided in favour of Cardinal Cortonna, the Emperor has little to add to his former instructions and letters on the subject. His Holiness knows very well that neither his predecessors nor himself ever appointed to a bishopric in Spain, except on the King's presentation, and that the Cardinal, not being a native of these realms, had no business to accept that which was illegally offered to him.—Seville, 12 May 1526.†

Spanish. Original corrected draft, docketed in Gattinara's hand. pp. 4.

12 May. **421.** The Emperor to the Abbot of Najera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 249.

Has received his letters of the 9th, 14th and 19th of April last. Thanks him for the intelligence and advices contained in them. Respecting the wants of the army, he has amply provided for them, as he will soon learn through Don Ugo de Moncada, who is already on the road to Italy. Begs him to report as usual, and as often as he can, on the

* The list here mentioned is not in the volume, but the names of the parties will be found in Sandoval and other historians. The Emperor himself was included in the excommunication, and was so much affected by it that, according to his biographers, he refrained from attending to business or enjoying the pastime of the chase, of which he was passionately fond. Dr. Edward Lee, the King's almoner, and English ambassador at this time, writes from Toledo: "Great delay is occasioned from the Emperor considering himself excommunicated, because he ordered Bishop Acuña's execution. He abstains from appearing in public until the absolution from Rome has arrived."

† If the date of this minute, which is corrected and docketed by the Chancellor himself, be correctly given, it must have been drawn the very day the Emperor left Seville for Granada, for on the 13th he slept at Carmona en route for that city, where he arrived on the 4th of June. Whilst at Seville he attended the marriage ceremony of Germaine de Foix, the widow of Ferdinand and of the late Marquis de Brandemburgh, who, determined upon getting a third husband, had, according to the writers of the times, followed the Imperial court until she found one in the person of Don Fernando de Aragon, the bastard son of her late spouse, who was subsequently appointed Viceroy of Valencia.

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state of affairs. Has written to the Pope in favour and commendation of Prothonotary Philippo de Senis, as, from what he (the Abbot) wrote to him, he holds him to be attached to the Imperial cause.—Seville, 12th of May 1526.

P.S.—His letters of the 28th and 29th have come to hand. There is no reply to be made to them, save to refer him entirely to Don Ugo, who, God willing, will soon be at Milan.—By the Emperor's command. "Alonso de Soria, Secretary."

Addressed: "From the Imperial and Catholic Majesty. To the Abbot of Najera, Commissary to the Imperial Army in Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

14 May. **422.** The Marquis del Guasto to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d. Esp.

Returns most heartfelt thanks for the signal favour just received. He and his colleague in command, Antonio de Leyva, are grateful to hear that His Imperial Majesty has provided for the wants of the army. In proportion as these were great and pressing, so has their joy at seeing them relieved been great. As Juan Batista [Castaldo] and Gutierrez goes now [to Spain] for the purpose of fully informing the Emperor of this and other particulars, principally relating to his own honour and reputation—which are the things he prizes most in this world—he (Guasto) begs credence for him. —Milan, 14 May 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis del Gasto, 14 May 1526."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

16 May. **423.** Charles de Lannoy to the Emperor.

Arch. d. Roy^me de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 201. Lanz. *Corresp.* vol. I., p. 209.

Sees no symptoms of King Francis consenting to give up Burgundy. Begs for instructions how to act; also that Don Ugo de Moncada be speedily despatched [to Italy], as affairs there are in a critical condition. Desires leave to go to Naples, since he can be of no use in France; and the dealings of the Pope, England, France and the Venetians are such that his presence in that kingdom [Naples] is urgently required.

The Emperor knows what love his Grand Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara) bears him (Lannoy), and how he is always trying to make provisions and appointments unlikely to forward the Imperial service, such as the appointment he once thought of making of the Duke of Sessa in the room of

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Count di Santa Severina.* Hears also that the said Chancellor retains as long as he can the letters patent of the fiefs which the Emperor has been pleased to grant him, as well as of the sums of money owing to him ; and has, moreover, persuaded the Emperor to keep him (Lannoy) in France, where he can be of no earthly use, and is doing all he can to injure his reputation and deprive him of the Emperor's favour.—Cognac, 16 May 1526.

French. Copy.

17 May. **424.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 251–3.

Received on the 9th instant the Imperial letter of the 27th April. Respecting the galleys there is nothing to be said. They must already be in Catalonia. Hopes that the arrival of Don Ugo de Moncada will produce a good effect, and calm people's minds.† The sooner he comes to Milan and Rome the better.

Thanks the Emperor for the grant of Gavi.

Andrea Doria has gone with his galleys to take service with the Pope. He left behind him, at Antibo, a nephew of his, named Antonio, who is arming two galleys. The Lord of Monaco writes, in date of the 12th instant, that this Antonio is likely to follow in the footsteps of his uncle. He is capturing all the Spaniards he can, and putting them to the oars in his galleys. Lately he had taken 30 prisoners on board a caravel bound for that port. Prompt measures must be taken if the subjects and vassals of the Empire are to cross the sea with security, and not be treated as so many infidels. (*Cipher:*) He (Soria) knows the way to punish these sea-robbers; and if the Emperor will only give the order, he has a plan, with the assistance of Portundo and his galleys, for putting down this nuisance and ridding the Emperor and the Signory of such dangerous enemies as the Doria family and the Fragosi are.

The Imperial army (he hears) is in great want. It is reported that the Venetians, with the consent and favour of the Pope, are about to attack the castle of Milan, for which purpose a certain number of Switzers has been engaged. The Imperial flags no longer float on the towers of the castle; they have all been removed and replaced by branches of trees. The citizens are quiet at present, but their intentions are not good (*no tienen buenos los corazones*).

* Whilst Lannoy commanded the Imperial army in Lombardy, Andrea Caraffa, Count of Santa Severina, was appointed to replace him. *See* Parrino, Teatro Eroico e Politico de Governi de Vicere di Napoli, 1692, vol. i., p. 103.

† "Que aprovechará mucho por lo que conviene al servicio de Su Magd. y asosegará los corazones." Don Hugo left Toledo on the 24th of March, and France for Rome on the 22d of April.

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In case of Mons. de Bourbon's journey being delayed, it would be absolutely necessary to have the Genoese galleys back for the defence of this port and city, or else that those of Naples be sent here, for certainly there is everything to fear from the attacks of the enemy.

Letters from Milan announce the sudden departure of the Papal Nuncio (Micer Bernaldino della Barba), who went to Rome post-haste without taking leave of anyone. On the arrival of this letter he (Soria) imagines that the Emperor will know the motives of his absence.—Genoa, 17 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "The King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 17 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

18 May. **425.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, 308–10.

Illustrious Duke, &c.—As Don Ugo de Moncada, who left the court of France on the 22d of April last, must already be at Rome, We need not reply to the particulars of your two letters of the 23d April and 4th of May.

Up to the present time His most Serene Majesty the King of France has not fulfilled the conditions of the treaty [of Madrid], alleging the impossibility in which he finds himself of making the restitution of Burgundy, offering instead money to the amount of two millions of ducats, and declaring his readiness to comply with all other articles. We have not accepted his proposals, nor do We intend to allow of any change in this matter; on the contrary, We insist upon the fulfilment of the said stipulation, or else upon his returning [to Spain] and constituting himself a prisoner in our hands, according to his most solemn promise. Such being the state of things, the question whether a new agreement (*concierto*) is to be entered into with France or not depends, in a great measure, upon the settlement of our questions with His Holiness, as the negotiations [with France] must necessarily be regulated according to that arrangement. The experience of the past shows what little reason His Holiness has to complain of us, for We have always been, and are still, his most obedient and dutiful son, as well as the best protector of his Apostolic See. And yet his late practices and designs are a proof that our constant affection and filial love have not been duly appreciated by His Holiness. We sincerely hope that the arrival of Don Ugo de Moncada, who takes our final resolution on all pending matters, will convince His Holiness of our ardent wish for the welfare of Christianity at large, and that he (the Pope) will be satisfied

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with our arrangement, which, ere the receipt of this, you have, no doubt, concluded.

We implicitly believe His Holiness' assertion that he has been, and is still, warmly solicited by the French, though these last publicly state the reverse.

To your despatch, brought by your servant Pero Hernandez, a suitable reply was made, which he himself took back.

With regard to your surmises about England, time will show if they are well founded or not.

Our army has been supplied with money till the arrival [there] of Mons. de Bourbon, who is only waiting for the Spanish galleys to join the Genoese now at Barcelona.

Respecting Micer Bernardino della Barba,—who left Milan and went to that city (Rome) by post, at His Holiness' command as it is said, but in reality in consequence of the suspicions that hang over him,—you may show His Holiness the judicial inquiry instituted at that city, the declaration of witnesses and so forth, provided his complicity be sufficiently proved, for otherwise it would be better to dissemble and let the affair pass unnoticed.

The explanation you give of Count Rangone's late behaviour seems to us reasonable. But what you say about the Turk gives us much pain and anxiety. We will prepare for the emergency, and do everything in our power to arrest his progress. Indeed, We would already have done so had His Holiness granted us the Crusade in time, as We have so often requested him to do.

We are of opinion that the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) ought to be persuaded not to quit Rome until the present business is settled.—Granada, 18 May 1526.*

Post data.—Your letters of the 18th, 25th and 26th April have just come to hand. No answer is required to them, since Don Hugo must already be in Rome, and it is to be hoped that the negotiation has by this time been brought to a close, according to our instructions and wishes. Should it fail, there will be need of fresh counsel (*nuevos consejos*), and therefore We are anxiously waiting for advices.

Indorsed: "The King to the Duke of Sessa, 23 May."

Spanish. Original draft, corrected by Gattinara. pp. 2.

18 May. **426.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 264.

His letter of the 10th was written and closed when the Emperor's, of the 27th of April, came to hand. Is very glad to hear that what he (Sessa) said to the Pope, in pursuance of

* This letter is in duplicate in A. 37 at fol. 308 and 310, one being dated the 13th, the other the 18th May. As the Emperor did not reach Granada until the 4th of June, there must be an error in the date. As it is, its import is very similar to that of the 12th. *See* above, No. 420, p. 691.

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the instructions brought by Pero Hernandez, has given satisfaction ; and also that Don Ugo de Moncada is coming. If he arrives soon, and brings, as reported, full powers to treat, he (Sessa) has no doubt but that the negotiations will be brought to a satisfactory issue. Commander Herrera is leaving [for Spain] and will be able to inform the Emperor by word of mouth much better than he (Sessa) can do in writing.

(*Cipher :*) Since the arrival of this last courier the Pope appears in better humour. This he (Sessa) has heard from various parties, for, owing to the plague which broke out in his house, he has been unable to stir out or call upon His Holiness. Has been told that the Legate in Spain (Salviati) writes that Don Ugo is bringing a suitable answer, besides the grant of all demands respecting the Pope's own private interests and those of his friends, more even than he asked for at first.* That the Emperor proposes the draft of the treaty to be sent back [to Rome] to be amended by the Pope. Notwithstanding all these assurances, the Pope fears that His Imperial Majesty may come to a new agreement with the French King, and that is the reason why he and the Venetians still go on negotiating. He (Sessa) fears that mutual engagements have been taken, which may prevent the Pope from subscribing to the conditions, however advantageous they may be for him.

The Colonna affair is in a worse plight than ever it was, and the enmity grows greater every day. Knowing that the real cause of the Cardinal's absence from Rome is very different from that which has been stated, and being, besides, well acquainted with the condition and humour of the parties, he (Sessa) has avoided mixing himself up with it. He will henceforwards implicitly obey his instructions respecting this particular.

(*Common writing :*) Reports progress of ecclesiastical affairs in Rome. Cardinal Campeggio and the abbey of San Juan del Poyo. Priorates of Exea [in Aragon] and San Marçal. Disputes between Cardinal Cesarino and Ascanio Colonna to be determined by law. Canonry in favour of Juan Rodriguez, servant of the Grand Chancellor (Gattinara), to be settled with Gibraleon. Presentation for the abbey of San Juan de la Peña. San Isidro and Master Luis Coronel, &c.

Is very sorry indeed that the delay in granting such applications and forwarding similar affairs, according to the wish of the parties interested, should be imputed to negligence or want of zeal on his part. Takes God to witness that he does more to promote the interests of the parties than he would to save his own soul (*que haria para salvarse*). If people could only read his answers [to the Roman officials], they

* " En beneficio particular suyo y de sus amigos y aun adelante de aquello."

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would see that he does his duty, and more than his duty.—Rome, 18 May 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, the King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Duke of Sessa, 18 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

18 May. **427.** The Marquis del Guasto to Captain Juan Baptista Gastaldo y Gutierrez.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 267.

(*Cipher:*) Some days ago you were informed of the desperate state of affairs here. On the 12th inst. the Germans came and asked for leave to go home, saying they could not stand it any longer. They had no cash, and the price of provisions was high. In order to calm them, every sort of promise was made, which we have not the means of keeping, so that if we are not quickly provided with money to pay them, there is no telling what will happen to us. You know what sort of people the Germans are. I have sent my secretary to Genoa to procure funds. Should the Abbot of Najera not obtain in Genoa the 10,000 ducats, which he is trying to borrow from the bankers of that place, my man is to call upon Juan Baptista Ferraris—who has always helped us on similar occasions—and obtain the said loan at any rate of interest whatsoever. I hear that he has already got 4,000, and is likely to have the rest soon.

I hope that the money which Don Ugo is said to be bringing will come soon. Though in small quantity, it will be a great relief in our present need.

I had written thus far when the news arrived that 2,000 men had gone into Crema, and that at Bergamo certain men-at-arms had been quartered. Edicts had been posted up, ordering all beasts of burden* in the Cremasco to be brought to the capital—all of which, if I am not mistaken, are evident symptons that the Venetians intend to relieve this castle, if they can. Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, I sent orders to the different corps of this Imperial army quartered round Milan to be on the alert, and when they saw certain fire-signals to hasten to the city. Guards have been doubled and patrols kept day and night; in fact, every precaution has been taken, for we hear that the Milanese are

* "Que todos los caballos de basto del Cremasco se reduciesen á Crema." *Basto*, which is also called *albarda* in Spanish, from an Arabic word, means, in old Italian, a "pack-saddle," or *quello che in vece di sella portano le bestie da soma.*

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continually plotting against us and are in daily communication with the Confederates, knowing very well that the castle cannot hold out longer than the ensuing month of June.

All this gives me and Leyva great anxiety, as you may imagine, and makes us wish for the Emperor's visit, sure as we are that the very moment he puts his foot in Italy all these intrigues and difficulties will cease; the Italian potentates will lower their heads (*abaxaran las cabezas*), and His Imperial Majesty will not have to spend so much money as he does at present; but if the Emperor decides to come over, his intention must be kept as secret as possible till the very moment of his embarkation at Barcelona, for fear of these people meeting and collecting their forces to prevent his landing. For it is a known fact that both the Pope and the Venetians have placed double posts between France and England and this country, so as to be able to inform their allies, as well as the Grisons and Switzers, of all the Emperor's movements.

Respecting what you tell me, that His Imperial Majesty has seen with displeasure the grant made by us of certain offices [in Milan], you will say, in our discharge, that up to this moment nothing has been given away except to captains of many years standing, who have lost their arms and legs in the service, or are so poor and infirm that they cannot earn their livelihood otherwise, and that the offices and charges we have conferred upon them are precisely those which some of the people now in the castle with the Duke held formerly. If His Imperial Majesty disapproves of the grant, nothing so easy as to remove the officers and subtract from their pay whatever they may have received as proceeds of the said offices or salaries; and that you may judge whether any of the said moneys and grants have fallen to my lot,* I will tell you that since your departure [for Spain] I have ordered two of my estates in the kingdom of Naples to be sold. Those which I own in this Duchy are mortgaged, as I told you in a former letter, and would have been sold had I found a purchaser. Only the other day a castle of mine, with a rental of 800 ducats annually, I gave away to Juan de Urbina, to keep him contented, because he is a very brave officer and deserves it well.

With regard to the robberies and the redemptions on plunder (*robar y rescatar*) said to have been extorted by the officers and soldiers of this Imperial army, I am glad to hear that the Emperor judges aright of me. This, however, ought not to be held in the light of a service done to His Majesty, but merely as a satisfaction to my own honour and principles; and since I myself was never guilty of such dirty acts (*suciedad*), I must be believed when I say that I should have punished the defaulters had it always been in my power to do so. As it is, Federico di Capua has been deprived of his

* "Y porque veais si he tomado yo algo desto."

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company; two captains of infantry were beheaded by my orders, and three more cashiered. Methinks that equal notice ought to be taken at Court of our good as of our bad deeds; but the truth is that the evil complained of, though much exaggerated, has been so general that I should have been obliged to have had all the army beheaded to a man.

I am in great fear lest the troops we have lately sent to Piedmont for quarters should create some scandal there. The country people refuse to receive them, and ill-treat them whenever they find them separated or dispersed; and yet we do not know where else the men can be lodged. You may assure His Majesty that I feel and lament more than anyone can the ravages, past and present, committed by the Imperial soldiers, much more than if they were executed upon my own lands and estates.

Addressed: "To Don Juan Baptista Castaldo y Gutierrez, at Court."

Indorsed: "Deciphering of a letter from the Marquis del Gasto, 18 May 1526."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

18 May. **428.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 277.

It is the opinion of the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, as well as that of Lope Hurtado and the rest of the Imperial officers and ministers in this Estate, that peace ought to be made one way or other with the French King. Without his assistance there is no league possible against the Emperor, and no force in Italy to prevent his coming. Otherwise, the Pope, the Venetians and the rest of the Italian powers will unite to check the Emperor's aggrandisement, which they fear above all things, and in which they will never trust, whatever concessions are made to them (*aunque se les de carta blanca*). The agreement with the French King and the Emperor's visit to Italy to be effected as quickly as possible, not to give time for the plans of the Confederates to get to maturity, or for the King to forget the Emperor's generosity in granting him his freedom, the good treatment and many services he has experienced in his kingdoms, the health which God restored to him that there might be peace among Christians, and, lastly, the treaty which he concluded and signed only two days ago.*—Milan, 18 May 1526.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera. Deciphering of his letter† of the 18th May."

* "Y á que el Rey se olvide de la liberalidad que V. Mag^{d} a usado en darle libertad, y de las otras buenas obras y servicios que en sus reynos ha recibido, y de la salud que Dios le ha dado para tener paz con los Christianos y de la que con V. Mag. ha capitulado y firmado dos dias ha."

† The letter itself is not in the volume; only the deciphering in Soria's hand.

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18 May. **429.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 269–71.

In pursuance of the orders received, in date of the 27th of April last, to repair to Milan and wait for the arrival of Don Ugo [de Moncada], to confer with him on the negotiations with the Signory, he (Caracciolo), though still very weak from his past severe illness, and occasionally visited by fever, has made every preparation for his journey. The Signory having, out of respect for the Emperor, and with all courtesy, furnished him with a litter (*lectica*) and other necessaries for the road, he intends to start to-morrow morning.

From the ambassadors' joint despatch His Imperial Majesty will already know the news of this city. That which is public and true is given as such; all other intelligence as doubtful. (*Cipher:*) Considers the arrival of Don Ugo with the Emperor's final resolution a very important step under the present circumstances, especially when it is known that the King of France is in continual communication with these people (the Venetians), and that the rest of Italy mistrusts the Emperor.

(*Common writing:*) Recommends his colleague, Signor Alonso [Sanchez], who remains at his post, and will act as Imperial ambassador, treasurer and purveyor (*proveditore*) to the army during his absence.—Venice, 18 May 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Prothonotary Caracciolo. Answered."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

20 May. **430.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO and ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 279.

Received the Imperial letter, in date of the 27th of April last. There is nothing to say in answer, except that I (Prothonotary Caracciolo), in obedience to the Emperor's commands, and though still very weak, leave for Milan to-day, there to wait for Don Ugo de Moncada. (*Cipher:*) I (Alonso Sanchez) will remain at Venice to protract the pending negotiations as much as possible.

The persons in whose favour the Emperor is requested to write to His Holiness are Fray Pablo Sanchez and Galceran Capello, a native of Valencia.* The former wishes for a bishopric, and might be recommended for one of those that are

* "El otro se llama Galceran Capello, Valenciano." From Valencia on the Pò, or from Valencia in Spain? The former conjecture seems to me the most plausible, as Capello is the name of a Venetian family.

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vacant in Naples. In doing this His Imperial Majesty actually gives nothing of his own, for His Holiness fills up the greater part, if not all the benefices that become vacant in that kingdom. Capello wants a post of President in the Sumaria of Naples. These are two of the individuals whom the ambassadors recommended some time ago as being very faithful to the Empire and in a position to render effectual service.

(*Cipher:*) Were told some days ago that the Signory had ordered their ambassador at Rome (Marco Foscari) to wait upon His Holiness and inform him that the castle of Milan was in great want of provisions, principally of meat and wine. That there was urgent need to succour it, and that if His Holiness wished, a plan for its relief might be discussed and adopted. The Pope's answer was that it was madness to think of taking up arms against the Emperor without ascertaining first what the King of France intended to do. As far as he (the Pope) was concerned, he would rather not enter upon such a scheme (*el no queria empacharse en cosa tal*). The same person to whom the ambassadors owe this information, asserts that this last courier from Rome brings letters from their ambassador (Foscari) saying that the Pope had re-considered the matter and was now of their opinion, namely, that a blow ought to be struck in favour of the Duke [of Milan], and that if the castle could be relieved, the opportunity was not to be lost. In consequence of which the Signory have been holding, lately, their usual secret meetings. The ambassadors, however, have heard that in the midst of their deliberations a letter came from their secretary in France (Andrea Rosso), dated the 3d inst.,* informing them of the arrival [at Cognac] of the Viceroy and Alarcon, and that the political relations between the Emperor and the King were very close. The said secretary wrote under the impression that some sort of new agreement (*accordio*) would soon be effected, owing to which piece of intelligence these people are in suspense and do not know what to do (*estan parados y sobre de si*).

The ambassadors do not vouch for the truth of any of the above reports; but such is their importance that they have deemed it their duty to inform His Imperial Majesty thereof. Have also written to the generals (*capitanes*) at Milan, and to the Duke of Sessa at Rome, that they may be on their guard.

The Milanese ambassador (Taverna) has had two audiences with the Signory. Their informer tells them that the object of the visit was to ask for help in his master's name.

His Imperial Majesty may be sure of one thing, namely, that this Signory gets very correct advices from Spain. They

* Several letters of Andrea Rosso to the Doge and Signory, dat. 1, 7, 10, and 11th May, have been abstracted by Rawdon Brown, Venetian State Papers, &c., vol. III., pp. 545–8. None, however, bear date of the 3d, though their contents are substantially the same as those given by the Imperial ambassadors.

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know already of Don Ugo's commission and intended journey, and also that I, the Prothonotary, was to meet him at Milan. —Venice, 20 May 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo," "Alonso Sanchez."

P.S.—At the time that I (Alonso Sanchez) close this letter, my colleague, the Prothonotary, has left for Milan.

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Alonso Sanchez, 20 May."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

21 May. **431.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 285.

The same person who communicated to him (Sanchez), and to his colleague, the Prothonotary, the intelligence about France contained in their joint despatch of yesterday, has called to say that the Venetian secretary in that country, Andrea Rosso, writes, in date of the 4th, making a different statement. He says that the King of France was ready to sign the treaty of League as soon as the mandates arrived. He would never make restitution of Burgundy; would offer instead a small sum of money (*poco dinero*), and that on condition that the King of England should be paid what was owing to him. The latter, it was reported, was persuading his colleague of France not to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and was for that purpose offering him money and everything else. The King of France had told him (Andrea Rosso) that he would never consent, as long as he lived, to the Emperor's coming over armed to Italy, or acquiring more possessions in this country than he had now, but, on the contrary, would do all he could to have them reduced. The Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) was close by at a village the name of which escapes him; but the King said he did not mind keeping him there waiting, as he himself waited long enough in prison. Rosso writes also that what the King told him at his first audience had been said out of anger and spite at hearing that the Pope had robbed him of Andrea Doria's services, but that having since received Capino's explanation of that affair, he was perfectly satisfied.

Respecting the proposed relief of the castle of Milan, he (the ambassador) has no further intelligence to communicate. He is on the alert.

(*Common writing:*) Last Saturday the Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux) was upwards of one hour and a half with the Signory. He has returned this morning and spent another hour with them. The Milanese ambassador (Taverna) has

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likewise been [at the College] for half an hour; for what purpose the ambassador cannot say, certainly not for the Emperor's good.—Venice, 21 May 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Alonso Sanchez, 21 May."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2⅓.

24 May. **432.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 293.

Wrote on the 17th inst.* what His Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed duplicate of his despatch. Has nothing to add, except that on Whit-Sunday (*Pascua de Spiritu Santo*) the Germans who are in guard (*à la custodia*) of the castle of Milan mutinied for their pay. The Marquis del Gasto and Antonio de Leyva ran to the spot and appeased the tumult, promising the mutineers to have all their arrears paid up at the end of the present month and every successive stipend when due. In consequence of which he (the Abbot) came here to Genoa to see if he could, with the assistance of Lope de Soria, the Imperial ambassador, procure any funds. 10,000 cr. (*escudos*) have been found on bills payable at Naples on the 25th of June next; but even that sum would not have been obtained had not Secretary Seron,†—who, happening to be at Asti, came down to Genoa to see him (the Abbot),—assured the bankers that the bills should be duly paid. The arrears of the German infantry amount to 23,000 ducats, and if they are not paid in full, as promised, there will be surely another mutiny worse than the last.

The people of Piedmont have risen in arms against the troops sent thither for quarters. Half a company of light horse, consisting of 50 men, had been plundered (*despojada*) by the country people; but the rest of the force, having collected together on the frontiers of the county of Asti, attacked six companies (*banderas*) of Piedmontese infantry that were pursuing them out of the country. The said light horse had suddenly turned round upon them, and given them a good drubbing (*una mala mano*), taking one of their banners and slaying a good number of the Piedmontese; after which they (the Imperialists) had gone into the Astesano and taken up their quarters there. The Duke [of Savoy] has sent a message to the Marquis and to Leyva, begging that the men may not return to Piedmont, and promising some sort of subvention if they will only remain where they are now. The offer has

* The Abbot's last despatch is dated the 18th. *See* No. 428 p. 700.

† Juan Seron, Secretary to the Viceroy of Naples.

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been accepted, though we are much in doubt whether—when the troops are once out of the Duchy—the inhabitants will consent to pay one single quatrino, even at the Duke's bidding. Knight Commander Herrera has arrived; both he and the Abbot leave to-morrow for Milan, with the 10,000 cr. (*escudos*). Milan and the rest of the Duchy are tranquil waiting for the remedy that is to come from Spain and save them from their sufferings.

No news from Rome or Venice, except that couriers between those two cities are very frequent, and that posts have been placed at certain distances through Switzerland to communicate with France. The negotiations of the Confederates with this latter country are conducted with great activity (*con toda caldeza*); but if the Emperor makes any agreement, no matter what, with France, and comes to Italy without loss of time, all these intrigues will end in smoke. No stir either among the Switzers.

The news that came the other day, of the castle of Mus having been taken by our men, proved false; indeed, the affair seems to have been quite the reverse of what was at first reported. The garrison had, it appears, been dealing treacherously (*trato doble*), and when our men presented themselves to take possession, as agreed, a sally was made and 14 Spaniards were killed.

Private letters from Court, of the 1st and 2d inst., advise Don Ugo's departure [from Spain]; but no news has as yet come of his having reached the court of France, or of his bringing any money. Indeed, the bankers and merchants of this place maintain that their correspondents [in Spain] do not mention in their letters that any bills had been drawn [upon them], which naturally increases our anxiety about the fate of this Imperial army.

This city is in some danger of Andrea Doria, now at Rome, making a sudden attack whilst the Signory's galleys are at Barcelona, and those of Naples far away. The commander of these last has been written to, and ordered to come [to Genoa] anyhow. He (the Abbot) is afraid the galleys will not come until the whereabouts and operations of 24 Moorish galleys (*fustas*), lately arrived on the coasts of Sicily, are ascertained —Genoa, 24 May 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. The Abbot of Najera, 24 May. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

24 May. **433.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 289.

His last, of the 17th inst., went by a servant of the Duke of Bourbon. He now sends the duplicate. The Abbot of

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Najera and Secretary Seron are now here, trying to procure money to pay the Germans [at Milan]. The Imperial army (*cipher*) is greatly distressed for want of funds and provisions; everywhere the country people rise in arms against it, as the soldiers commit all manner of excesses, which remain without punishment. The Piedmontese have taken up arms, plundered (*desvalijado*) a company of Italian light horse, and slain some of them, especially at a place called Puerin, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. The light horse retaliated, and, having attacked their opponents, routed them with heavy loss.

(*Common writing:*) Affairs at Milan are going on smoothly. The garrison of the castle is in want of provisions. Many die of the disease called *modorrilla.* It is even reported that the Duke (Francesco Sforza) has died of it.

No particular news either from Rome or from Venice; (*cipher*) but all Italy is awake, expecting the signal to take up arms against His Imperial Majesty.

This city is in danger; people suspect that Andrea Doria and the Fregosi are planning something with the Pope's consent. The galleys that took Mons. de Bourbon to Spain ought, therefore, to return as soon as possible; also those of Naples. Hears that 22 sail (*fustas*) of Infidels are on the coast of Calabria, and that they have burnt a galley called La Calabresa, belonging to one Tiberio de Soria. The plague has broken out at Rome, and in the very house of the Duke [of Sessa]. There have also been [at Genoa] two or three cases of it within the last eight days.

Whilst writing the above, Commander Herrera, warder (*alcayde*) of Pamplona, has arrived. He comes from Rome and Sienna, and will go to Milan in company with the Abbot, specially summoned by the generals (Guasto and Leyva). Since the Commander's departure [from Rome], letters have come from that city, reporting that Andrea Doria was with his galleys at Civita Vecchia, and was soon to go to Rome, and that the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti) had sent him an escort of 30 horsemen. Rooms had been prepared for him at the Datary's palace.—Genoa, 24 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 24 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

25 May. **434.** CHARLES DE LANNOY to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 205. Lanz. *Corresp.* vol. I., p. 210.

Has received by Don Hugo the Emperor's holograph letter; also the despatches brought by Betencourt; for all of which he returns his most grateful thanks. Has forwarded home by the last courier all the papers sent in by the King

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of France, and also those of the Queen Regent of France (Louise de Savoie) in answer to the remonstrances addressed to both concerning the treaty of Madrid; lastly, what the King himself intends doing. As to the surrender of Burgundy, he (Lannoy) sees no chance. Would to God he had never mixed himself up with those affairs, and that the Emperor had consented to relieve him (Lannoy) from his charge, as he often requested whilst at Toledo!

Among Don Hugo's instructions one is that he (Lannoy) is to go to Naples. Has thankfully received the intelligence. The opinion, however, both of Don Hugo and of Mons. de Praet is that he must remain until the answer to be given in the Emperor's name to the King and to Madame [Louise] has arrived. Has, in the meantime, sent orders to Naples to have the galleys fitted out.

The King of France has told him (Lannoy) this very day that Pedro Navarro had applied for permission to wage war on the Turks. Lannoy observed that he (Navarro) had better wait until all parties were ready, and that five large ships should be sent to him for that purpose. The King replied that he had already provided him with eight or nine ships and four galleons of his own. He afterwards said he had news from Spain that his son, the Duke of Orleans, was unwell. Told him that the air and temperature of Spain certainly disagreed with him and with his brother, and that for that very reason he (the King) ought to fulfil at once the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, and send for his sons and for his wife (Queen Eleonor). His answer was that he wished to please the Emperor above all things. Madame (Louise), on whom he (Lannoy) called afterwards, in company with the King, made a similar protest, adding that she hoped to content His Imperial Majesty and execute all he wrote about. His (Lannoy's) reply was that no better satisfaction could be offered to his master than that of seeing the conditions of the treaty fulfilled, and that they all hoped such would be the case. Fancies that the King and Queen are dissembling, and intend to turn, for their profit, elsewhere, wherever they best can.

Begs again for leave to depart [for Italy], after intrusting his mission to the person who may be the Emperor's ambassador at the time. Mons. Daubreuq is being sent to Rome by King Francis. Believes he is sent for no other purpose than because Don Hugo is going thither.—Cognac, 25 May 1526.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

French. Copy.

25 May. **435.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 295.

Wrote on the 18th inst. by Commander Herrera and by the ordinary post, giving all news he had up to that date. As the Commander's sudden departure and his own were caused

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by certain rumours of plague at Rome, and he (Sessa) could not see the Pope at the time, he was unable to report on certain expressions of His Holiness at the time the Commander took leave of him, which he will now relate for His Majesty's information.

(*Cipher:*) The Commander told him (Sessa), whilst on their journey, that the Pope, in his last audience, owned that he had made an agreement with the King of France; which intelligence took him (Sessa) so much by surprise that he decided to shorten the days of his absence, though he might suffer in consequence. He accordingly, upon his return to Rome, and on the last day of Easter, went to the Palace, and asked His Holiness if what Commander Herrera had told him was true. His answer was that the Commander had misunderstood him, as he only said what he had oftentimes declared to him (Sessa) on former occasions; namely, that he had always wished to be the friend and ally of His Imperial Majesty, but had never found a fit opportunity for such a step. That, despairing of ever attaining the object of his wishes, as well as of Don Hugo's arrival, he had been obliged to look for assistance and security in other quarters, and to put himself in such a condition as not to be any longer at the mercy of fortune. That whatever form of security he might adopt, his object was to promote universal peace, not to create disturbances and bring on war.

This is in substance what the Pope owns to having said to Commander Herrera on the subject, without, however, declaring to him (as the Commander asserts) that he had actually taken an engagement. This he maintains he never did, and has assured him (Sessa) that he should see with pleasure Don Hugo's arrival in Rome, though (he added) it was quite plain that Don Hugo's journey through France was intended merely to gain time, since, in case of his not obtaining anything at that Court, he had been instructed to proceed to Italy; so that it seemed as if the negotiations with himself (the Pope) and the rest of the Italian Princes were to be regulated by the good or bad success of the ambassador, whilst at the French court, which was very contrary to His Imperial Majesty's avowed intentions. The Pope ended by saying he was resolved to wait patiently for the issue. He had not yet decided on the line of conduct he should follow. He rather hoped that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) would come to some agreement with France, and that the Florentine ambassador (Capino), to whom the conclusion of the negotiations had been intrusted, had not yet returned.

(*Common writing:*) There are letters from England, advising that the ratification of the peace with France had been celebrated there with great pomp and solemnity. Cardinal Alboracense* said mass, and the President of Paris (Selve)

* The Cardinal of York.

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made a peroration, wherein, after returning infinite thanks to the English King for his master's liberation—which he said was entirely due to his exertions—he announced to his audience that his master would henceforth live under great obligation to his brother of England, and employ in his service his person, his fortune, and his realms. From which sentiment and others which the said President is said to have expressed on that occasion, the partisans of France (*los francesantes*) in this city draw the inference that no agreement at all is to be made between His Imperial Majesty and him; for otherwise, they say, the French ambassador would not have gone so far in his praises of the English King.

Has no news from Milan; but from what he hears at Rome and the stir they are making, he fancies that the castle must be reduced to great extremity. Some say that the Venetians and the Pope are about to send troops to its assistance; and certainly the negotiations between those two powers are decidedly more active now than they ever were. On the other hand, he (Sessa) has not yet heard of any armed movements, and yet these are not things likely to be accomplished by prayers.* (*Cipher:*) The Pope, however, denies that there is any thought of taking up arms.

There are also rumours afloat that the Duke of Milan is dead, which might be a good thing for him and the others (*para él y los otros*).

(*Common writing:*) Among the articles of the treaty which the Pope and the Venetians have been, or are still, negotiating with France, one is said to be that the King [of France] is to leave the possession of the estate of Milan either with Francesco Sforza or with his brother Maximilian. (*Cipher:*) This is a mere joke (*burla*); but the truth is that they have offered him their assistance to conquer that Duchy. He (Sessa) knows this from a very good source, though they assert the contrary in public, for the satisfaction of the people here.

The article concerning Naples has been drawn with the Pope's will and consent. He (Sessa) still persists in his opinion, namely, that if the King of France were to fail in his old engagements, or to refuse to make a new agreement with the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), and were Don Hugo to come [to Italy] in time, the Pope would rather accept middling conditions from His Imperial Majesty than very good ones from France, a country on which they cannot and do not place the least reliance.

(*Common writing:*) Andrea Doria is here. He has been very well received and entertained by the Pope, with whom he has taken service on conditions mentioned in his (Sessa's) former despatch. Doria has called on him (Sessa), saying that as long as he was in the service of France he could not help

* "No es cosa para hacerla con oraciones."

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making war upon us, as he best understood it; but that now that he is in the service of the Pope—one of the Emperor's allies—he will be able to show how sincerely devoted he is to the Imperial cause. He (Sessa) made him a suitable answer.

Having learned, some days ago, that the said Andrea Doria has on board his galleys nearly 300 Spaniards, taken prisoners during the last war, he (Sessa) has made pressing application to the Pope to obtain their liberty. He answered that this was no concern of his, and only affected the King of France. It had been stipulated that prisoners of war of both nations should be mutually returned; and it was but just that the ambassador's demand should be granted. If the King of France would only send, as he was bound to do, his letters patent or some other sort of guarantee and compensation to Andrea Doria, he (the Pope) would help and do his part. In the meantime, if he could redeem any of them by giving others in exchange, he would do it with pleasure. He (Sessa) has often applied to His Holiness on behalf of these prisoners, but has never been able to obtain more than the above-mentioned promise. Would to God he could with his own fortune accomplish their liberation!—Rome, 25 May 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Cesar, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Duke of Sessa, 25 May."

Spanish. Original by duplicate, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5½.

28 May. **436.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 313.

Since his letter of the 21st, the Milanese ambassador (Taverna) has had three secret audiences, each one hour long, with this Signory, and yesterday he was again with them for half an hour. (*Cipher.*) What the object may be, he (Sanchez) does not know for certain; but it is publicly asserted that it is none other than to ask succour for the castle of Milan, reduced, as it is said, to great extremity by want of provisions. Has been told that the Signory had decided to grant the Duke's request, and that the Pope had done the same, and that they have despatched the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) to bring down a number of Switzers without first holding a diet, as is customary in such cases, but by paying them part of their stipend beforehand. The plan is, whilst the Imperial army is advancing to attack these Switzers, for the Venetians to introduce men and provisions into the castle. Has been informed that the Bishop was, the other day, in

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Venice, and saw the Doge (*Duce*) at four hours of the night, and that the Milanese ambassador (Taverna) was present at the conference. The information must be correct; for on that very day these people held their Council (*Consejo de Pregay*), and adopted the above resolution. The Pope, it is added, has offered to contribute one half of the money required for the Switzers; others add that he has actually sent his share of the expense, and that the money passed, the other day, through Bologna.

(*Common writing:*) The Imperial generals at Milan having received intelligence of a certain number of troops, about 4,000 men, being levied on the lands of the Signory, and besides that, all the refugees (*foraxidos*) of the Duchy had been admitted in these lands and placed close to the Milanese frontier, wrote to him (Sanchez) to go to the Signory and remonstrate. Accordingly, this last week, the ambassador called at the College, and inquired what could be the object of those armaments. The senators seemed to be taken by surprise at the ambassador's inquiry, and assured him positively that the whole thing was an invention. No levies were being made in the Duke's name, and they themselves had no larger forces than usual. The Milanese refugees (*foraxidos*) were not in their territory, with the exception only of a few who had taken up their abode in older times and were living peaceably with their families. This they asserted with so much earnestness (*tan afincadamente*) that the ambassador made no reply to their asseverations, and contented himself with excusing the Imperial generals at Milan, who, out of zeal for the service, had considered it their duty to ask the question.

(*Cipher:*) Was told on this occasion by the Doge that the Signory expected shortly to hear of an agreement between the Emperor and the King of France, as he had had letters from Andrea Rosso, of the 17th, stating the fact. He (the Doge) only wished that the agreement was such as to bring on a permanent and general peace.

Has since been told that the Doge has really received letters to that effect, and that the news they contain is not much to their taste. It appears that at a Council which the French King held on the 15th it was decided that the Emperor's terms should be accepted. One of the Councillors had asked the Nuncio (Capino) and the Venetian secretary (Andrea Rosso) how it was that they were not satisfied with the blood already spilt, but wished for another war, in which the whole of the nobility of France or Spain would perish. It is further related that whilst reading the draft of the treaty sent from hence—one of the articles of which stipulated that His Imperial Majesty's journey should be prevented at any risk—the French King observed that it was sheer madness to think of impeding the Emperor's visit to Italy; upon which Andrea Rosso replied that this Signory and the Pope would be satisfied if the Emperor did not come in force. Has also heard that,

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on the excuse that the King wanted their powers to be examined, they had been taken away from them, and that Capino and Rosso had consequently lost all hope of their negotiations coming to a satisfactory issue, and the latter had despatched a messenger post-haste to the Papal Legate at the Imperial court.

Has tried to ascertain what truth there was in the report about the Bishop of Lodi's dealings, and has found out that he really departed from this city yesterday morning, accompanied by one of his servants, which, coupled with the information received from the Imperial generals that troops were being levied in the Signory's territory, makes him (Sanchez) suspect that, notwithstanding all the assurances these people have given him to the contrary, there is a plan for succouring the castle of Milan. Can hardly believe that they will dare to take up arms without the avowed co-operation of the French King; and yet such is their fear of the Emperor's aggrandisement, and of his keeping to himself the duchy of Milan—which will be easily accomplished by taking the two castles of Milan and Cremona—and so great their hope of assistance from the inhabitants themselves, exasperated, as they are, by the excesses of the soldiery, that it is to be feared they will soon attempt to relieve the castles and make war.

(*Common writing:*) The Pope has recalled from hence his Legate [Tomasso Campeggio], a brother of Cardinal [Lorenzo] Campeggio, and appointed in his stead the Bishop of Pola (Altobello Averoldi), who was here before.—Venice, 28 May 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Alonso Sanchez, 28 May."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

29 May. **437.** The Duke of Sessa, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 319–22.

On the 26th, at the first hour of the night, he (Sessa) wrote, pointing out the motives, which, in his opinion, had induced the Pope to prepare for war.* He purposely delayed his visit to His Holiness until yesterday, at an hour when he thought the post must have passed Florence, or at least that orders could not be sent to have his letters stopped.

* This letter of the 26th is not in the volume. The Duke's last despatch (No. 435) bears date of the 25th, and no allusion is made in it to the Pope's armaments.

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In the evening of the 28th, therefore, the ambassador called on His Holiness, and told him of the rumours that were afloat; viz., that he had engaged with certain captains to have a force raised in Romania and in the Marches, and that he was determined, in concert with the Venetians, to relieve the castle of Milan. In order the better to secure this object, Andrea Doria was to invade the coast of Genoa with the Papal galleys and those of the Order of St. John, numbering in all eleven, whilst the Venetian fleet was to stir up rebellion on the coasts of Apulia, and oblige the Imperial army to separate for the defence of one or other of the points attacked. The ambassador went on to say how amazed and concerned he was to hear of such proceedings; because, besides his earnest wish for the union and harmony between His Holiness and His Imperial Majesty, he felt much grief, as a Christian, for the evident danger in which the Apostolic See was about to be placed; not, indeed, by the Emperor's fault, but by that of those who had brought about the rupture.

The Pope's answer to the ambassador's remonstrances was thus conceived: After many of his usual protestations and oaths, that the fault was not his, and that until then he had done nothing against the Imperial interests in Italy, he concluded by saying that, in future, he purposed to act as time and circumstances should require. The ambassador's reply was, that, in view either of the present or future, he considered it his duty to remind His Holiness that the step he was about to take was a very serious one, not so much as concerned the castle of Milan—which might be won or lost for the Emperor—but because His Holiness, being openly and publicly the originator of the strife, people would certainly think it a most strange conduct on his part. Everyone would naturally wonder how the Vicar of Christ, instead of preserving peace, as was his duty, had suddenly become the abettor and promoter of war, besides failing in what he himself had promised only a few days ago, namely, to wait until the arrival of Don Hugo or any other person whom His Imperial Majesty might send to arrange matters in the manner preconcerted with his Legate. He could not be unaware that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had gone to the King of France, or for what purpose he had gone. The conferences were necessarily to result in one of two things, either in the entire conformity and agreement of both parties, or in a rupture. In the former event, His Holiness could no longer impose the law, but would, on the contrary, be compelled to receive it.* In the latter, it was for him to consider, as Pope and Vicar of Christ, whether it was right for him to side with one of the contending parties and thus kindle the war again, instead of remaining neutral and trying with prudence and sagacity to bring about a lasting peace. Were

* "Que resultando acordio ya Su Santidad no era legislador, que le convenia recebir la ley que le diesen."

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he to take part with one of the two Princes, it was for him (the Pope) to consider which would be better for his interests, to side with France, a nation in which he could not and ought not to trust, or with His Imperial Majesty. In the former case he was sure to have war as long as his Pontificate lasted; in the latter, hostilities could not last, for France was entirely without means and could not carry on war long.

To these objections the Pope answered, by way of vindicating his acts, that His Imperial Majesty had shown no affection whatever for him, and though he had oftentimes tried to place himself under his protection, he had been constantly repulsed (*refutado*); so that, despairing of ever being able to obtain that which he most desired, he had no other alternative left to him but to seek assistance and help wherever he could find it, and not leave his affairs at the mercy of fortune, as they had been hitherto. That in Don Hugo's arrival, he (the Pope) had little or no confidence, for the news from Milan was that, up to the 2d instant, that ambassador had not left the Imperial court, nor had the day of his departure been fixed; he was to pass through France, where he would meet the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), who would either have already made an agreement, or have relinquished the hope of making one.* In the latter event, the King of France would not allow him (D. Ugo) to prosecute his journey [to Italy], so that there was nothing to expect from that quarter. If he (the Pope) had any hope, it rested principally on the chance of the King of France negotiating not only for himself but for all the other Princes in general, which would be by far the best and most advantageous plan for the Emperor's interests. At this stage of the conference, he (the Pope) brought in an anecdote which His Imperial Majesty must already have heard through another channel. It is said that two days after the Viceroy's arrival at the French court, the ratification of the English convention was duly solemnized with a mass,* and that after the ceremony was over, the English ambassadors went to the Viceroy (Lannoy), and said to him: "This is a good commencement for universal peace;" and that the Viceroy answered them: "Had not your King been an obstacle, peace would already have been concluded in a much better way." To which they replied: "Our King has always been desirous of peace, but the Emperor wants everything for himself, and leaves nothing for others;" upon which the ambassadors departed.

* Lannoy reached Cognac on the 8th of May, accompanied by Alarcon and the Duke of Traietto (Gonzaga), and two days after, on the 10th, the peace with England was solemnly proclaimed and sworn to by the King, after a mass sung by the Cardinal of Lorraine. *See* Rosso's despatches and a letter of Countess Somaglia in Rawdon Brown, *Venetian* Papers, vol. III., pp. 547–9.

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Seeing the Pope so determined, he (Sessa) told him that since he could not be convinced that Don Hugo would soon arrive, he must at least allow him three months' time to send an express and get an answer from Spain. His reply was that in three months' time the state of the world might change (*el mundo tomaria nueva condicion*), and that he (the Pope) would gain nothing by remaining at a standstill. "Give me your promise that the Emperor will grant my request and agree to my conditions, and I have no objection to wait three months more; but on no consideration will I again expose myself to be hoaxed,* as in the last treaty." He (Sessa) objected that he had no powers to take any such engagement; but that, in order to obviate the difficulty, he would reduce the term to one month, during which he undertook to procure the Emperor's answer. Even this offer was rejected by the Pope, on the plea that full powers having been sent to the Florentine ambassador, and he being expected back from his mission in three or four days, it was not prudent for him to make any engagements just now. On the arrival of that ambassador, he (the Pope) would see what news he brought from the French court; and as he was not otherwise bound by engagements with the Italian league, would consider what was best for him to do. In the meantime, he could not help thinking that the best and most advantageous plan for His Imperial Majesty was that the Duke of Bourbon should have the duchy of Milan, and give in return all his French possessions, an arrangement with which (he added) the King of France could not fail to be pleased and satisfied.

Seeing the Pope so obstinate, he (Sessa) went on remonstrating with him and expatiating on His Imperial Majesty's greatness and power, which had permitted him, without any assistance from him (the Pope), and even against his will, to conquer so many enemies. Told him that the difficult position (*necesidad*) in which he (the Emperor) was represented to be was not so much caused by the malice (*malinidad*) of his adversaries, or by any desire of his own to deprive other Princes of their Estates—which he might, if he chose, have accomplished long ago, having had sufficient time, force and opportunities for it—but by his own generosity and virtue, which had prompted him to release his prisoner and trust to his honour. That it behoved His Holiness, as the head of the Church, not to encourage those who wished to break their word and faith. He was to bear in mind the state of Germany and of Hungary, and the innumerable applications that had been—and were still—made to His Imperial Majesty to take the affair into his own hands, reduce the extent of the Papal estates, and bring about the reformation of the Church, as

† "Pero que de ninguno manera queria hallarse en la burla de la capitulacion pasada."

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the Prince most called to take charge of it.* That His Imperial Majesty had neither taken possession of Parma nor of Piacenza and Modena, nor fostered rebellion in Bologna, nor obliged Florence to comply with its duty (*ni puesto á Florencia en el debito*); and that if the said cities and others took up arms against the Emperor, it was not from any serious motive or from any injury done to them, but from a mere child's complaint (*cosas de niños*). He (Sessa) was compelled thus to speak in plain terms, and remind him (the Pope)—since he seemed to have forgotten it—of the Emperor's good deeds towards him, and of the bad treatment he (the Pope) had always experienced at the hands of France.

The conference ended by the Pope assuring him (Sessa) that his only aim was the tranquillity and peace of the world, and that he felt very grateful for the advice tendered; but he neither said yes nor no, and did not grant the time demanded for communicating with His Imperial Majesty. Such being the state of things, he (Sessa) has despatched the present messenger in all haste, that His Imperial Majesty may be fully informed, and take such steps as may be deemed necessary under the present circumstances. In his opinion, these people rely greatly on the King of France, believing that, whether he makes peace or declares war, he is sure not to forget them. It might also be that all these demonstrations on their part are only intended to bring about an agreement [between His Majesty and the King of France] such as they themselves wish it to be; or, in the event of war breaking out, to succour the castle of Milan, in which case the French King could enter Italy as peace-maker, and take that Duchy for himself, which was their original plan when he last laid siege to Pavia; for it is generally believed here—and no mystery is made about it—that the Pope would much prefer to see the King of France at Milan and the Emperor at Naples, as he might then consider himself more secure and obtain better terms.† It behoves His Imperial Majesty, in view of the above considerations, to decide at once what steps are to be taken in case the Viceroy's negotiations in France should ultimately fail.—Rome, 28 May 1526.

He (Sessa) had written thus far when intelligence reached him that the Pope had received letters from France, in date of the 17th instant. Applied immediately for an audience and inquired for the news. The Pope's answer was that the King of France was still endeavouring to have the general convention discussed and signed at the same time as his own,

* "Y que viese que ni faltaban ni habian faltado infinitos que importunaban y habian importunado á V. Mag. para que le abaxase en el estado, y entendiese en la reformacion de la Iglesia, como á quien principalmente tocaba el cuidado de esto."

† "Que al Papa convenia que él tuviese aquello y V. Mag. á Napoles para conservarse mejor o para el un fin o para el otro, o para acordarse con Su Santidad."

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and that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had again written to his Court for fresh instructions. Perceiving that he (the Pope) was very close, and would not tell him anything more, and that the rumour in Rome was that the convention had already been signed, he (Sessa) said he was about to despatch a courier to the Emperor, and wished very much to know if the Pope had anything to say. Upon which the Pope turned towards him, and said: "If you have powers to treat with me, I am willing at once to sign the treaty with such articles as I asked in the first instance; but as to giving time, even an hour, that I shall never do, for there is danger in irresolution. I can clearly see that the Emperor does not wish for my friendship, since he has so long declined it, delaying the answer from day to day;" to which he added that he had no news of Don Hugo's arrival in Italy.

He (Sessa) fancies that the Pope and his confederates have started this new mode of negotiation only to gain time and prepare for war. His Imperial Majesty may rest convinced that the chief article of their convention with the French King is the promise of the duchy of Milan to him. Such is the wish of the Venetians, though they dissemble on that score; and His Holiness, though aware of it, allows himself to be deceived. He (Sessa) has stated what his opinion in these matters is; he may, perhaps, be mistaken in some of the details, but is sure that the true and real design of the confederates is the one he has announced.

The other day, whilst His Holiness was stating his fears that the Viceroy (Lannoy) might come to an agreement with the King of France, he added: "Such being the case, I cannot but be contented with what they offer me, to make up in part for past mistakes." He also told him (Sessa) that a gentleman had lately arrived at the King's court, as ambassador from the Turk, and professing to be a brother of Count Frangipane, but that he believed him to be an impostor.—Closed and sealed on the 29th.

"El Duque de Sessa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty. Duplicate of the 29th May."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa, 29th May."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6¼.

29 May. **438.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 329.

Wrote last on the 24th instant; and on the 27th the Imperial letters of the 12th came to hand. Has duly forwarded the enclosures for Milan and Venice. As the courier who brought these letters goes to Rome in great haste, to the Duke

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of Arcos,* he (Soria) will be brief. (*Cipher :*) No news yet from Don Ugo, who is daily expected with remittances in money. All the Imperial ministers in Italy are very anxious for his arrival, as the army is on the point of mutiny for want of pay ; besides which, the country people cannot endure their sufferings any longer. The Pope, the Venetians, Florentines, Switzers, and the Duke of Savoy himself, are the Emperor's declared enemies, and sure to invade the duchy of Milan if proper measures are not speedily taken.

The Duke of Sessa writes, in date of the 26th, that the Pope had determined to attack Genoa. He (Soria) and the Doge have despatched a courier to Milan to ask for three companies of infantry for the defence of the city.

Has had misgivings for a long time that the Pope and the Venetians intended to relieve the castle of Milan, for which purpose they have been in treaty with the King of France and the Switzers.

The Abbot of Najera left, three days ago, with 10,000 ducats, borrowed with great difficulty from these bankers.—Genoa, 29 May 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Post data.—After the above was written and signed, he (Soria) heard from Count della Mirandola, who is now in Genoa, that advices from his country have been received stating that four horses laden with money had passed through from the Pope to the Switzers. Believes the report to be true.†

Addressed: "To the Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 29 May."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 333). *pp.* 3.

29 May. **439.** The Duke of Sessa to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 303.

After despatching the present courier and sealing the packet, (*cipher*) he (Sessa) heard from a very reliable source that in consequence of letters brought yesterday by a Venetian courier, His Holiness has made up his mind to arm. Orders have been sent to various captains to make levies with all possible speed (*à furia*) ; and others have been sent for. Hears that this determination of the Pope is principally owing to Andrea Doria's actual residence in this city and to the instigations of the Signory. All seem to be convinced that the French King will not abandon them, but will espouse their cause. Their plan is to attack Genoa by sea, for which

* This Duke was no other than Luis Christoval Ponce de Leon, who was then at Rome on certain family busidess.

† This postscriptum is only to be found in the duplicate, fol. 305.

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purpose they are now arming four galleys, besides the eight which are at Civittà Vecchia. By assailing that city or creating a revolution (*reboltando*) there, they imagine that a portion of the Imperial army may be sent in that direction, and that in the meantime they will have an opportunity to relieve the castle of Milan.

Such is the intelligence he (Sessa) has received. As to the Pope's preparations for war, there can be no doubt of them. Has written in all directions, to Milan, to Genoa, to Naples, and elsewhere, that they may all be on their guard. In the latter place (Naples) the defences by sea, as well as land, are few and unsatisfactory. Intends to speak to the Pope to-morrow; and according to what his answer may be, will judge what steps he (Sessa) had better take in the present emergency. —Rome, 26 May 1526.

Signed: "El Duque de Sessa."

P.D.—Letters from the court of France have been received here, in date of the 13th instant, stating that everything these confederates wished for has been granted [by the King], though they have announced the contrary.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Duke of Sessa, 26 May. Answered."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 307). *pp.* 2.

1 June. **440.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 335.

Encloses duplicate of his letter of the 29th ult. (*Cipher:*) Has heard since that the Pope and the Florentines give money and collect troops. That all the passes in the lands of the latter are being occupied, and that those who go to and fro are detained, that they may not bring intelligence of the preparations being made against this city (Genoa). At Pietradante they seized, the other day, a Spanish courier, Guillen Ros by name, who had come [from Spain] with despatches of the 12th of May. He was going to Rome; the Florentines stopped him and made him go back. Has heard since that the courier took the road to the coast, so as to go [to Rome] by sea; but it is to be feared he will meet with the same obstacles by sea as by land.

Concludes from the above that the Pope, the Venetians and the Florentines have thrown off the mask, and are about to declare themselves the enemies of the Emperor. At Genoa, the defences are being put in order. Don Ugo, the Marquis and Leyva have been written to. The Doge and Community have asked for three companies [of Italian infantry], which are expected to arrive within three days' time. They did

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not dare to ask for Spaniards, for fear of some outbreak.* He (Soria) imagines the Genoese will be soon in a condition to meet the attacks of the enemy, and that they will hold their ground by land as well as by sea, provided there is no stir within Genoa itself, of which he is very much afraid, especially with this new cry of "liberating Italy from the foreign yoke," which seems to be the motto of the confederates.

Hears that Andrea Doria has now eleven galleys under him, counting three of the Order [of St. John] of Rhodes. He and the rest seem determined to do all the injury they can to the Emperor's subjects, and therefore it is imperative that Portundo's galleys, now at Barcelona, and those of Naples, return here to defend this city and port, which is sure to be attacked first.—Genoa, 1st of June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 1st June."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

2 June. **441.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 351.

Wrote on the 24th May last, giving an account of his visit to Genoa, the object of his journey, the money he was able to procure, and other particulars. On the 29th he (the Abbot) received the Emperor's letter of the 12th, referring him to Don Ugo [de Moncada], of whose intended departure from the French court news were received at Milan. Since then, Francisco de Luxan, brother of the warder of Gaeta, has arrived, who says he met Don Ugo seven post-houses on this side of Cuña (Cognac), where the French King now resides. We are afraid, however, that the said Don Ugo has met with some accident on the road, for he ought to have arrived by this time. At any rate, these Italians are preparing for war, and will break out one of these days, as the Emperor will judge by the letter which the Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva wrote the other day, by the advice and with the approval of all the Imperial ministers and officials at Milan.

(*Cipher;*) With the 10,000 cr. (*escudos*) which he (the Abbot) brought from Genoa, and 8,000 more promised by the Duke of Savoy, by way of subvention to the men quartered upon his Estate, and out of which 5,000 have already been paid, we have begun to pay the Germans, but if Don Ugo

* "Que nos envien tres banderas de las buenas, porque temen este Duque y Comunidad de algun escandalo en la tierra."

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brings no money or bills of exchange, he (the Abbot) cannot see his way out of the present difficulties.

(*Common writing:*) There is a report here that, among other calumnies lately circulated at Court respecting the excesses of the Imperial troops in procuring food and extorting ransoms (*en el comer y rescatar*), one is that Antonio de Leyva received 500 cr. per day, or 15,000 ducats monthly, and that the report had reached the Emperor's ears. He (the Abbot) will venture his head that Leyva never appropriated one single penny (*maravedi*) of what does not belong to him. He is a gentleman of pure conscience and high honour, as may be seen by his deeds. His honesty and fidelity to the Emperor have no doubt brought upon him the enmity of some, who will lose no opportunity to slander him at Court. No greater favour could be bestowed upon him (Leyva) than to have his conduct investigated and a judicial inquiry instituted, so that the guilty parties, if any, and the calumniators, may be equally punished. He (the Abbot) begs particularly for the said inquiry; for were the said excesses and misdemeanors true, he would be guilty of not having reported them in due time.

Prothonotary Caracciolo arrived three days ago, to wait for Don Ugo [de Moncada], according to orders received from Court.—Milan, 2 June 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Since the above was written, the gentleman whom we despatched to Naples for money the day the Germans here rose in mutiny, has come back, bringing with him bills (*polizas*) to the amount of 20,000 ducats, payable, half at Milan, and half at Genoa. This is not much, considering our present wants, but it has come in time, and the money shall be spent for the most urgent wants of this army.

Forgot to mention that Bernardino della Barba, the Papal Nuncio in this city, had been holding frequent communication with the rebels and doing other things against the Imperial service. The Duke of Sessa having been informed of it, that he might complain to His Holiness, the Nuncio has been recalled, and went away post-haste *quasi hospite insalutato.* Mentions this fact, that His Imperial Majesty may judge whether the reports in circulation about him are true or not. Since his departure [for Rome] the movements and practices of the Milanese have lost much of their vitality.—*Data ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Abbot of Najera, 2 June."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

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2 June. **442.** COMMANDER HERRERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 341.

Left Rome on the 20th of May to come here [to Milan]. Passed through Sienna, and told the citizens what the Emperor's wishes were. The Signory, it appears, is determined to do good service; (*cipher*) but as the affairs of Italy are rather in a precarious state just now, and as the Pope and the Florentines evidently have their eye upon that city, they (the Siennese) have, with his advice, determined to raise troops and prepare for defence.

Came to Milan on the 26th, to wait for Don Ugo [de Moncada], whose arrival is anxiously expected, as it is hoped that he will bring sufficient provision for the Imperial army. As the Marquis, Leyva and the others have written about this, there is no need for him (Herrera) to dwell longer on this subject.

The Infante [Archduke Ferdinand] has been told to be in readiness lest his forces should be required here; for news has been received at this camp—and he (Herrera) has heard the same at Rome—that the Pope and the Venetians, with the help of several thousand Switzers lately taken into their pay, are determined to come here and oblige us, if they can, to raise the siege of this castle. Is afraid that the Imperial army will not be able to resist the enemy's fury. In his opinion the army ought to be increased, or else the Archduke ought to come down in force and create a diversion. Matters, however, are in such a state that if His Imperial Majesty applies a proper remedy in time he will easily become the monarch of the whole world.* If, on the contrary, the procrastinating politics hitherto pursued prevail, he (Herrera) is afraid that the worst consequences are to be apprehended. Whatever information he (Herrera) sent from Rome respecting the plans of the Pope and of the Venetians has been fully confirmed by what he has since seen and heard [at Milan].

(*Common writing:*) Antonio de Leyva has heard [from Spain] that His Imperial Majesty is displeased with him (*no está contento dél*), and he is very much hurt at the idea that the Emperor may have listened to the false reports of his enemies at Court. His services are so well known to everyone here that it would be a pity if the honour and reputation of so faithful and devoted a servant of the Empire was to be impaired by the slandering reports of his detractors. His Imperial Majesty should place entire confidence in these old servants of his, and surround them with that authority and prestige which their services deserve and which may be so beneficial hereafter to the Imperial cause, not listen to the gossip (*parlerias*) of those who, after all, are the Emperor's enemies. (*Cipher:*) These and other similar reports are

* "Lo de aqui está en terminos que si V. Mag^{d} lo remedia con tiempo, será señor del mundo."

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propagated with a bad intention and in pursuance of a certain plan (*grangeria*) adopted by these Italians, and which might, in the end, be successful if the Emperor lent an ear to such calumnies.

He (Herrera) was preparing to return [to Spain], such being the opinion of the Marquis and Leyva; but seeing matters in such dangerous state and the plans of the confederates so mature, he has changed his mind and prefers staying [at Milan], where, in the event of an outbreak, he can be more useful [than in Spain].

(*Common writing:*) His brother, the warder (*alcayde*) of Tarento, arrived, the other day, on his way [to Spain] to kiss the Emperor's hands. Both the Marquis [del Guasto] and Leyva, however, thought his services were required under the present circumstances, and he therefore remains. They have offered him the command of 100 lances,* besides a good number of light horse, to be in the vanguard of this army. He is waiting to know the Imperial pleasure and orders.—Milan, 2 June 1526.

Signed: "Herrera."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Commander Herrera."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 343). pp. 3.

2 June. **443.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 345.

The Imperial letter of the 27th ult°. came duly to hand. Don Ugo de Moncada is anxiously expected, (*cipher*) although things are in such a plight, and he has been so long on the way, that if he is to come empty-handed he had better not come at all. The wants of the Imperial army are always on the increase, as His Imperial Majesty will clearly see by his former despatches.

(*Common writing:*) Was about to return home, with the Emperor's permission, when the generals (Guasto and Leyva) begged him to stay [at Milan], where his services might be required. Has complied with their request.

Wrote on the 8th, mentioning the fact of certain bands of Italian infantry and light cavalry having been sent to Piedmont for quarters against the will of the Duke of Savoy. Lamentable events have since occurred in those districts, in consequence of that measure. One whole company of Italian

* "Hanle dado cargo de cien lanzas *espesadas* y de una buena banda de caballos ligeros, que seran los de la avanguarda ó batalla." The word *espesadas*, which seems derived from the Italian *spessa* (cost, expense), means, if I am not mistaken, men-at-arms serving at their expense, with a fixed stipend, differently from those who drew rations of food from the inhabitants.

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light horse has been almost entirely destroyed,* and two or three more despoiled of whatever they had (*desvalijadas*); though the remainder—to revenge the fate of their comrades—laid the country waste as far as the Astesano, whither they ultimately retired. The Duke wrote, offering his excuses and some sort of compensation, when it was agreed that if he lent 8,000 ducats for the most urgent wants of the Imperial army, no notice should be taken of the matter. He (Hurtado) is of advice that the money offered by the Duke should not be accepted, and, if accepted as a loan, returned as soon as possible; for certainly if the inquiry he (Hurtado) has been lately instituting be correct, the Duke's subjects have lost, since the beginning of the last war, upwards of one million and a half of ducats.

(*Cipher:*) Antonio de Leyva is discontented; the Emperor should write to him; for certainly these are not times to have a man of his quality and parts put in bad humour. He and the Marquis are most indefatigable and most faithful servants, and deserve Imperial consideration. If, as private letters from Spain announce, they are accused of having appropriated the proceeds of certain offices and taxes, it is a most horrible calumny, the money having entered the coffers of the army, as the treasurer himself and he (Hurtado) can testify.

Miguel de Herrera and Felipe de Herrera, his brother, have likewise decided to remain at Milan as long as their services may be required.

(*Cipher:*) The captains and the men are all in good spirits, and ready to do service. Should the French King only remain quiet for a while, and the Imperial soldiers not be consumed by poverty in the meantime, Hurtado thinks that those who begin the dance will have to pay for the musicians. But the Emperor must bear in mind what the Marquis and Leyva have said in their last despatches, and provide accordingly, for no precaution is too great against these traitors.—Milan, 2 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope Hurtado, 2 June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher No deciphering.† *pp.* 2½.

5 June. **444.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 347.

Has arrived at Milan, where, according to orders, he (Caracciolo) is to wait for Don Ugo. Has since received the Imperial

* *See* above, No. 433.

† The deciphering to this letter is not in the volume, but has been made out with the assistance of a key preserved in the Archives of Simancas.

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letter of the 14th of May last. (*Cipher:*) Need not mention the suspicion generally entertained that the Pope, the Venetians and all the rest of the confederates will soon take up arms; or the rumour that Doria is about to attack Genoa with his eleven galleys; or the wants of the Imperial army; or the positions which it occupies, because on all these matters the generals have already informed His Imperial Majesty. Will only say that the army is reduced to the last extremity, and the men are very much out of temper. He (Caracciolo) has somewhat recovered during his last journey, but is not well yet.—Milan, 2 June 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 2 June."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1⅓.

5 June. **445.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 361.

Has written by a messenger who takes letters for the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy); but as the bearer of this might reach Court sooner, sends a duplicate by him. Has heard since from the masters of certain vessels that entered this port last night, coming direct from Xio (the island of Chio), which they left on the 11th of April, that, on the 1st of the said month, they met, ten leagues from Gayeta (Gaeta), Andrea Doria with his eleven galleys; where bound for they could not say. Fancies that Doria, knowing that the people of this city (Genoa) are on the alert and ready to receive him, has changed his purpose, and makes it appear as if he were cruizing in search of Moorish vessels (*fustas*). The people of Naples, however, suspect him, and have reinforced the garrison of Gaeta.

The masters of the said merchant vessels add that, whilst on the coast of Calabria, they fell in with 24 Turkish sail (*fustas*), which had caused much damage thereabouts, and made several prizes. They have also brought the intelligence that the Turk was arming 200 galleys, and preparing, besides, a very large land force, to invade the kingdom of Hungary.

Has just received a letter from Don Ugo [de Moncada], announcing his arrival at Turin on the 2d instant, and saying he would leave for Milan on the 3d.

Nothing new from Venice but what the Emperor must already have seen by Sanchez' despatches, namely, the frequent calls of the Milanese ambassador (Marco Foscari) upon the Doge, couriers backwards and forwards to Rome, &c.

Hears that the Imperial army is being concentrated round Milan, and all strategic points in the Duchy occupied. Intelli-

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gence had been received there that the Switzers held their diet on the first of this month, and resolved to give aid to the Pope. Most people, however, were of opinion that the Switzers will not dare do it openly, from fear of displeasing the Emperor. The French King, it was reported, had contributed some money towards that object.

The courier, bearer of this despatch, leaves in all haste with letters for Mons. de Bourbon, from one of his servants (*servidores*), telling him that he may now return to Italy without any fear of Doria's galleys, since they have taken the way to Naples. Please God he might come back, or the galleys without him!—Genoa, 5 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 5 June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering appended. pp. 4.

7 June. **446.** Don Hugo de Moncada to the Emperor.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 207. Lanz, *Corresp.*, vol. I., p. 212.

The enclosed* will inform the Emperor how things are going on [at Milan?]. The affairs of Italy ought to be attended to. God knows how much he (Don Hugo) desires peace, principally with the Pope. Has often said so to His Imperial Majesty, and now repeats it again. There are three ways of bringing about a lasting peace; namely, to please the Pope both with respect to the Duke Francesco Sforza, and also respecting his claims on the Duke of Ferrara, and afford reasons for the Emperor's journey [to Italy]. 2dly. To make some agreement with the French King. 3dly. To provide quickly for the wants of this Imperial army, because, in so doing, the Emperor will be successful in all his enterprises. God will punish him who is the cause of all the harm that is done.

Will, when at Rome, endeavour to ascertain what are the Pope's intentions, the preparations for war, and the news from France. Will keep the negotiations in suspense until an answer comes to his despatch.

Knight Commander Herrera, who is shortly going to Spain, will verbally relate many particulars he knows of. The Emperor might grant him a secret audience, and interrogate

* The letter alluded to by Don Hugo, in which he, no doubt, related at full the riots at Milan, on the 23rd and 29th of April, was intercepted in France, as the Nuncio (Capino) informs us in one of his despatches to the Pope. The above not being original, but only a copy of the French translation made at the time, the circumstance of one letter being found in the Belgian Archives, whilst the other, its enclosure, does not exist, may be thus satisfactorily explained.

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him. He is a good servant of the Empire, and will tell the truth.—Milan, 7 June 1526.

Signed: "Don Hugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur, &c."

French. Copy. Translated from the Spanish.

7 June. **447.** The DUKE OF SESSA, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 374-8.

Wrote on the 19th ult°., communicating the intelligence received up to that date. Sends an express now to inform His Imperial Majesty of what he has learned since.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope has been making lately all manner of preparations for war, having sent to Switzerland the bishops of Lodi and Veroli,* and made, besides, other provision. He is in close relationship, as before, with the Venetians; though both he and the Signory have hitherto proceeded with great caution and reserve in the matter, fearing lest the King of France might be persuaded to make a fresh agreement with His Imperial Majesty. At last, the day before yesterday, at night, they received letters, dated the 26th May, informing them that the desired treaty had been concluded and signed. Such was their joy on the receipt of this intelligence that the Duke firmly believes they must have received at the same time the news of the conclusion of their mutual league against His Imperial Majesty. What the terms and conditions of this league may be, he (Sessa) cannot at present determine; but, from information gathered in various quarters, is very much inclined to believe it is, in substance, as follows: A perpetual offensive and defensive league against whomsoever should assail their liberty. The King of France to contribute 40,000 ducats every month, and 600 lances all the time the war lasts. The King of England 20,000 per month; the Venetians 800 lances and 10,000 foot; whilst the Pope is to furnish 500 lances and 8,000 infantry. The contributions in money to be appropriated for the pay of 10,000 Switzers, whom he (the Pope) has already sent for in a great hurry (*con gran furia*) through the mediation and assistance of France. With these forces their object is so to molest and harass the Imperial army, as to shut it up within the walls of Pavia, Lodi, Como and Alessandria, obliging it to raise the siege of the castle of Milan, so that it may be relieved by the confederated forces. They fancy by this plan to oblige His Imperial Majesty to come to terms with them, and leave the Duke in possession of his Estate. They publicly announce that the French King has expressly bound himself to support and defend the Duke (Francesco Sforza), which last stipulation is a matter of wonder to him (Sessa),

* "Al obispo de Lodi y al Verulano (Ennio Filonardo)."

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unless the French King intends to observe this treaty as faithfully as others entered into with His Imperial Majesty. Count Guido [Rangone] had already collected 6,000 men at Modena, and was making more levies. He had sent a messenger to the Duke of Ferarra, asking for provisions and a free passage through Rezzo (Reggio), promising not to molest him in the least. The Duke has presented his compliments to the Pope, and agreed to the Count's proposals.* Joannin of Medicis is also raising 3,000 men, so that everywhere the mine is loaded and ready to explode.

Don Hugo's arrival at Milan is reported. He (Sessa) cannot assert this as a fact, not having received any letters from that city since the 19th May; thinks, however, he has come too late. The other day, when a friend of his asked the Pope what he thought of doing on Don Hugo's arrival, he answered: "He was so long coming through France that I could not wait for him; I will tell him so."

Il Guachardino (Guicciardini) leaves to-day for the army, of which he is to be commissary-general; the generals in command to be Count Guido [Rangone] and the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Mantua having refused to take charge of it.

On the receipt of the above-mentioned intelligence, he (the Duke) called upon His Holiness, and expressed his amazement at his conduct in this affair, declaring to him how sorry he was to see him on such a dangerous path, likely to bring his interests to ruin; for (said he) if his wish really was for the Duke of Milan to remain in possession of his Estate, and he knew, as he had frequently told him, that Don Hugo was coming shortly with such a resolution on that point as would satisfy all parties, why not wait for him, rather than have recourse to arms, which, besides being so dangerous and costly an experiment, was highly derogatory to his dignity and authority. The Pope's answer to these remonstrances was: "You are right in what you say; but being already engaged somewhere else, I must needs keep my engagements."

In his (Sessa's) opinion these people have made up their mind. Their plan consists in obliging His Imperial Majesty to accept one of the two conditions proposed by them, and which have always been rejected;† so that the Emperor shall receive the law from them, whereas he can give it to the whole world, provided the necessary measures are taken to ensure success. In his opinion the first thing to do is to pay the arrears due to the Imperial army and remit money for the enlistment of as many Germans as would match the enemy's forces. To send to the parts of Naples or of Sienna 4,000 or 5,000 infantry and some men-at arms, with which force, added to those which can be collected in those districts, Tuscany and

* "Y el Duque hizo aqui su cumplimiento con Su Santidad y se contenta."

† "Estos piensan forzarle á ninguno (á uno ?) de los partidos que le anteponen y fasta agora se les han negado."

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the Roman estates may be invaded, so as to leave the enemy no leisure to engage in other enterprises.

His Imperial Majesty must be persuaded that the Pope and the rest of the Italian Princes who have entered into this league will do everything in their power to gain their object; and though some friendly people may write from hence that they will do this and do that, and are sufficiently strong of themselves to conquer the enemy and ruin him, His Imperial Majesty should not be deceived by such brilliant offers; for it will be found that, without our money, our forces and our authority, the said parties* will be unable to accomplish anything. Indeed, were the said friends—scantily provided, as they are—to undertake anything against the Pope, they would only provoke him to take up arms and destroy them, which he could easily do, since they all belong to the same country (*son una misma gente*), after which he might invade the kingdom of Naples, which is entirely without defences.

(*Common writing:*) Has written to Milan and to Genoa, as well as to Naples and to His most Serene Highness the Archduke, informing them all of the new turn affairs are taking.

(*Cipher:*) Has likewise written to the Imperial camp about certain secret intelligence which the Pope and the Venetians are said to have there with the chief of the Italian infantry and with another German captain, for the purpose of corrupting the men under their command.

The Pope having, as intimated above, declared his intention, and there being nothing more to do at Rome, he (Sessa) is thinking of going to the Imperial camp and personally serving in the army, as he may be more useful there than here [at Rome]. Will wait 10 or 12 days more; and if Don Hugo arrives in the meantime, and he (Sessa) sees that rupture is inevitable, will carry his plan into execution, and repair to the army. Should anything occur at Rome to require his presence, he can easily return there in the course of four or five days.

(*Common writing:*) The brief of absolution to persons concerned in the execution of the Bishop of Zamora has not yet been obtained. They make all manner of difficulties about it, and the affair is likely to be referred to the Cardinals.

Andrea Doria is in the Levant. He is now at Ponça with eleven galleys, besides three of the Order of St. John. (*Cipher:*) Rather an ugly customer in those seas, where there is no force to meet him.—Rome, 7 June 1526.

P.D.—Begs for the payment of a bill drawn by the Bishop of Oviedo† for the expenses of this courier.

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* Probably the Colonnese.

† Don Francisco de Mendoza y Cordoba, from January 1526 to the end of 1528. He was Sessa's uncle.

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Count Guido has already taken the road to Piacenza. The Venetians are marching on Milan, though slowly, to give time for the Switzers to arrive. All the money the Pope is now expending comes from Florence, whose citizens give out that they have 400,000 ducats at his disposal, so that he may reserve his money for a better opportunity. This last intelligence he has from a very trustworthy person.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the two Sicilies, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Duke of Sessa, 7th June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 383). *pp.* 10.

8 June. **448.** Il Gobbo* to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 373.

Complains of the officials at Naples, who do not consult him upon sea matters. Several galleys are being fitted out in that port, and his opinion has not been asked, and yet there is no one in the place who understands the business better or who is more anxious to do service. Feels it very much, not on his own account, but for the loss which the Emperor is likely to sustain through it. The said officials do not observe the articles of his (Gobo's) contract; for, instead of contenting themselves with a fifth of the value of a prize for the Imperial treasury, they want the whole of it. Only the other day his galleys captured a Moorish vessel (*fusta*) at sea. They not only wanted the vessel itself (*il buco*), but also the captain, who, according to stipulation, is a prisoner of his.

Begs for orders to the officials not to molest him as they do, and to act justly towards him.

Addressed: "To His Majesty the Emperor."

Spanish. Translation from the Italian. p. 1½.

8 June. **449.** Gio. Matheo Giberto, Datary, to Messer Capino.

Lettere di Principi, Vol. I., f. 189.

Wrote on the 5th inst., and will go on informing him of the state of affairs. Will in future address his letters to Signor Roberto (Secretary Robertet), that he may open and read them in his (Capino's) absence. The Papal Nuncio at Venice (Bishop of Pola) and Messer Francesco Guicciardino have been instructed to do the same.

The latter (Guicciardino) left, the day before yesterday, for Piacenza, there to take the command of the Papal forces, which muster already 8,000 foot, between 700 and 800 men-at-arms, and 800 light horse. Signor Giovanni (de Medici)

* A Genoese admiral in the Imperial service.

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is to take command of the infantry, having under his orders Rangone and Vitello. The Venetians keep an equal force in readiness, whilst the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) and the castellan of Mus (Gianiacopo de' Medici) must be by this time on the frontiers—perhaps, too, in the estate of Milan—the former with 6,000 Switzers, the latter with 2,000 Grisons. The whole of Italy is full of hope, and the Milanese themselves are prepared to defend their liberties stoutly. In short, everything goes on prosperously, and we are sure of victory. Had the most Christian King helped us with money, as he promised to do, sent the Archbishop of Salerno (Fregoso) with the fleet to Genoa, and the Marquis of Saluzzo with the French lances, we should already have heard of some good enterprise in those parts.

Needs not remind him (Capino) that the French must be persuaded to do all they can to prevent the return of the Imperial galleys, for should they anchor at Genoa, the enterprise in contemplation would be very difficult. Having allowed Don Ugo de Moncada to quit [France] and come [to Italy], the least that the King can do is not to let Bourbon come to Genoa with his galleys, as it is very important just now that the Imperial army should have two generals disagreeing with each other.*

Out of the 5,000 [Italian] infantry which the Spaniards had at Correggio, literally starving, Count Guido (Rangone) has managed to draw one half under the banners of the League; the other half attempted to cross the Pò at Bressello, but, finding the whole country up in arms, abandoned their captains, and went, some to Modena, and some to Parma, where they will be incorporated with the Papal forces.

As his (Capino's) exertions, coupled with those of the English and Venetian ambassadors,† have hitherto been so successful in bringing about the conclusion of this league, His Holiness hopes that Capino will persevere, and persuade the King of France not to listen to any proposals made by the Emperor, as by Italy becoming free and the Emperor's forces being weakened through this war, he (the King) will no doubt obtain better and more honourable conditions; the Emperor will restore him his children, and perhaps also remain his friend ever after. In this war the King cannot spend a sixth part of the sum he has offered for their ransom; and the lion's nails will be so clipped that he will become harmless.

* "E poi che è fatto questo di lasciar venir Don Ugo, non si lasci almeno passar' altri, che a gran proposito è che l'essercito de nimici si troui con due capi discordi." In the absence of Bourbon—who did not return from Spain until the end of June, having landed at Genoa on the 28th, and reached Milan on the 6th of July—the Imperial forces remained under the command of the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva. If any disagreement existed between them, not a word is said in the Abbot's correspondence, who would not have failed to report it to the Emperor.

† The English ambassadors in France at this time were Sir William Fitz William and Dr. Tayler; the Venetian, Andrea Rosso.

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His Holiness has sent for all the Orsini and some of the Colonnese, such as Stefano [Colonna] di Prenestina and others who follow his party. They are to be employed on the frontier of the kingdom of Naples, which is to be invaded as soon as the affairs of Lombardy will permit.

Capino is desired to correspond, as frequently as he can, with the Papal Nuncio in England, Prothonotary (Umberto di Gambara), and urge him to represent to King Henry the necessity of helping the league with money, since he has so powerfully contributed with his authority and advice to its conclusion.

On his return, by way of Switzerland, Capino will find there letters from the Bishop of Veroli (Ennio Filonardo), informing him of the state of affairs in Italy. Should it be deemed necessary to make fresh levies of Switzers, he (the Datary) is sure that the King of France will not object to advance the required funds, as such a reinforcement is likely to ensure the success of this enterprise, and wrest more advantageous conditions from the Emperor.

His Holiness considers it advisable to gain over to the French party the Reverend Bishop of Grassa, Monaco, his capital, being a very important city, whence much injury could be done to our present undertaking. The Bishop appears very friendly; and His Holiness is of opinion that if the offer was made to restore all he formerly possessed, there would be no difficulty in persuading him to join the league.

The enclosed, for Don Miguel de Silva,* once Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Capino is to forward either to the Legate (Salviati) or to [Castiglione] the Papal Nuncio [in Spain], that it may be safely delivered into his own hands.

Trusting that the most Christian King will use all possible speed in these matters, and that he will not listen to any overtures of the Spaniards, His Holiness has deliberately launched himself in this enterprise; and although Don Ugo—who is shortly expected here—brings, as reported, very

* The letter here mentioned may be found in Vol. I., p. 197, of the *Lettere di Principi, le quali, ó si scrivono da Principi ó a Principi, ó ragionando di Principi*, a most important collection, formed and published by Thomasso Porcachi in 15 . ., and several times reprinted. I use the edition of Ziletti, Venice, 1581, in three volumes, 4to., which is considered the best, and has considerable additions. The letter is addressed to *Don Michele di Silva*, and dated Rome, the 10th ? of June. The Datary informs him that the league between the Pope, France, Venice and the Duke of Milan, has been concluded, a place being reserved for the King of England. He regrets to hear that the Portuguese have procured the Emperor 200,000 ducats, destined for his Italian army. Will try and see whether, in the meantime, Genoa cannot be reduced, so that the Emperor may not remit the money thither. As to the Infante of Portugal having the duchy of Milan: "Sono sogni e barrerie." His Holiness meditates the invasion of Naples: "Faremo che Cesare conosca quanto perde per essere stato si ingrato á Dio e gli huomini del mondo; senza forza, son certo non ne possiamo aspettare altro che male, nessun conto della sede Apostolica, una sete infinita di regnare per fas et nefas e tanti mali che spero in Dio non sia per sopportar tanto disprezzo delle cose sue." Begs to hear from him as soon as possible; nobody is to see his letters but the Pope. If the Emperor is not furnished with money, the cause of the league is gained. Don Ugo left France on the 23d, with very fine offers, as is said; but having thrown off the mask (*essendo già scoperti*), we cannot trust his words.

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advantageous offers (*grandissimi partiti*) from the Emperor, he will not be moved from his purpose.—Rome, 9 June 1526.

Signed: "Gio. Matteo Giberto, Datario."

Addressed: "A M. Capino."

Italian.

8 June. **450.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 408.

By Don Ugo's letters* and by what Miguel de Herrera will personally relate, His Imperial Majesty will be sufficiently informed of the Duke Francesco's intention (*voluntad*), as well as of the designs of the Pope and the Venetians—which have already commenced—the wants of the Imperial army and other particulars. It was well that Don Ugo arrived at this time, and Commander Herrera departed for Spain; for the former by letter, and the latter by word of mouth, will be able to say how matters stand here. The Italians seem to have entirely forgotten the favours and benefits of past times. The Duchy is entirely wasted and so poor that the inhabitants can hardly support themselves, much less an army that must of necessity live upon them. So exasperated are the country people that they look upon us as Turks and worse than Turks. A little money spent on this army might bring treasures to the Emperor, maintain his glory and reputation, and increase his power.

Intends to leave soon for Spain, in compliance with the Imperial mandate of the 12th May, which he (Hurtado) has just received.—Milan, 8 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope Hurtado, 8 June."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

8 June. **451.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 407.

As Commander Herrera, who is fully acquainted with Italian affairs and the late occurrences, has departed [for Spain], he (Caracciolo) will not trouble His Imperial Majesty with an account of what has lately passed with this Duke.—Milan, 8 June 1526.

Signed: "Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

* Don Hugo's letters of the 6th, and Commander Herrera's of the same date, were intercepted, as may be seen in one of Chiappino's, the Papal Nuncio in France, abstracted by Brewer, IV., p. 1000. Yet it is remarkable, as I have observed elsewhere (p. 726, *note*), that his letter of the 7th, wherein he says that he has enclosed the intercepted one, should have been preserved.

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8 June. **452.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 393–7.

In consequence of advices received from Rome stating that Andrea Doria, with the Pope's consent, was about to come and stir up a revolution in this city, the Doge and Community have made all necessary provision for its defence. The last news, however, is that Andrea Doria with his 11 galleys had gone towards the kingdom of Naples, and that the Florentines had opened the passes, which were closed some time ago. If so, this would show that, hearing of the preparations made in this city, they desist from the attack. Troops, however, are still being collected, both at Parma and at Modena, and we are not without suspicion that they may be intended to act against this city.

When the Doge and he (Soria) first heard of Doria's departure for Civittà Vecchia,* it was agreed between them, for the better defence of this city, to write to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva for two companies of Italian infantry which were then quartered on Genoese territory. The Italians came, and when at about two leagues from this city, the rumour spread that they were plundering the towns and villages through which they passed and committing all kinds of excesses. He (Soria) went out to them and ascertained that the accusation was unfounded. The men had not stolen anything; but, being without money or provisions, were naturally looking about for food among the inhabitants. During his (Soria's) absence, the townspeople rose in arms, the doors of houses and shops (*botigas*) were shut, the Palace-guard got in order, and some of the citizens actually went out of the city to make the Italians disgorge their supposed plunder. Perceiving that the country people were also taking up arms, he (Soria) hastily collected the two Italian companies and placed them in two monasteries, close to each other, whilst he himself went to the Genoese, explained to them that the rumour was groundless, and promised that if anything save food had been taken from the country people it should be immediately restored. The tumult being appeased, the Doge and Community still insisted upon the two said companies returning to their quarters on the frontier of Lombardy, and yesterday they marched off on the road to Milan.

(*Cipher:*) Such a demonstration on the part of the Genoese, at a time, too, when they most want the Emperor's protection and aid against the common enemy, is very significant. However exaggerated the news on the first instance, there was no occasion for the citizens to show such ill-will towards people who were actually coming to defend them. No forces of the Imperial army will henceforward come here when summoned; and it is to be feared that if vigorously attacked by the enemy, Genoa may, one of these days, be lost. Has

* "Quando entendimos que Andrea Doria era partido en Cività Vieja."

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written to the generals at Milan, requesting them not to take any notice of this occurrence, and devise the means of defending this city in case of attack. For if the garrison be not reinforced, there is a danger of the citizens making that an excuse to enter into some sort of agreement with the enemy, and the Doge himself, though well meaning and firmly attached to the Emperor's service, will not be able to prevent it.

The galleys of Naples are much wanted here, as without them there is no security in this port and city.

Has been told that at the time the city rose so tumultuously against the Italian infantry, some among the lowest of the Adorni and Fregosi met together and discussed the expediency of the two parties uniting, as proposed some time ago, and revenging themselves on the nobles, who, they said, were the cause of all their troubles and dangers. He (Soria) has reasons to think that unless matters in Italy take a more favourable turn for the Emperor, the Genoese are sure to seize the first opportunity to unite the two opposite factions (Adorni and Fregosi), and constitute a government similar to that of Venice. Wishes for instructions how to act, because the present Doge, as far as he (Soria) can understand, is not very far from assenting to that idea; and whether the citizens determine to accept him as the head of their new government or cast him off altogether, as some people believe, certain it is that the revolution will take place. The principal instigators are Andrea Doria and the Datary, in the Pope's name, whose interest it is that this city should proclaim its freedom. This is the reason why, on the day of the rising, the Doge sent out the Palace-guard, lest the people should take advantage of the riot to proclaim the desired union. This the Doge will never favour unless the Emperor's cause is entirely lost in Italy, and he himself is sure of preserving his place in the new government.

(*Common writing:*) Don Hugo de Moncada has sent him (Soria) a letter of credence, wherein His Imperial Majesty orders him to follow that general's instructions. Needs not add that the Emperor's commands shall be punctually obeyed.—Genoa, 8 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

9 June. **453.** The Same to Prothonotary Umberto di Gambara, Papal Nuncio in England.

Lettere di Principi, Vol. I., f. 190.

The departure of the President (Guicciardino) devolves upon him the task of writing to England and elsewhere. Has

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written to Capino in France, and to the Bishop of Pola, at Venice, to keep him (Gambara) well informed of what is going on. The Magnifico Guicciardino is to do the same from the camp. He (Gambara) to correspond with them all, so that each may do his duty wherever he is, without waiting for further instructions from [Rome].

Should France act in concert with the confederated powers, victory is ensured. Though the King of England may not think the time has come to declare himself, he might, at least, help the confederates secretly. Thinks the King might do both with honour; that is, help the League with money and declare himself. The sole authority of so great a King would be worth another army. We do not, however, ask more than what the King of England is willing to give. The good understanding between the English ambassadors in France, the Papal Nuncio and Venetian Secretary, has no doubt been very effective for the conclusion of the league. Is to tell the King and the most Reverend Cardinal the great pleasure this has given His Holiness, and to obtain an assurance that the English ambassadors [in France] shall be instructed to persevere in their combined action, and, if possible, to improve the same, so as to keep the French King firm to his purpose of not listening to new Spanish overtures, and of fulfilling his promises in men and money, as that is the only means of recovering his sons and whatever else he may desire.

Although it cannot be presumed that the French King will fail in his promises, yet the respect which he must feel (*che è per hauere*) for King Henry will be a greater security. The King and Cardinal have always shown such care for the prosperity and welfare of Italy—now more than ever—that this country will for ever remain under an obligation to them and take the King for her patron. Recollects when he was last in England, at the time of the rupture between Henry and Francis, that the Cardinal of York said to him (Giberto) that the wings of so insolent a cock as the French King ought to be well clipped, so as to prevent him, in future, from disturbing Christianity. Now that the cock is chastised and has been replaced by an eagle—much more powerful and dangerous—it will appear to his most Reverend Lordship no less glorious an act to have the talons of the said eagle cut in such manner that it may rest contented with the greatness and power which God has given it.

Don Ugo is expected with great offers (*partiti grandi*), but military preparations will not be stayed on his account. Wishes he could make sure that the French King will not recede out of parental tenderness.

Messer Francesco Guicciardino is so generally esteemed for his affability, prudence and discretion, that there can be no doubt that he will be on the best possible terms with the Venetian commanders, the Illustrious Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) and the Proveditore (Pesaro),

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especially as the instructions which the latter has received from the Signory are exactly the same as those of the President (Guicciardino). Indeed, as the Papal Nuncio (Capino) and the Venetian Secretary (Rosso) agreed so well in France about the conclusion of this league, it is to be hoped that the union and understanding between the generals will be equally firm and profitable. The Nuncio, moreover, is to acquaint the Signory with the fact that, long before the arrival of the news from France announcing the conclusion of the league, His Holiness had decided to send the President (Guicciardino) to the army, and that he left three days ago (the 6th of June), that being the reason why the task of writing to him (Gambara) and other Nuncios abroad has devolved upon him (Giberto). Begs him to communicate this letter to the Bishop of Bayeux (Canossa), to save him the trouble of writing again.—Rome, 9 June 1526.

Signed: "Gio. Matteo Giberto."

Addressed: "Al Protonotario Gambara."

Italian.

9 June. **454.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 410.

Don Ugo de Moncada arrived here on the 5th with less provision in money than this city and the Imperial army had been led to expect, owing to which reason both the citizens and the generals (the Marquis and Leyva) are rather discontented. Begs and entreats that more money may be speedily sent, for war is imminent, and the Pope and the Venetians are making levies of men and preparing artillery.—Milan, 9 June 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Abbot of Najera, 9 June."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

10 June. **455.** Gio. Matheo Giberti to Monsignor di Pola, Papal Nuncio in Venice.

Lettere de Principi, Vol. I., f. 114.

The Pope has appointed Francesco Guicciardino his Commissary and Lieutenant at the army. Everything may be expected from his valour and discretion. Count Guido Rangone is to arrive to-day or to-morrow at Piacenza with his 4,000 men, after leaving sufficient garrisons in Modena and Parma. Vitello also is to go to Bologna with his band; and as Giovanni de Medici has received similar orders it is to be expected that the whole of our forces will meet at Piacenza in six or eight days at the farthest. Giulio Leno, an able engineer, is to command the artillery.

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His Holiness is waiting to hear the Signory's determination respecting the galleys that are to be sent to the coast of Apulia, as well as those destined for Genoa. It is most desirable that the Imperialists should be attacked at various points, and, above all, that the Emperor should be prevented, by the seizure of Genoa, from remitting money to his troops. Orders have been issued that no bills drawn upon merchants of this city or Florence are to be paid. The Signory ought to do the same there.

Letters from France of the 21st and 25th ult. state that the King had informed the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) of his intention to join the league, and that every possible entertainment and hospitality were being offered him, in order to gain time and prolong the negotiation. It had not yet been decided who was to command the auxiliary troops, some saying Mons. de St. Pol, and others Mons. de Brion, the King's great favourite, now Admiral of France.

Has written to the Nuncio (Chiapino) to urge the despatch of the supplies of men and money, as well as of the galleys for the Genoese enterprise. Has directed him to act in conjunction with the Venetian Secretary (Rosso) and the English ambassadors (Tayler and Fitzwilliam), and endeavour to keep the King firm and prevent his listening to the Emperor's overtures. Has also written to England, desiring them to encourage the French King and keep him in the right path, and also to ascertain whether secret aid is to be had from King Henry, and whether he is willing to declare himself in such good company.*—Rome, 10 June 1526.

Signed: "Gio. Mattheo Giberto, Datario."

Italian.

10 June. **456.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 417.

Wrote on the 7th inst., and sent his despatch to Milan for Commander Herrera to take. Don Ugo was to leave next day for Rome. He had gone into the castle, accompanied by Prothonotary Caracciolo and Knight Commander Herrera and spoken to the Duke (Francesco Sforza), who is still suffering from his usual complaint (*con la debileza de miembros acostumbrada*), and said he wished to live and die in the Emperor's service. After this Don Ugo went to Monça, to speak to Hieronymo Moron.

The Switzers are not yet stirring, though it is reported they have received money from the Pope and from the Venetians.

* "Quando non voglia ancora scoprirse con si bella compagnia!" Most of the letters of Gianmatheo Giberti and others contained in Porcacchi's Collection have been abstracted by Dr. Brewer. See *Letters and Papers*, vol. IV.

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The bearer of this comes from Rome with the Duke of Sessa's despatches. All along the road he has seen musterings of troops and a certain animosity against the Imperialists. News have come from Bologna, Modena, Parma and Piacenza that those cities and many more in the Papal estates are arming, and that the whole force is being concentrated at Piacenza. Unless Don Ugo's presence at Rome put a stop to such warlike preparations, the dance will begin soon. Fancies that Don Ugo has come too late to stop it.

Count Guido Ringon (Rangone) is in command of the Papal troops, and will shortly take the field with 7,000 foot, 700 men-at-arms and a good number of light cavalry.* The Venetians, on their side, are raising a strong force, and a large body of Switzers is expected.

The Imperial army is concentrated round Milan. The generals (Guasto and Leyva) are only waiting to see whether the Papal troops will cross the Po, and the Venetians the Adda. They will fight the first who comes, or both if they cross the river at the same time.

(*Cipher:*) The soldiers are in excellent spirits. Nothing is wanting save money; and if remittances come, victory is sure to be ours.

Begs to remind the Emperor of the defenceless state of Genoa, which port is so necessary for the Imperial army. All communications with Spain by land and sea may be cut off one of these days, especially if the French King be in the Pope's league and Andrea Doria come here with his galleys. This Doge is making such provision for the defence of this city and port as his very scanty resources will allow; but many of the citizens, as announced in former despatches, have conceived the project of a union [of the two rival factions], and, if reduced to extremity and no succour at hand, are likely to carry it into execution.

Has just received a message from the Lord of Monago, informing him that the 16 galleys† in the port of Marseilles are being armed with all speed, and that their destination is Villafranca di Niça. Doria's two galleys at Antibes are also ready; and if these 18 galleys come down, as it is feared, upon Villafranca, both Monago and Genoa may be placed in great straits.

The Doge has applied for money to assist in the defence of this port; and his ambassador at Court has been instructed to urge the point as much as possible. His father-in-law, Count della Mirandola, is now here attending to the defence

* In a later letter of Prothonotary Giovanni da Casale, the English ambassador in Venice, dat. 5th June, the following passage occurs: Count Guido Rangonus, the Papal captain, was enlisting soldiers even before the treaty was concluded. He is very courageous, and as hostile to the Spaniards as the Devil to the Cross. *See* Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. IV., p. 996.

† "Que las *seze* que estan en Marsella," &c. If not a mistake of the decipherer—for this paragraph is in cipher—*seze* must be for *diez y soys* in Spanish.

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of the place and doing good service.—Genoa, 10 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 10 June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

11 June. **457.** The Emperor to Don Hugo de Moncada.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 209. Lanz. *Corresp.*, f. 213.

His letters from Victoria and Cognac, advising his arrival at the court of France and fulfilment of his mission, have come to hand. Thanks him for the diligence used on the occasion, and for his leaving [Cognac] without raising suspicions about his departure. Hopes he (Don Hugo) has displayed the same zeal in his journey to Rome, and has by this time brought to an end, or nearly so, the negotiations intrusted to him. As success, however, depends in a great measure upon what is accomplished at Rome; as until the issue of Don Hugo's negotiations with the Pope be known, no definitive answer can be given to the new proposals made by the French King; it is the Emperor's intention to keep matters in suspense until that issue be communicated to him. For that purpose the Emperor has returned to the King the answer herein enclosed,* and ordered his Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) to stay at the court of France and keep matters as they are—without breaking off the negotiations—until information arrives of what he (Don Hugo) has been able to achieve [at Rome].

For which end, and the better to ensure the speedy termination of this affair, Don Hugo is to tell the Pope that although it be true that the French King makes some difficulty in surrendering Burgundy, he does not entirely refuse to comply with that condition [of the treaty of Madrid], but offers, in case of his being prevented from fulfilling it by the opposition of his subjects, to give the Emperor two millions of ducats, besides fulfilling all other clauses and stipulations of the treaty. Should, however, Don Hugo see no disposition in His Holiness to depart from the demands and objections which he has made lately, rather than breaking with him—since the good issue of affairs, there as well as here, depends in a great measure upon his good understanding with the Emperor—he is to say: That with regard to his contribution in money [for the expenses of the late war], the Emperor is satisfied with the 150,000 offered in the first instance.

* The answer is not appended, nor have the instructions here referred to been found at Vienna, Brussels or Simancas. Enough, however, may be gathered from the contents of this letter, as well as from the correspondence of Don Hugo himself and of the Duke of Sessa, which will be abstracted hereafter.

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Respecting the Duke of Ferrara and the restitution of Rezo and Rubera (Reggio and Rubiera), should His Holiness object to the arrangement proposed in the instructions, Don Hugo is to say that the Emperor will not oppose any agreement that he (the Pope) may make with the said Duke, personally or by means of his agents; so that he may, without the Emperor's help or intervention, recover the above-mentioned Estates, and make for them and for the investiture of Ferrara such conditions and bargain as he thinks proper, the Emperor refraining from asking for any compensation in money, and promising, all the time, not to assist or help the said Duke or do anything to the Pope's detriment. Indeed, had it not been for the oath he took at his election to uphold everywhere the Imperial rights and privileges, the Emperor would willingly have consented to the article as in the first draft, worded by the Pope, and added by him to the intended treaty.

With regard to the Salt, the Emperor will do everything in his power to persuade the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) to waive his right and do as His Holiness wishes.

Respecting Milan, which seems to be the principal difficulty, if Don Hugo, according to his instructions — which are sufficiently ample on this particular point—can persuade His Holiness to accept any of the expedients proposed, the Emperor is contented, and ready to sanction whichever of them is agreed upon. Should His Holiness, however, insist upon the reinstatement of the Duke Francesco Sforza, the Emperor consents to it, provided it be accomplished in the way of justice, and a satisfaction given to the Duke of Bourbon, to whom the said Duchy has been promised; so that until Sforza's trial be terminated and sentenced, he (Bourbon) receive for his maintenance 4,000 ducats monthly, or as much of that sum as can be had, from the rentals of that Estate. If, however, His Holiness should not agree to this last clause [about the money], Don Hugo is to waive it, and make such arrangements as may satisfy His Holiness, and give the Emperor a plausible excuse to make to Mons. de Bourbon.

In what concerns Naples and the ecclesiastical benefices—respecting which His Holiness wishes to abide by the words of the deed of investiture of that kingdom—Don Hugo is sufficiently empowered by his instructions to accede to the Pope's request on this particular.

With regard to the two marriages proposed, though Don Hugo has no power to consent to them without previous reference home, yet if it be found that His Holiness takes it much to heart, he is hereby empowered to grant the Emperor's consent to one or both of them, just as His Holiness may choose, on the best conditions that can be obtained, since the age of the parties being such that some time must elapse before the conclusion of the said matches, there is no harm in securing His Holiness' friendship by that means, so that he

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may afterwards induce the Venetians and other [Italian] potentates to conclude the defensive league [with the Emperor] and to pay their respective war contributions.

Should, however, His Holiness refuse to conclude, and try to put Don Hugo off by words or dilatory expedients; should it be suspected or otherwise understood that he (the Pope) is in treaty or has concluded any manner of stipulation with France; in that case Don Hugo is immediately to enter into negotiations with the Duke of Ferrara, with the Colonnese, the Siennese and others, as declared in the said instructions. In order the better to execute this, Hieronymo Severino has just been despatched back to Sienna, that he may keep the inhabitants faithful to the Emperor and dispose them, in case of invasion, to receive and maintain at their own cost any forces that may be detached from the Imperial army for their defence. The said Severino takes with him the confirmation of the privileges of the Siennese, as well as the draft of an obligation to be signed by the heads of that Signory, binding themselves to receive 100 men-at-arms and 2,000 foot, to pay them their usual stipend, or remit the money to the Imperial camp [at Milan], also to restore the emigrants (*foraxidos*) their property, as before their expulsion. Both the confirmation of their privileges and the obligation to be signed by the citizens, Severino is to deliver into Don Hugo's hands, that he may make proper use of both instruments. Should His Holiness allude to the late invasion of Hungary by the Turk, and the remedy to be applied thereto, suggesting that the Emperor ought to remit money to those parts, Don Hugo is to tell him that had His Holiness united himself with the Emperor in due time and granted him the Crusade so often and so earnestly demanded, there would probably have been no occasion for the present war, in which the whole of Christendom is likely to be engaged. As it is, and owing to His Holiness' dilatory behaviour and to the state of affairs both in Italy and in France, the Emperor cannot now, however much inclined he might otherwise be, take any decisive step in that matter, until the affairs with His Holiness be satisfactorily settled, when he (the Emperor) will not fail to employ his resources and his life for the defence of Christianity threatened by the Infidel.—Granada, 11 June 1526.

Since the above was written We have deemed it advisable to inform you, confidentially and in the most secret manner, that the agent of Cardinal Colonna now residing at this Court said to us, three days ago, that he had now a good chance of expelling the Pope from Rome and stirring up Sienna and even Florence and other fiefs of the Church against the Pope's authority. Wishing to delay our answer until the issue of your negotiation with the Pope should be known, We told him to wait; but the said agent insisted on a prompt decision, saying that his master the Cardinal

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wished to carry out his plans immediately; upon which We thanked the agent for the zeal his master showed in our service, and told him that you (Don Hugo) had full powers from us to act according to circumstances, and that We would inform you as secretly as possible of the Cardinal's offer, that you might, in case of need, communicate with his Reverence, and execute what might be considered best for our interests. We have no doubt that the agent has written to his master, and therefore you will, according to your instructions, gain time without resolving anything, until it be well ascertained whether His Holiness agrees to or rejects our offers, that being now the chief object of your mission, as well as the pivot of our negotiations with France. Should, however, the Pope reject our offers, and make impossible demands (*cosas imposibles*), or should you find out that he is only dallying in order to gain time and make his arrangements with other powers, in that case remember that he who strikes first strikes twice, and privately and with all secrecy induce the Cardinal to put his plan into execution as if it originated with himself.

Addressed: "Reverendo et Magnifico Priori, Consiliario nostro ac nostræ classis Maritimæ Capitaneo Generali, nostroque in Italia oratori."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 6.

13 June. **458.** Gio. Matheo Giberti to the Bishop of Veroli [Ennio Filonardo].

Lettere di Principi, Vol. I., f. 200.

Has received his three letters of the 7th, 8th and 9th, but they are so obscure (*confuse*) that he cannot understand their meaning; neither can His Holiness, to whom they have been shown. Had not he (the Bishop) announced, over and over again, that any number of men might be had from Switzerland, and, on the advance of one ducat per head, be led within ten days to the Venetian frontier; had he not placed excessive confidence, as he has done, in the promises of the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza),* and the Castellan of Mus (Gianiacomo de' Medici), other means might have been found to secure the aid of the Switzers. As it is, we are

* Count Gerardo dell' Archo was governor of the castle of Mus or Musso in January 1525, as appears from a letter of the Abbot of Najera to the Emperor, abstracted by Bergenroth, *Calendar*, &c., vol. II., p. 694; but at this time Gianiacopo de' Medici was in command of the place, as related by Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVII. The fact is confirmed by F. Leandro Alberti in his *Descrittione di tutta d'Italia*, 1577, 4to., fol. 420, v°. "Scorgesi poi sopra l'alto et aspro monte Musso tanto nominato ne' nostri giorni, per l'opere fatte da Giovan Giacomo de' Medici Milanese; il quale essendo quiui mandato da Francesco Sforza II. Duca di Milano per guardia del Lago, sene insegnori d'esso et dopo molte prode opere fatte da lui, fu creato Marchese di detto castello da Antonio da Leva."

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in great danger of not being able to succour the castle of Milan, which is our principal object and the basis of this present enterprise.

The Nuncio's orders in the first instance, and when the 10,000 ducats were remitted to him, were to help the operations of the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) and Castellan of Mus, as it was expected at the time that His most Christian Majesty would shortly join the league. But the Nuncio was also desired to spend that money sparingly and wisely. Until he had a certainty of the league having been accepted in France, he was to help the aforesaid Bishop and Castellan in their undertaking secretly and without raising suspicion. He has since been ordered to suspend all proceedings until hearing from the Bishop of Bayeux or Monsignor di Pola that the league had actually been concluded, in which case he was to follow former instructions and declare himself openly (*scoprirsi et spiegar le bandiere*). Now the Nuncio writes to say that, in his opinion, the utmost caution and reserve ought to be used, as he doubts whether the league has been made. What is the meaning of this? Has not the Bishop of Bayeux (Canossa) and the Papal Nuncio at Venice (Monsignor di Pola), has not himself (the Datary) repeatedly written to him announcing this happy and to all of us important event? Blunders of this kind are scarcely credible in a person of the age, experience and discretion of the Papal Nuncio in Switzerland. Begs him to take his remonstrances in good part. Would not have spoken so freely had he not been his friend. —Rome, 13 June 1526.

Signed: "Gio. Mattheo Giberto."

Addressed: "Al Vescovo di Veruli."

Italian.

13 June. **459.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, ff. 419–22.

In consequence of a letter from Don Ugo [de Moncada], dated Milan, the 5th inst., and another from His Imperial Majesty, ordering him to follow that ambassador's instructions, he (Sanchez) called upon the Signory on the 9th inst., delivered Don Ugo's letter, and explained the object of his mission and the general powers he had from His Imperial Majesty to treat and conclude all matters tending to ensure the peace of Italy and the welfare of the Christian world at large. He, at the same time, requested them to send to Rome an ambassador who might treat with Don Ugo, and inquire the meaning of certain military preparations in the territory of the Republic, about which he (Sanchez) had more than once remonstrated.

Their answer respecting this last point was, as on previous occasions, that if any preparations had been made it was

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rather to defend their country from invasion than to attack others. He (Sanchez) replied that Don Ugo's impression was a very different one; he thought, on the contrary, that the signs were those of invasion rather than defence of their own territory. Such, at least, was the rumour spread by the soldiers themselves. He (Sanchez) could not help telling the Signory that if their intention was to provoke war, it told sadly against their protestations and assurances so frequently given to Prothonotary Caracciolo and to himself, that they desired nothing but peace and union with His Imperial Majesty. They knew that the Imperial army had not molested them in the least; on the contrary, its commanders had sedulously removed any cause of complaint or even of suspicion. If their wish really was to live in peace with the Imperial army, as they had done hitherto, they must explain in a satisfactory manner the purpose of their military preparations, and openly declare their intentions, without which it was impossible for Don Hugo to fulfil his mission, which was solely to accomplish the pacification of Italy.

Told them, further, that both Prothonotary Caracciolo and Commander Herrera had called upon the Duke [of Milan] at the castle, and delivered to him a message from the Emperor, with which he (the Duke) had seemed contented. That Don Ugo was, in a couple of days, to leave for Rome, and see the Pope.

Their general answer was that they were very glad to hear of Don Ugo's arrival for such a purpose as the pacification of Italy and of the whole Christian world. They only wished he had come before; but, as it was, they would hold a meeting (*pregha*), discuss his proposals, and let him (Sanchez) know the result of their deliberations. They accordingly retired to a neighbouring chamber, and after some time sent for him (Sanchez), and repeated what they had said at first, adding, that, with regard to the ambassador's other inquiries, they had to consult the Council first; they would assemble it, and give an answer.

(*Cipher:*) It was not without intention that he (Sanchez) spoke to them about the Duke [of Milan] and the visit which both Caracciolo and Herrera had paid him; for had he not done so, these people, who are naturally suspicious (*rezelosos*), might have thought there was no chance of the Duke being included in the convention, or else that Don Ugo had brought with him what they most desire; namely, the Duke's complete absolution from guilt and consequent liberation. Either of these two things might, perhaps, have stayed their preparations for war, although he (Sanchez) is of opinion that Don Ugo has come too late; for, if the reports about this league be true, as he (Sanchez) has frequently written home, the Italian potentates will not be satisfied with the Duke Francesco's case being submitted to justice, from fear lest the judicial inquiry made into his culpability may help to reveal the

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guilt of others. Being already prepared for war, and the greater part of the cost incurred, they will no doubt prosecute their plans. Such, at least, is his (Sanchez') opinion in the matter, and he has written to Don Ugo about it.

(*Common writing :*) After the above conference, the Signory sent for the Pope's Legate (Bishop of Pola) and for the ambassadors of France (Bishop of Bayeux), England (Prothonotary Giovanni di Casale) and Milan (Taverna), to whom they communicated the contents of Don Ugo's letter and what he (Sanchez) had told them on the subject. Such is the ambassador's intelligence received through three different channels, (*cipher*) to which may be added that the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) was not at all pleased with the result of the conference, intimating that although His Imperial Majesty might have resolved to leave the Duke Francesco [Sforza] in possession of his Estate, it was not to the King of France's advantage that he should remain in it otherwise than by his master hand ; because His Imperial Majesty would be otherwise under the obligation of making restitution to the Duke's sons.*

The Signory has since held a *pregha*, and sent an express to the Pope at Rome in 34 hours, telling him not to listen to Don Ugo's proposals or come to any agreement with him, as they are sure of success. He (Sanchez) does not vouch for the truth of his intelligence ; he only repeats what has been related to him.

(*Common writing :*) The Signory sent him one of their secretaries to say that in their last *pregha* they had not come to any decision about the answer to be made to his proposals ; they would meet again on Monday, without fault, and give an answer on Tuesday. Sanchez made a suitable answer to the secretary.

(*Cipher :*) After this the above-mentioned ambassadors, viz., the Pope's, France, England and Milan, went together to the College Hall, and came out together, an evident sign that a league has been made by their respective masters, which cannot but be detrimental to the Imperial interests in Italy. He (Sanchez) has also heard that Cardinal Cortonna sent, the other day, an express to the Pope's Legate residing in this city,† begging him to inform this Signory that the Florentines had lately applied for admission into the league, and were ready to take up arms for the freedom of Italy.

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* "Al embaxador de Francia no le plugo diciendo que aunque V. Mag^{d} quiera dexar al Duque en el estado que no cumplia á su Rey que el Duque quedase sino por su mano, porque de esta manera era poner á V. M. en necesidad de restituir á sus hijos." The passage is rather ambiguous, as the Duke had no sons at the time ; but Count Ludovico di Canossa (for such was the Bishop's name), meant, probably, that in case of the Duke Francesco's death, his estate would pass to his posterity, and not to Maximiliano Sforza, who was the French candidate.

† Altobello Averoldi, Bishop of Pola, already mentioned in previous letters.

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He (Sanchez) has further been told—though he does not vouch for the truth of the report—that the late conferences of the said ambassadors with the Signory were for the sole purpose of discussing his own proposals in the Emperor's name. There were various opinions, not only among the ambassadors themselves, but among the councillors and senators, as to the answer to be returned. His informer also tells him that the King of France has not yet signed the treaty; that four only of the principal noblemen in the kingdom have appended their signatures to it, promising, however, that the King will sign it afterwards, the French ambassador having told the secretary to keep the matter secret.

Such is the information he (Sanchez) has been able to gather for the present; does not vouch for the truth, as his habit is not to certify facts unless he has witnessed them. His informer, however, is a man deserving of great trust; among other things he has told him which have turned out true, he has repeated to him word for word his own proposals to the Signory.

This Republic has given very strict orders to prevent money going out of their country. He (Sanchez) believes the order to have been issued purposely on his account, because, during the last war, he exported large sums for the use of the Imperial army.

Has been told that the Signory is secretly negotiating at Cremona. What the nature of the negotiation may be, and for what purpose, he (Sanchez) cannot guess, but he has given notice to Milan, that the generals of the Imperial army may be on their guard.

(*Common writing:*) This morning the Signory sent an answer to his address of the 9th. The substance of which is that they are glad to hear of Don Ugo's arrival in Italy and of the goodwill and inclination shown by His Imperial Majesty towards universal peace. Respecting other particulars, that as they are in perfect understanding and close union with His Holiness the Pope, with the most Christian King of France and with His Serene Highness the King of England, they cannot reply without first consulting every one of them, and ascertaining their wishes thereupon. All the said Princes, they maintain, are very well disposed towards universal peace; Christianity is in great danger if the Emperor and the rest do not come to an agreement,—and similar vague words to the same purpose. The ambassador replied that the proposal he had made in the Emperor's name treated of two different subjects. One was that they should send full powers to some person to treat with Don Ugo [at Rome]; the other to inquire what sort of relations they intended to carry on with this Imperial army. To the former of the two they had made some sort of answer, which he (Sanchez) would not fail to communicate to the Emperor and to Don Ugo; but to the latter they had made no reply whatever, and yet their army was so close

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upon ours that a conflict might soon ensue. On this point there was no time to consult the Kings of France and England, who had not hitherto made, to his knowledge, the military preparations he was complaining of. He therefore begged them to give him a categorical answer upon the subject.

Their reply was that they had no other answer to make; upon which the ambassador announced his intention to write to His Imperial Majesty and to other quarters where he was in duty bound to report. "To speak our mind freely (said they), regard ought to be had to these affairs of Milan, which keep the minds of all the Italian and other Princes in suspense." To which he (Sanchez) replied that he had so often declared to them the Emperor's intentions thereupon that he deemed it superfluous again to return to the subject; he would refer the matter to Don Ugo, who had full instructions from His Imperial Majesty.*

Such is, in substance, what passed between them; from which it may be concluded that the Signory is already in open league with the two above-said Princes.

(*Cipher:*) Has been told—though he does not vouch for the truth of the report—that the Signory has written to the secretary in France (Rosso) to do everything in his power to persuade that King to keep the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) so well amused that neither he nor Alarcon may soon come to Italy.

Many suspect that some galleys of this Republic are to join the Papal ones, and, if required, invade the coast of Naples. Anything is credible in view of the preparations they are making. They have always in this gulf from 15 to 20 galleys in perfect order, to guard their territory, as they say; but which may, with the greatest ease, receive orders to join those of the Pope. He (Sanchez) has heard that they have lately been ordered to Corfu, with larger crews than usual on board. Does not warrant the truth of the report; on the contrary, as far as he can judge, there is at present no sign of such armaments.

Whilst writing the above, he (Sanchez) has been told that the Signory have had letters, in date of the 3d inst., from their Secretary (Rosso) residing at the court of France, stating that the King was very decided and wished for war; he wanted it to be said that he had signed the treaty of league chiefly on account of certain movements of the Imperial army in Burgundy.† Does not warrant the truth of the last report; only repeats what he hears.

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* On the 14th of June the Doge and College wrote to Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in England, enclosing a summary of their conference with Sanchez, and answer made to his overtures. It differs considerably from the Imperial ambassador's statement. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Pap.*, vol. III., p. 568.

† "Dice que el Rey estaba muy bravo y que queria guerra, y que se dixese que él habia firmado la capitulacion por que en Borgoña por los de V. Mag. se habia hecho no sé que movimiento."

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(*Common writing:*) As far as he can learn, the French King has not yet signed the treaty; he has only appended his signature to the agreement made between the Pope and this Signory, and added something to it (*no sé que*). Chiappino and Rosso have likewise signed, besides four French noblemen (*grandes*). The King, however, has promised to sign the whole as soon as the Pope and the Signory have done so. The treaty, it is added, has come back, and been returned to France for the King's signature.—Venice, 13 June 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 13th of June."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 10.

13 June. **460.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to D. Lope de Soria at Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 419.

These few words are in answer to your Worship's letter of the 3d inst. There is no longer occasion to use our mutual cipher; for, this very morning, in reply to certain overtures which I made to the Signory, in compliance with Don Hugo's instructions and orders, they have owned to me that they are in close union and perfect understanding with His Holiness, with the most Christian King of France and with the most Serene Majesty of England; and therefore your Worship may consider the league about which I wrote on the 5th inst. as concluded.—Venice, 13 June 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Contemporary copy, enclosed in Soria's despatch of the same date. p. 1.

15 June. **461.** Gio. Batt. Sanga to the Bishop of Pola, Papal Nuncio in Venice.

Lettere di Principi, Vol. I., fol. 118. v°.

Don Ugo de Moncada is expected here every day. The Pope's answer is sure to be that he cannot accept the Emperor's offers of peace without first consulting his allies.—Rome, 15th of June 1526.

Italian.

16 June. **462.** Prothonotary Caracciolo, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 430.

Has not written since Commander Herrera's departure. On the 7th inst. by the advice of Don Ugo [de Moncada] and the rest of the Imperial generals, he (Caracciolo) waited upon the Duke of Milan at the castle, and inquired whether he

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would be willing to surrender that force into the hands of a third person, enjoying equally his and the Emperor's confidence, to be held in the name of both, pending his trial. Should he come out innocent, the castle to be restored to him; if, on the contrary, guilty, the Emperor to do as he pleased with it. Every hope, however, might be entertained of His Imperial Majesty's well-known clemency and forgiveness. He (Caracciolo) was the person designated by the Imperial generals, and, if accepted, would hold the castle of Milan, and take the required oaths, both to the Emperor and to the Duke. Cremona and its castle to be the Duke's residence whilst the inquiry lasted, but to be given up to the Emperor, as well as the castle of Milan, if the judicial decision told against the Duke. A long discussion ensued, during which the Duke at times seemed inclined to agree, and even inquired in what manner it was purposed to conduct him to Cremona in safety; whilst at other times he appeared very mistrustful and suspicious of the Imperial commanders, who (he said) had made him several promises which had never been fulfilled. His final answer was that being, as he was, besieged in his own castle, with so many of his nobles (*gentilhuomini*) and soldiers, who had not a "quatrino" at their disposal, and he himself more dead than alive, he had promised his faithful subjects and companions not to take any resolution whatever, or accept any terms, without first consulting them thereupon. He would ask their opinion on the matter and let the generals know next morning. Accordingly, on the 10th, two of his doctors (*doctori*)* came to our camp and said the Duke regretted his inability to accept his (Caracciolo's) proposals. He had nothing left in the world but the two castles (*roche*), that of Milan and that of Cremona, and his own person, an invalid. Considering the non-fulfilment (*poca observatione*) of the promises which the Imperial generals had made him from time to time, he (the Duke) could not be persuaded to surrender into their hands one of the two fortresses he still held; but if there was anything else he could do for the protection and security of the Imperial army, he (the Duke) was ready to do it. One of the above-mentioned doctors (*doctori*) has since returned, with a sort of written protest in the Duke's name, summoning Don Ugo to raise the siege of his castles, as he had been led to expect since his arrival at Milan, adding that if anything happened in consequence, detrimental to the Emperor's interests, he (the Duke) was in nowise responsible for it. Don Ugo left for Rome on the same day.

(*Cipher:*) In consequence of certain letters in cipher addressed to several citizens [of Milan] by the people inside the castle,

* Giacomo Philippo Sacco, senator, and Giovanni Baptista Speziano, treasurer. *See* the Duke's own letter to Cardinal Wolsey, giving an account of this interview, in Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. IV., Part I., p. 1000.

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lately intercepted and deciphered, of which copies are to be forwarded to Spain, the generals had announced their intention, before and after Don Ugo's departure, of taking precautionary measures, and arresting those who were in the conspiracy. This has naturally raised the suspicions of the guilty parties and others, who, fearing lest the arrest of the principal conspirators should be followed by similar measures, are doing all they possibly can to create disturbances in the city. They fancy that if the principal citizens are arrested, new taxes (*taglioni*) will be imposed upon them. This is the thing they hate most, openly proclaiming that they cannot bear their sufferings any longer, and that they are reduced to the very last extremity. The discontent is general, and several Spaniards and Germans have been privately assassinated in the streets during the last few days. As a precaution against such animosity, and in view of meeting the enemy, if required, the Imperial generals have brought to Milan some of the infantry; but such is the animosity displayed by Spaniards, and even Italians, against the gentlemen, the merchants and other worthy people in the place, that a catastrophe is imminent, and on the least provocation on the part of the rabble, the city of Milan will inevitably be sacked and destroyed. There are now in it a number of criminals (*banniti et malfactori*) from all parts of Italy, who wish for nothing short of having the city sacked by our troops, that they may have their share of the plunder. On the other hand, those of our soldiers who are quartered round Milan, hearing how their comrades are treated by the citizens, rob on the highways, and even slay all the country people (*quelli della terra*) they can find. These and similar excesses the Imperial generals cannot prevent, as the men receive no pay, and must procure food wherever they can find it. It is now the harvest season; and most of the peasants (*villani*) throughout the Duchy desert their villages and farms rather than submit to the pressing demands of the soldiery; and the consequence is that landed proprietors do not get their rents, and the richest men are left entirely without resources.

Commander Herrera must have already informed His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs here. The army is certainly very efficient, but so undisciplined (*licentiatissima*) and so universally hated by the people, that should war break out, he (Caracciolo) believes there will be more to be feared from the Milanese than from the enemy himself.

The Pope and the Venetians are collecting forces on the frontiers of this Estate [of Milan]; yet he (Caracciolo) cannot make up his mind to believe that they will actually invade it without the assistance of France and of the Switzers. Of these last no news has been received to show that they are coming down soon. The Imperial generals, in the meantime, have fortified Cremona, and keep their eye on Pavia, as well as on Lodi and Alessandria. They will likewise look to

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Genoa, if required. If they only had money to move the army from one place to another, they would certainly repulse the enemy's forces on the frontiers.

(*Common writing:*) Will soon begin to execute the commission for which he came to Milan. Has done nothing yet, owing to bad health and pressing business of various kinds, such as conferences with members of the Municipal Corporation, rich merchants and other influential citizens, for the purpose of ensuring the tranquillity of this place and preventing reprisals on the part of the army, which has always been, and is still, the chief aim of the Imperial commanders.—Venice, 16 June 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 22 (*sic*) of June. Answered."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 9.

17 June. **463.** Jean Jonglet, Seigneur Des Maretz, to Madame.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 3.

Last Sunday, the 17th inst., he (Jonglet), in compliance with orders received on the 9th, presented his letters and credentials to the King. Could not do the same with those addressed to the Legate, who, being about to leave [London] for Windsor, the King's actual residence, desired him to communicate with Maistre More, the Chancellor, anything he had to say, which he (Jonglet) did accordingly, after the Cardinal's departure for that castle.

Perceives that neither Madame's letters—though honourable and gracious in themselves—nor the excuses and representations he (Jonglet) has made in her name have given satisfaction. The King still persists in his idea that the Emperor, since the victory [of Pavia], is becoming daily more and more reserved and distant (*estrange*), since he takes no trouble to communicate either with him or with his ambassadors [in Spain], as most Kings are in the habit of doing when closely allied and connected with each other. He (the Emperor) had delayed five or six months sending ambassadors to treat and discuss their affairs in common; most likely with a view to ascertain, in the meanwhile, how his own negotiations with the King of France would end, and shape his conduct accordingly, a manner of proceeding which was anything but friendly or polite. The King, in fact, seemed to regret this most particularly, adding that his own behaviour towards the Emperor and towards Madame had been very different. He had always shown them friendship, and it would not be his fault if their mutual relations came to be changed. Many other similar things did the King say to show his discontent, in the very presence of some of his councillors, who were

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so close by that they could overhear every word of the conversation.

His (Jonglet's) private opinion is—under correction—that Madame ought, in her letter [to the King], to have made excuses for the delay of the Imperial ambassador, and met the King's grievances (*doleances*) on that score, helping to confirm what he (Jonglet) had already told him on the subject Madame, however, after consulting her Council, decided that this should form part of his credentials; and therefore he (Jonglet) had to get out of it as well as he could.

Has begged the King not to take things in that light, assuring him that the victory gained over their common enemy had in nowise changed the Emperor's mind, who is as constant as ever he was in his friendship and affection towards him. The proof of this was that on the receipt of that happy intelligence the first thing he did was to praise God, the dispenser of all mercies. Far from becoming arrogant, he had shown clemency and regard towards his vanquished foe, as his gracious treatment of the French King could sufficiently prove.

With regard to the King's complaint that the Emperor had not thought proper to communicate his affairs to him, Jonglet replied that the Emperor, in treating with the French King, had, it is true, attended to his own private interests, but without disregarding those of his ally, the King of England, or stipulating anything to his detriment, since it had been agreed between him and the King of France that the whole of the indemnity which the King of England claimed in virtue of his own private treaty with France—of which, however, neither the Emperor nor Madame had been informed—should be made over to him.

Respecting the delay of the ambassadors, Jonglet begged the King to consider the very important and pressing business the Emperor had in hand just now; it was occasioned, not indeed by the causes the King had pointed out, but out of the Emperor's wish to select a fit and wise person to represent him [in England]. In short, he hoped the Emperor would soon appoint one to the King's satisfaction.

After declaring that his only wish was to promote the Emperor's welfare and prosperity, the King concluded by remarking: "The Emperor's Council [of State] might well have considered that it was not in the power of the King of France to promise or take engagements, as he had done in the last treaty. It would have been wiser for the Emperor to make a less demand and require greater security;" and he went on saying many things to the same purpose.

In answer to which objections, the ambassador observed, as he has done on other occasions, that it was no new thing for the Kings of France to alienate part of their territory, as King Jean [Sans Terre] did when prisoner in England.

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By the present treaty the King was not compelled to give his own, but only to restore what did not belong to him, and this he had most solemnly promised and sworn to do. It was not honourable to induce him to break his faith.

With regard to the currency (*le fayt des monnoyes*), the King observed that we of the Low Countries were bound by treaties to make some provision immediately. No such excuses as the one once alleged of the disorderly state of French finances could at present be admitted, much less that of waiting for the issue of the affairs pending between the Emperor and the French King, for (said he) all those causes no longer exist; and, besides, it has already been settled by formal acts and treaties that no value is to be fixed on coin in the Low Countries unless by the express consent of England, for, were that tolerated, all the gold would go out of this country.

To this the ambassador made a suitable reply, adding that the King might very well, if he chose, forbid his subjects from bringing angelots into the Low Countries, or if our own people sent to England for them forbid their exportation. The King objected to this, saying that such a process would interfere with the mercantile speculations of his subjects, and that he was not disposed to adopt such a measure; it was for us to make a reform, according to the stipulations of the treaties. On his (Jonglet's) remark that the merchants of Calais were in the habit of receiving payment for their wools according to the tables of their Staple, which went up or down according to the price current, he, the King, denied the fact altogether.

No mention whatever is made in Madame's letter of the refusal by the merchants of Bruges to admit woollen stuffs from England, which has caused great annoyance to these merchants, who assert that it is contrary to the treaties [of commerce] between the two countries, and that the sale of their woollen stuffs has always been tolerated in Flanders. They maintain that the prohibition—if there was any in old times—only extended to wide cloth and others (*aux larges et autres draps*) not to the thick and small (*gros et petits draps*); and that although no distinction is made between large or small in the wording of the treaty, yet tolerance and custom are equivalent to an exception, and the doubt ought to be interpreted in their favour. He (Jonglet) is not thoroughly acquainted with the ins and outs of this affair, not having been written to thereupon or received instructions from home. Yet he has discussed the matter to the best of his abilities.

With regard to the ill-treatment of Englishmen in the Low Countries, the King perseveres in his idea, although the ambassador has taken every opportunity to contradict the rumour, begging him to specify the cases and name the individuals who had received injuries, in order to have their wrongs redressed and the culprits punished, adding that our

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own countrymen were much worse treated in England than the English were in the Low Countries, and begging for redress to this grievance. To which the King answered that he was not aware of the fact; he would have the affair looked into, and if he found that our countrymen had anything to complain of, he would have their wrongs redressed. The ambassador then observed that the commercial intercourse between two friendly nations ought not to suffer on account of the slight quarrels which often arise between neighbours. The King owned the truth of the ambassador's observation, and said: "You are right there, but nevertheless the whole of this wants a radical reform." In short, the King offered to write to Jehan Hacquet (Sir John Hackett) to wait on Madame and explain his views on the subject. Such is the substance of his conference with the King. Wishes things were in a better state than they are.

After taking leave of the King—who ordered every attention to be paid to him—the ambassador had occasion to converse with various honourable and noble personages (*bons et grands personnaiges*), who assured him that the Legate, in particular, was exceedingly annoyed at seeing the Emperor estranging himself (*s'estrangeoit*) from him, and treating him very differently from what he used to do once. The Emperor (he said) must have been misinformed on his account. He was sure that he had done good service on all occasions, and would continue doing so, if it only rested with him (*se en luy estoit*). His pensions are not regularly paid, and great arrears are due to him. He has influence and power, and can do much service.

To the above remarks, he (Jonglet) merely replied: He was not aware that the Emperor mistrusted the Legate. Since the ambassador's residence in England he had written to him in his own hand. Madame knows full well what authority and influence the Cardinal enjoys in this country, and how much he can do for or against the Emperor. Considers it his duty to write as he does in plain terms, that Madame may find out whence the discontent of both the King and Legate really originates, as it might, in the end, if not attended to, be the cause of great evil. Has frequently pointed out in his despatches the state of the Emperor's affairs in England. They get worse and worse every day.

The ambassadors of France, Rome, Venice and other Italian powers meet almost daily to discuss their own affairs in secret, and he (Jonglet) is left entirely alone and isolated (*comme chose habandonnée*). There is no manner of annoyance to which he is not subjected, not only as regards small matters, but in all those which directly concern the Emperor. May God give him good counsel to get out of the present difficulties, with Madame's good advice![*]

* "Je prie Dieu quil lui donne si bon conseil qu'il sache bien remedier et pourveoir à tout comme j'espere qu'il fera par vostre bon adviz."

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Insists upon his recall and the appointment of a proper person to conduct so intricate and perplexing a negotiation, as he once more confesses himself unfit for the task.—London, 17 June 1526.

Signed: "Jonglet."

P.S.—Has since received Madame's letter, stating that as soon as the Emperor has appointed a fit person to represent him at the English court, he (Jonglet) will get his recall. Thanks Madame for her kindness; but cannot help thinking that the non-arrival of the Imperial ambassador is no reason for keeping him at a Court where he can be of no use whatever. Madame might send another person to represent her and wait for the Emperor's ambassador. More than six months ago he was promised his recall, and yet has remained at his post, only to please Madame, notwithstanding his old age, the bad state of his health and the continual danger of catching the plague, besides his complete inability to carry on business and manage such a difficult and highly perplexing negotiation to the honour and profit of the Emperor and Madame. Surely there are at Court several young Councillors full of activity and zeal, and well versed in these affairs, to whom his charge might be intrusted. Has served for upwards of 20 years; it is time for others to serve in their turn. When he was sent [to England], he was told expressly that his mission would only last three or four months. Has now been nearly a year. The merchants here receive letters from Spain almost every day, and yet no mention is made in them of the Emperor having appointed an ambassador to this Court. Believes the King of England will not be angry if he (Jonglet) is replaced by another ambassador from the Low Countries.

Signed: "Jonglet."

Addressed: "To Madame la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas."

French. Original. pp. 5.

18 June. **464.** SIMON DE TASSIS, Postmaster General, to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 442.

For some time past the criminals of this city, joined by the partisans of the Sforza (*Sforschescaria*), have held meetings and assemblies together for the purpose of rising in arms against the Imperial authority. Upwards of 500 of them went out the other day to join the warder of Mus, a castle still holding with the Duke Francesco. The Imperial generals did not oppose their march, thinking that the absence of such people from this city would afford a better chance for its pacification. But no sooner had they started than they began plundering and slaying all the Imperialists they met on the roads leading to Milan, and hoisted two black banners similar

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to those used in this last war against the Emperor.* The generals and agents of His Imperial Majesty, though inclined to mercy, demanded from the authorities of this city the prompt chastisement of such rebellious acts and the expulsion of about 90 citizens suspected of being at the head of the conspiracy. The evil, however, grew to such a pitch that, in two days, no less than 150 Imperialists—either soldiers or merchants, Spaniards and Germans, and, in fact, every foreigner in the place—were assassinated in the suburbs and also in the principal streets; among the rest, two post-men of mine, one of whom, a Florentine lately arrived from Lyons, was slain in the market-place.

To avoid the just reprisals of our men, who were ready to sack the city, the generals sent for the Vice-Governor (*Vicario*), and it was agreed that a guard of citizens should be appointed to preserve peace in the city. Three hundred were chosen, and the command given to one Pietro da Purterla and to another citizen named Micer Ludovicho da Chiecher (?); but, instead of improving, matters grew worse; for on the 16th inst., at the 22 hours, as the generals with their escort were walking the streets, one of the criminals (*scelerati*) was arrested, who began to cry at the top of his voice: "Citizens: To arms! To arms!" upon which the people rose everywhere and attacked the posts occupied by our soldiers. The generals then sent a trumpeter to the Vice-Governor (*Vicario*), announcing that unless the rebels immediately laid down their arms, they would send for the troops encamped outside the gates. An agreement was then made that all suspected persons should be sent away, and that the infantry, who had received orders to enter Milan, should be sent back to a distance of about 8 miles. Notwithstanding which, the Milanese again rose in arms, took possession of the Duomo and of the Royal Palace (*Corte Regia*), and slew 70 of our soldiers, who were attacked singly and unawares. Seeing which, the generals decided to send for 1,000 Spaniards and about 600 cavalry from the camp, with whose help tranquillity was soon restored, many of the rebels being slain or made prisoners, and the rest taking to flight. It is to be hoped that no further provocation will be offered and that the Milanese will continue quiet.—Milan, 18th June 1526.

Signed: "Simon de Tassis."

Addressed: "News from Milan."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 3½.

18 June. **465.** The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva to D. Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 450.

Your Worship has already been informed of the hostile movements of this city against us. They have continued,

* "Et tolseno doi banderi negri con li armi sforzeschi." Probably the celebrated *bandenere* of the Florentines.

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and so increased of late, that yesterday and the day before the Milanese slew some of our men inside, as well as outside, the city walls. They have kept us two whole days under arms, the bells ringing, &c.; and we have, in consequence, sent for the greater part of the Imperial army which has been quartered at the Burgo (suburb). No sooner did the people hear of it, than they came up to us asking for mercy, and saying that the rising was no work of theirs, and had not been either promoted or encouraged by the honourable citizens or governors of Milan; upon which, and considering that the destruction of this city would not be agreeable to His Imperial Majesty, we abstained from any violence, and contented ourselves with demanding that Pietro di Purterla, the avowed chief of this insurrection, and about 100 more whose names we gave them, should be instantly expelled from the city. This having been done, we are about to proceed to the disarmament of the city and to the punishment of those concerned in these riots, so that, with God's help, we shall keep the city in obedience to the Emperor. We inform your Worship of this, that you may be acquainted with the state of things.—Milan, 18 June 1526.

P.D.—From Switzerland we have no news. Merchants' letters from France state that the Emperor and the King of France had come to an agreement, and that the latter had given up Burgundy. Others assert that he has not; which of the two reports be true we cannot tell.

The Venetians have sent to Verona 1,000 infantry, for fear of an invasion and to defend the passes against Archduke Ferdinand.

Spanish. Copy. p. 1½.

20 (?) June. **466.** Draft of Agreement made at Rome between Pope Clement VII. and the Imperial Ambassadors, Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 23.

The Duke's case to be decided by such judges as His Holiness, on one side, and the Emperor's agents, on the other, shall nominate and appoint. The Duke, in the meantime, to deliver over his castle [of Milan] to Prothonotary Caracciolo, who will put in it a sufficient garrison for its defence. The siege to be raised, and the Imperial army to go out of the city, where the Duke may stay or go about freely, as in former times. The said Prothonotary to take his oath (*pleito homenage*) that in the event of the Duke Francesco Sforza being absolved from the crime "læsæ Majestatis" imputed to him, to the full approbation (*voluntad*) of His Holiness and of His Imperial Majesty, he (the Duke) shall be reinstated in the possession of the said castle, without further impediment, the [Italian] League being bound to maintain him in his rights. Should the Duke be condemned to deprivation of

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honours and estates, the League to remain under the same obligation and bond for the benefit of the Sacred [Roman] Empire, or of the person on whom by common consent of the Pope and Emperor the said fief may devolve, the aforesaid Prothonotary engaging to deliver the castle of Milan to the person so appointed, after His Holiness has received the assurance (*certificando*) that neither His Imperial Majesty nor his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, intends to keep the said castle for himself.

With regard to other points of minor importance in the treaty, as well as the evacuation of Lombardy by the Imperial troops, and the countries or districts whereat they are to fix their quarters, those are secondary questions, to be settled in the negotiation with His Holiness.—(No signatures or date.)*

Indorsed: "Agreement made between His Holiness, Don Hugo and the Duke of Sessa for the giving up of the Castle of Milan."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1½.

20 June. **467.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 448.

Has received letters from Milan, of the 18th, with an account of the tumultuary rising in that city. It was a miracle that we did not fare worse. Upon the whole, this riot (*alboroto*), like the preceding ones, is likely to be beneficial to the Imperial army; for the rioters are completely put down, the Milanese punished and the ringleaders sent out of the city; besides which, everyone will now be more vigilant and prepared for an emergency.

Encloses copy of letters from Alonso Sanchez, of the 13th, and from the Duke of Sessa, of the 11th. Andrea Doria has left Civittà Vecchia, and sailed towards the Piombino channel. He has with him, besides his own galleys, three more of the Order of St. John; and gives out that he will shortly pay us a visit here. At Piacenza the Papal forces are daily increasing. A bridge is being thrown over the river Pò; but he (Soria) thinks that neither will the Papal troops dare to cross that river, nor the Venetians the Adda, unless they have in

* Don Ugo de Moncada left Milan for Rome on the 8th of June. He did not arrive in that city before the 16th, for, on the day before the 15th, Giovanni Battista Sanga wrote to the Bishop of Pola (Altovello Averoldi), that he was hourly expected. Between that day and the 24th of June, when he and Sessa quitted Rome, the aforesaid agreement, if it was one, must have been drawn out. A letter of the English ambassador at Rome, Prothonotary John Casal, or Giovanni di Casale, in date of the 23d, abstracted by Rawdon Brown (*Venet. State Papers*, vol. III., p. 572), favours the above conjecture. The Duke's letter of the 24th, giving an account of this and Don Ugo's negotiations with the Pope, seems to have been intercepted.

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their company a large body of Switzers; and the truth is that, up to the present moment, there is no sign of their stirring.

(*Cipher:*) Hears that the Pope is negotiating with the Duke of Ferrara, though they are yet far from being agreed. Cardinal Pisano conducts the negotiation. It would be highly advantageous for His Imperial Majesty to have the Duke on his side, and show him favour, so that he and the Bentiurlas * might, in case of need, invade the estates of the Church. Fancies that with the Emperor's favour and support, the Duke of Ferrara, as well as the above-mentioned family and many others, would gladly accept the task of making war on the Pope. Any injury that can be inflicted upon the latter he well deserves for his ungrateful behaviour towards the Emperor and his little regard for the service of God and welfare of the Christian community. And since it appertains to His Imperial Majesty alone to punish a Pontiff who, like the present, fails in his duty towards God and man, and the Emperor has the power and so many means at his command to do this, it seems as if the present opportunity should not be allowed to pass without depriving him of the allegiance of all the Emperor's subjects and vassals, and turning them all against him. God's service and the welfare of Christendom might thus be ensured; and this might become, in future times, a lesson to those who, under cover of the Pontifical authority, might presume, as the present Pope is doing, to usurp temporal power and make levies of men wherewith to deprive Emperors of their estates and slaughter their subjects, actuated, as the present Pope has been, by such sinful hatred.†

(*Common writing:*) Begs to be forgiven if his zeal for the Imperial service has carried him too far in his appreciation of

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* Thus in the original, the deciphering of which is not in the volume. I know of no Italian family of this name; and therefore the *Bentivoglio*, or perhaps the Colonna, must be meant. Both families were at this time in open hostility to Pope Clement. The former had resided at Ferrara ever since the taking of Bologna by Pope Julius II., who deprived them of their estates. The latter were in open rupture with Clement, and had actually joined their forces to those of Don Ugo de Moncada.

† "Mucho convendria al servicio de V. Mag^{d}. tener al Duque de Ferrara por servidor y favorecerle para que él y los Bentiurlas ? hiciessen guerra al Papa; y con el favor de V. Mag^{d} pienso que la harian de buena voluntad y otros muchos con ellos, y todo el daño que V. Mag^{d} pueda hazer á Su Santidad parece que será licito hacer, considerada su ingratitud y el poco respeto que tiene al servicio de Dios y bien de los Cristianos; y pues á solo V. Mag. toca castigar el Pontifice, que no hace lo que debe, y tiene tantas maneras y poder para facerlo, no debe dejar V. Mag^{d} de evitarle toda obediencia de sus reynos y señorios y convocar todos sus vasallos contra él, pues haciendolo de esta suerte seria servicio de Dios y bien de todos los Cristianos y exemplo para que no presumiendo de Pontifices usurpen el autoridad á los Emperadores, ni fagan levas para quitarles los estados y degollarles sus vasallos, maximè con tan inicuo odio como este amuestra proceder contra todo esto." There being no deciphering appended to this letter, this paragraph and others have been deciphered by the editor. If made at the time, it is natural to conclude, from its import, that it was not submitted to the Emperor

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the Pope's conduct on this occasion. But such are his opinions; he cannot disguise them.—Genoa, 20 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 20 June. Answered."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. No deciphering appended. pp. 3½.

22 June. **468.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 454.

No sooner had he (Caracciolo) closed his letter of the 16th, of which he encloses duplicate, than, about the 23 hours, there commenced in this city a most awful brawl (*grandissimo rumore*) between the citizens and the Imperial soldiers. As the Marquis and Leyva were walking the streets, they met a man whom the latter recognised as a spy of the Bishop of Lodi. Leyva immediately ordered him to be arrested and conducted to his own lodgings; but the man resisted, and began crying at the top of his voice: "Italia! Italia!" Perceiving that the people of the town flocked to the spot and tried to rescue the prisoner, one of the soldiers in whose charge he was slew him. The riot increased, and our soldiers were under arms all night, as were also the Milanese. Whilst these events were passing, he (Caracciolo) happened to be at his own quarters inside the city, surrounded by nobles (*caualeri*), gentlemen (*gentilhuomini principali*), merchants and other worthy citizens, besides the Vicar (*Vicario de la Provisione*), who, on the first outbreak of the mob, had come to request that he would intercede with the generals, so as to put an end to the conflict and prevent the soldiers from retaliating; for the riot in some places had assumed great proportions, the Milanese having attacked the bastions and parapets which our men had to defend with small guns.* Called accordingly upon the generals, accompanied by two of the principal citizens and by the Vicar (*Vicario della Provisione*), and found them very much incensed and well prepared (*preparatissimi*) to retaliate upon the Milanese. Fire-signals had been made for the Spanish infantry to come into the city, and orders sent to the lansquenets to attack the city on the side close to their cantonments. After a most severe reprimand, addressed to the deputation, who went with him—they offering as an excuse the heaviness of taxation, the shameful behaviour of some of the Imperial soldiers and the great number of banditti and criminals who had found their way into the city—the generals were moved to mercy, and gave orders for the lansquenets to desist from the

* "Et con bastioni et artillaria piccola se combatea in diversi locchi."

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attack (*offensione*) until the next morning, messengers on horseback being despatched to the Spanish infantry to stay where they were. This, however, on condition that the rioters would be immediately expelled from the city.

The sun was set, and he (Caracciolo) back in his bed, when he heard the alarm sound again through the city. Having inquired from the gentlemen who were with him what could be the cause of this new disturbance, he was answered that the sentries of the lansquenets having observed fire-signals in the direction of Santa Maria della Schala, thought it was the Spanish infantry that was coming into Milan, and had accordingly given their comrades the alarm. The Germans, finding their mistake, had returned to their quarters; but a furious mob paraded the streets and subsequently attacked "Il Campanone" and "La Corte," two posts occupied by our soldiers, which, being situated in the very centre of the insurrection, where they could not be succoured, had fallen into the hands of the rioters, after a stout defence by the guard, some of whom had been slain. Meanwhile, Germans and Spaniards armed themselves and prepared for the attack; and fresh orders were sent to the infantry outside [Milan] to approach. The contest lasted till the 23 hours. The lansquenets, who fought bravely (*gagliardamente*), had already begun to set fire to some houses, and the Spanish infantry had for the most part reached the suburbs (*li burghi*), when the rioters began to show signs of fear (*trepidare*), and the aforesaid gentlemen and honest citizens, seeing the imminent danger in which Milan was, again begged him (Caracciolo) to intercede with the generals, and prevent, if possible, the impending catastrophe. Accordingly he (Caracciolo), followed only by a score of the said citizens, at no small peril of his person, and in the midst of the fire (*in mezzo de scoppetate et archibusate*), waited again on the generals, and exhorted them to mercy and forgiveness. Fresh orders were issued to the Spanish infantry not to enter the town, and the greatest efforts made to appease the Germans, who had sworn to revenge the death of their comrades. Indeed, had not the Marquis and Leyva, as well as Lope Hurtado, the Abbot of Najera and others of the Emperor's faithful servants and officials, made the most strenuous efforts to calm the fury of the lansquenets, this city would have been sacked and burnt to ashes. As it was, a portion of the Spanish infantry penetrated into the city, the counter-orders not having reached them in time, and it was with great difficulty that they were prevailed upon not to take part in the conflict.

On the ensuing day, as the Marquis was absent [from Milan] for the purpose of inspecting and addressing the Italian infantry under his immediate orders, the lansquenets began to plunder the armourers' shops (*armaroli*); but Antonio de Leyva, by great personal exertion and disregard of danger, succeeded in stopping them, the Spaniards under his orders

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abstaining from similar excesses and setting the example of forbearance.

Tranquillity is now restored, owing to the laudable exertions of these captains, as Don Lope Hurtado, who will leave shortly for Spain, will not fail to inform His Imperial Majesty. But the danger of another and perhaps fiercer outbreak is still great. The Imperial soldiers are certainly very brave, but, as regards discipline and general habits, very ill-conditioned (*pesimi*). They are now in Milan, on no very good terms with the inhabitants, whom they daily insult by excessive demands for provisions and other necessaries of life,* so that only the extreme prudence of the generals, who are continually riding through the streets of the city, can avert another collision. People, on the other hand, are deserting the city by hundreds; and unless the evil be promptly arrested, the Emperor, instead of a rich and flourishing Estate, will only own half-crumbled walls, houses deserted and falling to ruins, and fields without labourers.—Milan, 22 June 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Caracciolo, 22 June."

Italian. Original. pp. 7.

26 June. **469.** Don Iñigo de Mendoca to the Emperor,

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P.C. 224. *Fasc.* 224.

Most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty.

I sent this morning an express to inform Your Majesty of the little chance there was of my passing through France unmolested. To-day, at noon, a courier from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) to Your Majesty passed through this town; he had been detained at Bayonne, his letters taken from him, opened, and read, except a few he succeeded in hiding.† I mention this fact because I think matters are getting worse and worse every day, and that without a proper safe-conduct I am sure to be detained on the road much longer than is convenient. The danger and annoyance to my own person are nothing when compared to the risk of having my letters and instructions opened and read in France; and therefore I beg Your Majesty to send me his orders, for, since God did not grant me ability to serve by sea, I am anxious to do my utmost by land. If Your Majesty thinks that in the state of things above alluded to I can traverse France without a safe-conduct, I will proceed at once on my journey. I expect the Viceroy here within four days; should his advice be that I can go on without waiting for Your Majesty's answer, and

* "Viven hora dentro de la città con assai superchiaria non solo in parole ma anchora in la qualità e quantità del vivere, che e gravissimo."

† "El qual fué detenido en Vayona, y abiertas muchas cartas de las que traya, y las que no se abrieron fueron escondidas."

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that there is no need of a safe-conduct, I will follow his advice and prosecute my journey; but should he be of a contrary opinion, will wait for Your Majesty's commands and follow them punctually.—Yrun-Yranz,* 26th June 1526.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Don Iñigo, 26th June."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 June. **470.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 464.

Since his letter of the 13th inst., the roads from this place [Venice] to Milan, to Rome, and other cities, have been blocked by the enemy. He (Soria) has been obliged to devise all manner of contrivances and try all sorts of conveyances, and yet is afraid that his despatches do not reach their destination. All couriers through the territory of Venice or the lands of the Church are detained, the letters taken from them, and all correspondence between the Emperor's ministers in Italy seized. Has accordingly complained to the Signory. Their answer has been that there are at present in their territory people of all nations, besides many Milanese refugees, over whom they have no power, and therefore that they cannot ensure our correspondence. Consequently his despatch of the 18th was addressed to the Archduke (Ferdinand) for him to forward to Spain. This appears to him the surest route for the present, although not a very safe one either. Fears that some letters which the Archduke must have written in answer to his have fallen into the hands of the enemy, for he has just heard that one from the said Infante (Archduke) to the generals at Milan, encouraging them to hold out until he sends them considerable reinforcements has been intercepted by the Pope's people. As the Archduke, in his letter, announced his intention, as soon as he had finished with the affairs of the Diet now being held [at Inspruch], of coming down to Italy in force and invading the territory of the Signory on three different sides, so as to oblige them to recall their army and provide for their own defence, the Signory is now raising 2,000 foot and 500 light horse to send to Friuli.

Of the state of affairs at Rome His Imperial Majesty must be sufficiently informed through the letters of Don Ugo [de Moncada] and of the Duke [of Sessa], in date of the 18th. No necessity therefore for him (Sanchez) to allude to the

* Yrun-Yranzu is the ancient name for Irun, the last town of Spain on the frontier of France.

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subject, further than to say that although His Holiness promised to send the Archbishop of Capua (Nicolas Schomberg) here to consult with this Signory, the said Archbishop has not yet made his appearance. Besides, the Papal Nuncio (Bishop of Pola) and the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) told him (Sanchez) the other day whilst at church, and during the religious ceremony which he attended with some of the Venetian Senators, that, according to letters from Rome, of the 21st, both Don Ugo and the Duke had left that capital. Is inclined to believe this piece of intelligence, as he has not heard from them since the 19th.

There have been several riots, more or less important, at Milan; but the generals have succeeded in putting them down; and when they wrote, on the 18th, everything was quiet again.

The Signory and the Pope do not agree as to the plan of their future campaign. The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), who commands the Venetian forces, wishes the Papal forces to join him in the Mantuan, thence to march upon Lombardy. The Papal general, on the contrary, maintains that such a movement will open the way to the lands of the Church to the Imperialists, and that it will be better for one army (the Venetian) to cross the Adda, whilst the other approaches by the river Po. The Duke is of a contrary opinion, and has sent Sobtello (*sic*) to the Pope to have his plan of the campaign approved.

Meanwhile, on St. John's day, one of the Pope's captains, named Scosso, and another of this Signory, Malatesta Ballon (Baglione) by name, followed by 100 men-at-arms and 300 light horse, having each a musketeer (*escopetero*) behind, proceeded secretly to Lodi and took possession of the town, one of the gates of which was opened to them by some of the Italian infantry inside, who have since entered the service of this Signory. There were in the city 1,000 Spanish infantry, but on hearing of the rising at Milan, and being anxious to participate in the sack of that city, which was reported as having already commenced, they left their positions and took the road to that city; and although the Marquis del Guasto went to Lodi to dissuade them from this purpose, no sooner had he turned his back to return to Milan than they quitted Lodi and left it almost defenceless in the hands of the Italians. This has been the chief cause of the loss of that fortress. He (Sanchez) had often written to the generals at Milan, warning them against certain secret negotiations which he knew were going on there; he was answered that there was no fear, and that every precaution had been taken. Should not be surprised to hear that the whole of the Venetian force is to concentrate there. Hears that the Duke of Urbino has written to the Signory that this taking of Lodi is the beginning and end of their victory (*el principio y fin (?) de su victoria*).

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Cannot say what the generals intend to do after the loss of Lodi. Hears from various sources that the castle of Milan is reduced to the greatest extremity. The report is that the Duke of Ferrara is trying to have himself appointed captain-general of this league, and that this Signory is endeavouring to settle his business with the Pope. Cannot say this for certain, but such are the rumours afloat.

This Signory has had letters from France, of the 10th and 14th inst. By the former their secretary (Andrea Rosso) informs them that the King, whilst hunting, had broken his arm. The latter state that the accident was of very little consequence. Has been told that the same post brought the bills of exchange, to the amount of 30,000 cr. (*escudos*), which the French King is to contribute towards this undertaking, but that the merchants and bankers of this place had refused to accept them. True or not, such is the information which he (Sanchez) has received.

There is no very reliable intelligence from the Switzers. Some say that they are coming down (*calan*); others that they are not. He (Sanchez) has been told for certain that one Gasparo Sormano, who was the French King's agent, had hitherto prevented their coming, and persuaded them not to arm without first hearing from his master. The King had said to Andrea Rosso that he disapproved of Sormano's conduct in the affair, and had written to him on the subject. It is added that the French ambassador residing here (Bishop of Bayeux) had written to the said Sormano to urge, by all means in his power, the descent of the said Switzers.

Forgot to say that when Don Ugo and the Duke pressed His Holiness for a definite answer to the Emperor's last proposals, the Pope told them to call the next day for it, and that when they did, they found that the whole affair had been previously discussed with the ambassadors of the league now at Rome.

Is in great perplexity as to what he is to do, whether to remain at Venice—where he can be of no earthly use—or go somewhere else. Has written to Don Ugo for advice, because though he may continue his charge, the conduct of the Signory towards the Emperor is not such as to warrant his having an ambassador here. Will not quit, however, without the Emperor's express commands. Waits for instructions, which had better be communicated to him through the Archduke, the surest channel just now.

Whilst writing the above, letters have been received from Don Ugo and the Duke of Sessa. They had been unable to make the Pope change his resolution, and therefore considered him to be from that moment the Emperor's declared enemy. They did not intend calling at the Palace except to take leave of him and apply for a safe-conduct through the estates of the Church to go wherever they might desire. They have sent him certain letters, which accompany this, to be

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forwarded to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand), and left it entirely to his choice either to remain at Venice or go away altogether. He (Sanchez) is undecided, and knows not which course to take. Whatever is best for the Imperial service, that he will certainly do.

This letter goes by way of Genoa, and is the duplicate of the one sent by the Archduke.—Venice, 26 June 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 26 June. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

27 June. **471.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 372.

Wrote on the 9th inst., referring to Don Ugo's letter* and to what Miguel de Herrera is likely to relate by word of mouth. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, bearer of this present, will, besides, acquaint His Imperial Majesty with all the particulars of the late riot; how the Imperial army is now quartered at Milan; how the inhabitants are gradually being disarmed, and how arrests of various individuals concerned in the last insurrection are made every day; how Prothonotary Caracciolo, accompanied by two gentlemen of this city, went up to the castle and asked Francesco Sforza to surrender it; and, lastly, how, on the 23d inst., on St. John's eve, the Italian infantry took charge of the defence of Lodi, and how, on the very same night, two hours before the break of day, the said Italians delivered the city up to the Venetian army, 5,000 strong, which had come there in pursuance of a preconcerted plan.

The said Miguel de Herrera cannot fail also to inform His Imperial Majesty how the Papal troops who are at Piacenza have thrown a bridge over the Pò; how the Switzers have not yet made any stir; and how the Imperial generals—aware of the enemy's intention to relieve this castle—have decided on awaiting them, with a force amounting to 8,000 Spanish and German infantry, 700 lances and upwards of 1,200 light horse. The men, moreover, are in high spirits, and have even promised to work with their own hands at the fortifications.

We have at Cremona 2,000 Germans, 600 Spaniards and 200 light horse. Count Lodron is at Pavia, with upwards of 2,000 foot and 200 light horse, all excellent troops, and himself a brave and experienced captain, the colleague of Leyva during the last siege of that city by the French.

* Don Ugo's letter to the Emperor was probably intercepted, for it is neither at Simancas nor in the Archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.

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At Alexandria are three companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards, besides 1,000 Italians, 200 lances and 200 light horse, all under a Spanish captain named Aldana.*

Como and the rest of the castles and fortified towns in this Duchy have been provided with an adequate garrison. The Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) has been requested to send a reinforcement, as the enceinte of this city is so large that it requires more men than we have to guard it effectually. His answer is that George Frensperch (Fruntsperg) is coming down with 2,000 German infantry. A messenger has also been despatched to the Grisons, to procure the passage of these forces through their land, and another to the Archduke, begging him to come down in force and invade the territory of the Venetians, who are the chief promoters of this war.

Received on the 23d the Imperial letters of the 9th inst., and has seen the copy of the Imperial warrant (*cedula*), remitting 100,000 ducats for the use of this army. The bills were presented and duly accepted in Genoa; but the bankers will not pay a farthing of that sum until they know who is to receive it. As the Duke of Bourbon, who most likely is the person intended, has not yet arrived, the supply is of no use whatever as it is. Begs, in case of Mons. de Bourbon not bringing the powers (*el cambio*) with him, that they may be sent through a messenger, for the wants of the army are such that the least delay in this matter would be highly detrimental.

No news from Don Ugo since his arrival at Rome, nor is it likely that we shall hear of him, for the Pope and the Venetians keep so vigilant a watch on the roads and everywhere through their territory, that not one of the letters we write from hence to Rome, Venice, or Germany, reaches its destination. Begs His Imperial Majesty to consider how very important it is, under the present circumstances, to remain at peace with the French King, were it only the more effectually to punish these Italian potentates, who, after being so earnestly and so long requested to live on good terms with the Emperor, have at last declared war against him.—Milan, 27 June 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 27 June. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

* The father or uncle of Francisco de Aldana, a celebrated Spanish captain, who was killed at Kasr al Kiber in Africa, serving under King Sebastian of Portugal, in 1578. Both he and his brother, Cosme de Aldana, resided long at Milan, where their poetical and other works were printed by Pablo Gotardo Poncio, 1589, 8°.

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28 June. **472.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 475.

Bartholomeo de Tassis arrived on the 22d with the Imperial letter of the 9th, and left, the same day, for Milan with the rest of the despatches. Those addressed to Don Ugo and to the Duke at Rome were to be forwarded by way of Venice, as the Pope keeps so strict a watch on the passage of the Imperial couriers, that all are arrested and the letters examined. The other day an express coming from Valladolid, who left this for Rome on the 18th, was detained and his correspondence taken from him. Other estafettes between this city and Rome have shared a similar fate; and the Pope has, besides, forbidden, under pain of death, that anyone write news or pay money to the Emperor's servants or vassals, so that all communication with the Roman estates is completely stopped. Andrea Doria, with his galleys, is close to the Piombino channel, searching all the vessels he comes across, interrogating the passengers and crews, making them speak in his presence, and, when he finds from their accent that they are Spaniards, making captives of them and putting them to the oars. All which are evident signs that both the Pope and the Venetians have thrown off the mask and intend to make war on the Emperor.

Advices from Rome of the 21st confirm the above statements, and add that since Don Ugo's arrival in that city, the Pope has been making active preparations. All this considered, and no letters having come either from him or from the Duke, the Imperial generals are inclined to think they have left Rome, or that their messengers are detained and their letters intercepted. And as His Imperial Majesty might not be aware otherwise of what is going on there and elsewhere in Italy, it has been resolved to send this express by sea to Barcelona, addressed to the treasurer Bartholomeo Ferrer, that he may have it put into the Emperor's hands as soon as possible.*

On the 18th the Germans at Milan made a riot (*se alborotaron*) and rifled some armourers' shops. The tumult was soon appeased, and the Spaniards took no part in it, showing regret at what their companions in arms had done. The Germans, however, took what they wanted from the shops, and are now well armed. Count Lodrone has since left for Pavia with 2,000 of the said Germans, who are more wanted there than here, as we have now [at Milan] 20 companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry.

Count Guido Rangone, the Pope's general in chief, Vitelo (Vitello Vitelli?) the Captain of the Florentines, and Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis, who is in command of the light

* The Emperor was at Granada. He arrived in that city on the 4th of June, and left it on the 26th of August.

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horse and of 2,000 foot besides, have arrived at Piacenza. Their united forces are said to consist of 500 men-at-arms, 900 light horse, 8,000 infantry, and well-appointed artillery. They are to join the Venetian army, who have 700 men-at-arms, a few light horse, 7,000 foot, and artillery, all under the command of the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere).

By the enclosed letters from the generals and ministers at Milan, received yesterday, the 27th, His Imperial Majesty will be made well acquainted with the occurrences in that city. There is no need for him (Soria) to repeat the intelligence.

Has presented to Ansaldo Grimaldi the bills drawn upon him, amounting to 100,000 ducats. Grimaldi has accepted them, and agreed to pay the first instalment, a third of that sum, but until the Emperor's powers come designating the person or persons to whose order the said bills are to be paid, the credit is entirely unavailable.

(*Cipher:*) The Emperor says in his answer that he should be glad if Andrea Doria were disarmed and punished, but elsewhere than in the Pope's dominions. Doria is in the Pope's service, and doing all the harm he possibly can to the subjects of the Empire. It would be but just to attack him, wherever he takes shelter. At any rate, if his own (Soria's) idea is approved of, orders must come for the captains of the Imperial galleys to follow his instructions. Has no doubt that all the galleys together will be able, without waiting for the Neapolitan fleet, to destroy such a pirate as Doria is.

This Doge and Community (says the Emperor in his letter of the 9th inst.) must attend to their own defence as well as they can, as for the present no assistance can be given them. The Doge is doing all he can, as well for his own security and preservation, as for the Emperor's sake; but his means are very scanty, he has no money, and the troops at his disposal are few and not very good. The Imperial generals at Milan cannot at present, in view of the immense preparations made by the Pope and the Venetians, detach any force, so that if vigorously attacked he (Soria) is afraid that no great resistance will be made, especially as the Genoese, knowing the number and quality of their defenders, will not expose themselves to be sacked. Some assistance in men or money ought to be given to this city, for once lost to His Imperial Majesty, the affairs of Italy might go on badly.

(*Common writing:*) Lope Hurtado left Milan on the 25th. He will personally inform the Emperor of the state of affairs there, and how the warder (*alcayde*) of Tarento was mortally wounded in the face at Lodi, whither he followed the Marquis del Guasto.

This morning, after writing the above, the Duke of Bourbon arrived in port with his six galleys. Great is the joy of all the Emperor's servants in this city, for he comes just at the right moment, and when he may be able by his

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presence to overawe the enemy. He is shortly to depart for Milan.

Intelligence has been received that the Pope's troops have crossed the Pò and marched in the direction of Lodi, to effect their junction with the Venetians there.

These galleys of Mons. de Bourbon will be very useful. Would to God Portundo had come also! His presence here is very much wanted. He might come as far as Monaco without any risk, and there see how matters stood, and give help wherever most wanted. He (Soria) is afraid that the Neapolitan galleys will not come to Genoa for fear of Soria's fleet.

A boat (*barca*) entered the port of Savona three days ago, coming from Rome. The master says that when he left, the Duke of Sessa had already taken his departure, and that the Colonnese were assembled in great force to attack the city. The Pope was raising troops for his own defence, and Rome was much agitated (*habia muchas revueltas en Roma*). He (Soria) does not know what to believe, but certainly the kingdom of Naples and the Colonnese might become very troublesome neighbours to the Pope.

Encloses letters from the Duke of Bourbon, who has given him (Soria) one from his Imperial Majesty, commanding him to obey his orders, as he did those of the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) when he was commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces.—Genoa, 28 June 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria. 28 June. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

28 June. **473.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 52–59.

Don Hugo [de Moncada] left for Rome on the 10th inst. Up to the 25th, which was the day of his (Hurtado's) departure from Milan, there was no news of him, nor had there been any letters from Rome or Venice. It is to be feared that they have been intercepted.

No sooner had Don Ugo left than the Milanese showed symptoms of arrogance (*soberbia*) and rebellion. They appointed four captains, chosen from amongst the greatest scoundrels (*los mayores bellacos*) of the city, under the plea that they were wanted to guard the gates and punish night marauders, of whom there happened to be a great many in the city itself and in the thoroughfares leading to it. So great was the nuisance, that in three days upwards of fifty Spaniards were assassinated, and it was with great difficulty that the Imperial camp could be victualled.

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The Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio [de Leyva], wishing not to break altogether with the citizens, and in order to obviate the difficulties pointed out in their last despatches, which Knight Commander Herrera took to Spain, bore the outrage patiently as long as they could, hoping that a remedy might soon be applied to such evils, without actually coming to a rupture. On the 16th the generals happened to meet a man, whom they at once recognised as a spy of the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza). They gave orders for his immediate arrest, but the man began to make a noise and cry out at the top of his voice, merely for the sake of attracting attention. He was told to be quiet and hold his tongue; he refused, and the soldiers of the escort slew him. No sooner did the people of Milan hear of this than they rose everywhere in arms against the Imperialists, stormed the Palace and the Duomo, and put to the sword a company of Italian infantry that was in guard of those two buildings.* They then rang their large bell (*campanon*), calling on the people to rise in arms. It was, however, of no avail to them, for everywhere in the streets they met with a stout resistance from both Spaniards and Germans, who performed wonders on that day, and inflicted serious losses on the rioters. This state of things lasted from Saturday evening till Sunday at the same hour, during which time there was nothing but fighting night and day. The nobles (*gentilhuomini*), it must be remarked, took no part in the popular rising; on the contrary, they tried all they could to put it down. Hearing that Juan de Hurbina (Urbina) was coming up with ten companies of Spanish infantry, the Milanese laid down their arms and asked for mercy, having previously expelled that very night from the city Pietro di Pusterla and about three hundred more of the principal rioters. Next day the ten companies of Spanish infantry came into the town, and were quartered [in the suburbs]. Several more came in afterwards, without their captains being able to stop them, under the plea that they wanted to revenge their comrades.

On the ensuing day, though the city was as quiet as a country village, the Germans attempted to sack it. They gutted the armourers' shops, and some more houses from which the people had fired upon them (*con escopetas*). Things would have gone much farther had not our Spaniards, at the persuasion of their captains, refused to take part in the affair. Tranquillity was at last restored through the exertion of the generals. Count Lodrone with his band [of Germans] was sent to Pavia for food, for there was none in the city, and also to stop the Spaniards, who, as before stated, were flocking to Milan from all parts of the Duchy. The Italian bands, under Fabricio Marramao, in a mutinous state, were also marching on the city. The Marquis (del Guasto) went

* "Mataron una compañia de Italianos que estaba en la guarda," &c.

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out, addressed them, and calmed them with the promise of entrusting to Fabricio the keeping of Lodi, which was accordingly done, the Marquis sending orders to Corvera and other captains to come to Milan with the very few Spaniards who, faithful to discipline, had not forsaken their banners.

On the 23rd of June, St. John's eve, Fabricio (Marramao) entered Lodi with his force, 1,500 men strong, and on the following day, though the Marquis del Guasto had previously made them swear fidelity to the Imperial cause, the Venetians having arrived during the night, one of their officers, a lieutenant of Luys Çiçiliano,* who no doubt had a secret understanding with the enemy, let them into the city by one of the gates, took the garrison by surprise, slew many, and caused the remainder to take flight. Fabricio [Marramao] succeeded in reaching the fortress, though wounded.

On the morning of St. John's day the news came to Milan that Lodi was lost. It was at first decided that the Marquis should go thither with six companies of Spaniards, but he took only those who could be accommodated behind the horsemen of his escort; the men moreover went reluctantly, fancying it was a false alarm to send them out of Milan. No traces of the enemy did the Marquis find till he reached Lodi. Having entered that city by one of the gates close to the castle, he immediately attacked the Venetians, who had already barred the streets leading to the castle. Our men, however, were so few, the Marquis having only taken 200 with him, that after fighting for several hours, taking one banner and slaying a good number of the enemy, they were obliged to fall back upon Milan. Our loss consisted of six or seven men. Felipe de Herrera, the warder (*alcayde*) of Tarento, was shot through the jaws, and taken inside the castle, where Captain Quesada remained with about 50 men.

On the very night of the Marquis' return to the camp a council of war was held, wherein it was resolved, after garrisoning Pavia and Alessandria, to concentrate the rest of the Imperial forces, men-at-arms, as well as light cavalry, and send to the former city for more artillery; with these forces to keep the field and manœuvre, as the occasion might require, as the whole of the Venetian army was now at Lodi, and nothing certain was known about the Pope's troops.

(*Cipher:*) As Knight Commander Herrera must by this time have informed His Imperial Majesty, part of our army is at Carmona (Cremona), Pecigueton (Pizzighitone), Lecco, Trequo (Trezzo), and Como. The 2,000 Germans of Count Lodron, three companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards, two of men-at-arms, two more of light cavalry are at Pavia, whilst here, at Milan, we have 3,000 Germans and twenty-four companies of Spaniards, making in all about 6,000, all very good troops

* *See* Guicciardini: *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVII.

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and as anxious as of old to do their duty, so that one could not wish for better soldiers. About 1,000 more Italians remaining, the generals intended to place them in various positions so as to keep the roads, and ensure the victualling of the army. This is, in the Marquis' opinion, the principal point to be attended to, because for soldiers to fight for food and keep their ground at the same time, is a thing next to impossible. The enemy seizes all provisions wherever he can find them; the rest the country people hide, or else allow their wheat to rot in the fields rather than give it to us. That was the cause of the garrison of Pavia being nearly starved out the other day, of there being no food at all in Alessandria and of the scarcity felt here at Milan, for it is really wonderful how the Duchy can furnish food for so many men. Indeed, it is positively amazing how the inhabitants of this city can go on feeding so large a force, for according to our calculations it must cost them (the Milanese) 10,000 ducats daily.

Such was the state of things when he (Hurtado) left Milan on the 26th. The remedy, according to general opinion, lies in the Emperor's hands. He must either acquiesce in the demands of the Pope and of the Venetians, or make such an agreement with the King of France, and with other friendly powers, as will permit the war to be carried on with the utmost activity. And since the Pope wishes to throw a brand into Christendom, let His Imperial Majesty kindle the flame everywhere,* that those who have taken up arms against him be chastised as they deserve, and the Church reformed (*reformar la Iglesia*). If war is decided upon, money must be provided as soon and as abundantly as possible, since the 100,000 ducats lately sent are nothing in comparison with the daily wants of the Imperial army. His Highness the Infante (Archduke) is to come down as soon as he can, with the largest possible force, and by the road too which may appear most advantageous. Some think that he might come through the Mantuan and the Cremonese to Bologna; as at every one of these places His Holiness, as well as the Florentines, might be made to feel the presence of the Germans. Should the Archduke come down in person, Mantua, Ferrara and other Italian powers might be induced to join their forces to his, and a good deal more accomplished than is expected from us.

Bourbon has been so long coming that he has fallen into discredit, and the Milanese will no longer have him as their lord. Besides which, our people do not consider him so good a general as might be desired under the present circumstances. His Imperial Majesty must not for his sake risk the reputation of his arms, but maintain his personal glory given to

* "Y pues el Papa quiere fuego en la Christiandad, V. M. le encienda por todas partes hasta castigar los que han tomado armas contra su exercito y reformar la iglesia."

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him by God.* If a general is to replace him, let him come as soon as possible, for the army feels the want of an able commander, and feels more than ever the loss of the Marquis [of Pescara]. Of those who are now in command, one is not loved, the other is not feared. Antonio [de Leyva] is so ill that he is not expected to live. Alarcon would be on better terms with the army.† New captains should be appointed, for there is great need of them, especially for the men-at-arms and light cavalry.

Other measures will be required if war is to be carried out to our advantage: To come to an agreement with the Duke of Ferrara. Powers to treat with the Grisons and secure their friendship. Instructions to negotiate with the emigrants (*foraxidos*) of this Estate, since the Milanese themselves will not take up arms for our cause.

Paulo Chasco has refused to serve against the Emperor. He is now at Mantua. The Marquis (del Guasto) and Antonio de Leyva are of opinion that His Imperial Majesty should write him a letter in acknowledgment of his behaviour, and offer him good terms (*partido*), for he is an excellent captain.

The ambassador of the Marquis of Mantua (Soardino) should also be thanked for the refusal which his master has sent to the Pope's offers, and for his not choosing to side with him; and orders sent to Naples to provide him (the Marquis) with money, gunpowder, and anything else he may want for his defence.

If Bourbon still tarries, orders to be given to the galleys to come back, for it is now too late to place any reliance (*fiarse*) on Italians, and, besides, the Germans could not easily come down unless in considerable numbers. If His Imperial Majesty can send us those who are at Perpignan, so much the better.

To arm by sea in the most efficient manner, as there is a rumour that the Venetians have fitted out 20 of their galleys. In his letter to the Emperor, Don Ugo mentioned the conditions (*partidos*) that were to be offered to the Duke of Milan. After the last riot the Marquis [del Guasto] and Leyva sent Prothonotary Caracciolo to him. The Duke's answer was the same as on former occasions, and therefore no more reliance can be placed on him than on the rest of the Milanese. The people's cry is Duke, Duke! Marco, Marco! Church, Church! This the Milanese are said to have adopted in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, and the famine with

* "La venida de Borbon ha tardado tanto que ya no trae credito, ni en el ducado lo querrian por Señor, ni aun nuestra gente no le tiene por tan buen capitan como en este tiempo seria menester V. Mag. por sus cosas no debe dexar su exercito perder, y sostener la gloria que Dios le ha dado."

† "Los que agora hay al uno no aman, al otro no temen. Antonio [de Leyva] está tan malo que un dia morirá. Alarcon estaria mejor con el exercito."

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which they are threatened.* Since the Commander's departure nothing more is known [about Milan].

Bartholome de Tassis reached that city [Milan] on St. John's Eve, with the bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats, but without powers to receive the amount. He (Tassis) told the generals that Mr. de Bourbon was to send the credentials, but up to this date they have not been received, though the money is much wanted. Has already reported the sum as insufficient for the wants of the Imperial army. The Germans at Cremona are owed 30,000 ducats, due this very day. At Genoa the Imperial generals have borrowed 10,000 from private individuals, and at other places various smaller sums, so that very little is left of the original credit. Out of the remainder the Germans' pay is due, so that the 100,000 ducats and a much larger sum are required if things are to be made right.

He (Lope Hurtado) will leave Turin shortly, and take with him the legal inquiry (*informacion*) on the damages caused by the Imperial army in Piedmont. Madame (Beatrix of Savoy) is here in very good health; the Duke, her husband, at Chamare (Chambery), through which town he (Hurtado) intends to pass on his way to Genoa, to take leave of him. If he can procure bread and wine, which are much wanted at Pavia, he will stop [at Chambery] three or four days more. Will try also, if possible, to ensure the passage of couriers, as the roads are by no means secure. Only the other day Bartholomeo [Taxis] was well-nigh murdered at Mondudi. Imperialists, and particularly Spaniards, can no longer travel safely through the country.

(*Common writing:*) Will soon follow the gentleman bearer of this letter, who is a brother of Count Gayaço and his lieutenant. A military man himself, he will be able to inform His Imperial Majesty of everything appertaining to war. Meanwhile, as his (Hurtado's) journey is likely to be a long one, should His Imperial Majesty despatch couriers (*cipher*), let them go at once to the Duke [of Savoy], who, as prearranged, is to direct them to the Infanta (Beatrix), and thence to Milan, for these people can do all they choose in these parts, and are, besides, greatly inclined to serve the Emperor's cause. As a proof, they (the Duke and Duchess) told him the other day that a vassal of theirs, and native of Savoy, Mossen de Villanova by name, is now raising two companies of infantry for the Venetians. If the intelligence be true, the intention of the Signory must be to cut the roads and, waste the lands (*gastar la tierra*) leading to Piedmont, for Villanova's band could hardly cross over to them now, and

* "El apellido que la gente llama es Duque, Duque! Marco, Marco! Iglesia! Este llamaban los de Milan de (por?) la necesidad que tienen de vituallas."

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besides, the Venetians have more troops than they want. Has also been told that the Marquis de Saluzzo is coming down with 400 men-at-arms, and that the Carmagnola is already occupied by 700 infantry under Juan Birago. No one knows yet what their intentions are.

(*Common writing:*) Count Gayaço possesses an estate in Naples. He is a perfect gentleman, and in the war of the Admiral* served His Imperial Majesty at his own cost. At Pavia, when the King of France was taken prisoner, he happened to command a company of light horse. He is married to one of the Pope's nieces, and has a fine estate in the Parmigiano. The Pope summoned him to take service with him, but he refused, saying he could not take up arms against the Emperor, and accordingly presented himself at the Imperial camp with 100 light cavalry and 100 hackbutters. He is an excellent captain. In consequence of his refusal the Pope has confiscated the Count's estate, he being, perhaps, the only Italian nobleman who has taken part for the Emperor. It is but just that a petition, which he now sends to Court, and is strongly recommended by the Marquis del Guasto, by Antonio de Leyva, and by the whole of us, should be taken into consideration.

His father had once property in the Cremonese, producing a rental of four thousand ducats a year. When the Venetians took Cremona his estate was confiscated, though restored soon after, when the French King [Louis X.] became master of that city. Again the Duke Maximilian [Sforza] took it away from him, and the King of France gave it to the Admiral [Bonnivet?]. The Count brought an action against them all and gained his suit, but on the accession of the present Duke [Francesco Sforza] the estate was again taken from him and given to the Marquis of Pescara, at whose death it became the inheritance of the Marquis del Guasto. The Count is now sending [to Spain] his own brother and lieutenant with the above petition, himself being unable to attend the Court in person. The Marquis favours him very much, and would willingly pass the estate over to him if proper compensation was made, as both the Count's messenger and Juan Baptista [Castaldo the Marquis' agent] will inform His Imperial Majesty. Both deserve to be rewarded for their services, and the Emperor might send orders to the commander-in-chief of this army, whoever he may be, to treat him as a person of quality and trust, the Marquis and Leyva having already placed under him the greatest part of their cavalry.

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* "En la guerra del Almiralle servió á su costa á S. Mag^{d}." By "Almiralle" Bonnivet (Guillaume Gouffier, Sieur de,) Admiral of France is no doubt meant, who in 1523 invaded Lombardy at the head of the French forces. He was subsequently slain at Pavia.

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Bartholomeo [de Taxis] told us the other day that the Pope's legate was at Cadiz, most probably with the intention of returning home. If so, His Imperial Majesty ought to keep him there until it is known how the Pope intends to behave towards the Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio del Leyva agree perfectly well on all matters. Both those generals and all the captains down to the lowest soldier are resolved to die for His Imperial Majesty's service. Juan de Urbina does better work than he ever did. Since His Imperial Majesty has been so good to others, he [Urbina] might also be rewarded with a robe (*habito*) of one of the military orders, Alcantara or Calatrava. He is so brave an officer that it will be a wonder if he has time to wear it out.

Letters have come from the Archduke, dated 26th inst., announcing that he was about to send 2,000 infantry. They will have great difficulty to pass the mountains.—Turin, 28th June 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, 28th June."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering by duplicate. pp. 7½.

30 June. **474.** POPE CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. *Corresp.* i. 217.

Reminds him of his good offices. Did for his sake reject the brilliant offers which King Francis made him, and when taken prisoner at Pavia remitted to the generals of the Imperial army 100,000 ducats, at the same time revealing the plans of the enemy. At the time that Francesco Sforza was besieged in his castle of Milan he was invited by persons of great weight (*magnis quibusdam viris*) to join the league. The Emperor knows quite well that he refused.

In return for so many favours "pessime jam a te mihi refertur gratia!" For, in the first place, one of his captains* has treated him and the Church with contumely, and not one of the conditions of the treaty has been fulfilled, nor the money given on that occasion returned.

How very differently he (the Pope) has been treated requires no demonstration. The Emperor would not impart to him the conditions of the peace made with France; his prayers and intercessions in favour of Francesco Sforza were

* In this passage Moncada can hardly be meant, for he had not yet attempted anything against Rome. The Pope must allude either to Lannoy or to Pescara.

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obstinately disregarded, and, lastly, both in Spain and in Naples laws were promulgated contrary to the liberty of the Roman Church, and to his (the Pope's) dignity, to say nothing of the war rekindled in Italy by Bourbon's expedition to Marseilles.

Owing to the reasons above stated he (the Pope) has been obliged to conclude a union and confederacy with those who love the peace of Italy and the weal of the Christian Republic. If, therefore, the Emperor is anxious for peace, this is the opportunity for ensuring it. If not, let him know that he (the Pope) will not be wanting in courage and means to defend Italy and the Roman community.—Rome, the last day of June 1526.

Latin. Copy.

3 July. **475.** SECRETARY JUAN PEREZ* to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 1–2.

On the 24th of June the Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada wrote, by way of Porto Ercole, by a passenger in a galleon bound for Barcelona. The duplicate was sent to Milan, thence to be forwarded to Genoa. Hopes both have been delivered.†

Soon after Don Ugo left for Ginençano, where he was to be met by Cardinal Coluna (Colonna), Vespasiano, and Ascanio [Colonna]. Before his departure [from Rome] Don Ugo had a long audience with the Pope, and made him such offers as would have been quite sufficient under other circumstances, but the Pope said to him, that although they seemed acceptable, he could do nothing in the matter without the advice of his confederates. The Duke left yesterday for Marino. He sent in advance some infantry, Spanish, as well as German, and some few Italians. He himself followed with the rest of his escort and some cavalry, after obtaining the Pope's permission, which was granted with difficulty.

(*Cipher:*) All the Imperialists here feel his absence very much. The Germans who accompany him are exceedingly displeased with the Pope, and take up the quarrel as if it were their own (*como cosa propia*), and are consequently marching with great alacrity and in high spirits to the field of war.

What will be the result of the meeting of the Colonnese with Don Ugo he (Perez) cannot say, but the Pope is attending to the defence of his estates, and is exceedingly angry at some of the Colonnese who reside at Nania (Anania) having risen

* Juan Perez, Sessa's Secretary, remained in charge of the Spanish embassy after the departure of that Duke and Don Ugo from Rome.

† Both seem to have been intercepted, for they are not in the volume. Guicciardini mentions about this time the seizure of certain correspondence between the Imperial commanders in Lombardy and the ambassadors at Rome, Venice and Genoa. *lib.* XVII.

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against the Orsino and taken possession of that place. Here at Rome military preparations are being made, and the Pope has already upwards of 2,000 infantry and some horse. It is also reported that His Holiness is about to march a large body of troops on Sienna. Yesterday, just as the Duke was leaving the city, he was told that Don Ugo had posted for Naples.

His Imperial Majesty, no doubt, knows already how on St. John's festival, before daybreak, the Papal troops and the Venetians took possession of Lodi by treason, which brilliant feat of arms has considerably raised the spirits of those who are no friends to the Empire. They have since spread a thousand rumours, more or less alarming, viz., that the Marquis del Guasto had made two vain attempts to recover the place; that the Duke of Urbino had approached Milan, but had been worsted by our troops; that the French King had joined the League, and had it proclaimed in his dominions, and so forth. As all this news, however, only came in letters from our enemies, not much faith is to be attached to them.

Advices from Genoa, of the 28th June, state that the bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats had been duly paid, and that other bills for double that amount were soon expected for Germany. Bourbon's arrival at Genoa (*cipher*) with 5,000 infantry had also given great satisfaction, for with such a succour at the present time we shall be able to treat these people as they deserve, and prevent their carrying their plans into execution.

(*Common writing:*) On St. Peter's day the tribute (*hacanea*) was presented as usual to the Pope, though under protest that the 7,000 ducats which Naples annually pays on such occasion could not be delivered, owing to the Pope having expressly forbidden all Roman bankers to discount bills drawn by subjects of the Empire. The Pope, however, was willing to accept the tribute (*hacanea*) and the ducats also, and offered to withdraw the prohibition that we might procure the money from the banks. He (Secretary Perez) was debating the matter in the Pope's presence, when one of his procurators (*fiscales*) came in with a new protest. A copy was immediately applied for, but up to the time when this letter is sealed and entrusted to the master of a Portuguese galleon it has not been received.

Remains at Rome by order of the Duke and Don Ugo, but as the palace where the embassy resides belongs to the Pope, and he (Perez) has since received summons to quit, he will soon be obliged to change his quarters. Asks for an increase of salary and payment of arrears in consequence.

The Portuguese ambassador in Rome has offered his services. He ought to be written to, as well as some cardinals, such as Campeggio, Tortosa and Cesarini, although this latter is now absent from Rome, and gone to a place of which he is governor. Some believe that he (Cesarini) went away when he saw the turn affairs are taking here; others assert that he left merely

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to escape from the plague, which is rather strong just now.—Romo, 3d July 1526.

Signed: "Juan Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty. Duplicate of the 3rd July."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. From the Duke of Sessa,* 3rd of July."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

4 July. **476.** ASCANIO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 376.

The league is no longer a secret. Encloses the numbers of the enemy, and their preparations by sea and land. Their intention is to invade Lombardy, to attack also Genoa, Naples, and Sienna. They proclaim that the King of France is with them, and will shortly invade Spain by the Pyrenees.

The Duke of Sessa, Don Ugo [de Moncada], Vespasiano, he (Ascanio Colonna), and the rest of the Colonnese have been considering what they had better do for the Imperial service. Begs that provisions for Germany and Italy be not delayed. Refers for the rest to his letter to the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara) and to Marcello, his own agent at court

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de los Coluneses."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

7 July. **477.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 6–11.

(*Cipher:*) No wonder that he (Sanchez) cannot write as often as he should and as he used to do; all the Emperor's servants in Italy find the ways closed to them (*todos los campos estan cerrados para nosotros*).

(*Common writing:*) The Signory sent him one of their secretaries to request he would attend the solemnity about to take place for the promulgation of the league, which they said, far from being against His Imperial Majesty, reserved for him a very honourable place, and was intended for the common benefit of parties, and to ensure universal peace. His answer was that whenever leagues of the sort were made between Christian Princes for their common advantage, it was customary not to leave out any of them. His Imperial Majesty had not, to his own knowledge, been consulted or included in it. On the contrary, he (Sanchez) had heard that both the Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada had quitted Rome. The Signory must excuse him if he did not accept their invitation, for notwith-

* Thus in the original endorsement, but the mistake is too glaring to require notice.

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standing their declaration their deeds showed that the confederacy was exclusively intended against his master.*

(*Cipher :*) Malatesta Ballon (Baglione), a captain in the service of this Signory,† managed the other day, as His Imperial Majesty has no doubt heard, to enter Lodi by previous concert with the inhabitants, for which feat of arms the said Baglione has been rewarded with the post of general of their infantry. He (Sanchez) had long before written to Milan to warn the generals against any attempts of the said Malatesta, but he was told that Lodi was sufficiently provided for, and that there was nothing to fear.

Has no certain news from the Imperial camp or from that of the Pope and Venetians, and therefore will abstain from communicating intelligence that might turn out untrue. Has no letters from those parts, and those he himself writes are intercepted by the Signory. From Genoa and Milan His Imperial Majesty has no doubt more direct information. All he can say is that the reports at Venice are rather unfavourable. Notwithstanding their declarations that the war is not against the Emperor, but made only for the protection of the Duke Francesco Sforza, with whom they are confederated, it is quite evident that they are doing all they possibly can against us. Not satisfied with the order they gave some time ago that no money should go out of their country, they have lately enjoined all merchants not to pay bills unless the Signory's officers are previously acquainted with the names of the persons by whom they are drawn. His Imperial Majesty recollects no doubt that in October last he (Sanchez) procured 6,000 ducats for the Marquis of Pescara's army, which sum was repaid to him in February in merchants' bills upon Venice, payable in June. The banker on whom the bills were drawn paid down two thousand and odd ducats on account, but no sooner did the Signory hear of the transaction than they stopped the payment of the remainder. In vain did he (Sanchez) allege that the bills were drawn in February ; that the money was his own and had been lent to the Marquis ; that there was no even plausible reason for laying an embargo on his own private property, when that of ambassadors was everywhere respected, and that of the Venetian subjects in Spain had not been sequestered ; that the sum was destined to the payment of the debts he (Sanchez) had in Venice and to his own support until he received funds from Spain. All his remonstrances have been in vain, and after eight days' expostulation he is as far advanced as at first. Indeed, he has altogether been treated by them in a manner so humiliating to an ambassador of His Imperial Majesty that

* For a description of the pageants on this occasion, see the extracts from Sanuto's Diaries in Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 579.

† He was in the Pope's service, not in the Venetian, as here stated.

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he would already have quitted Venice had he not feared to add to the present complications. Has written to the Duke of Sessa and to Don Ugo about it, but has received no answer. Had any of them given him permission to go, he should certainly have quitted Venice rather than submit to such indignities. True it is that the Duke wrote to him on the 30th of June, the day before he left Rome, announcing his departure for Spain, and that D. Ugo also had left to hold an interview with the Colonnese; that Secretary Perez remained at Rome in his room, and that he (Sanchez) might, if he chose, after appointing a proper person to fill his place and report news, quit Venice and repair to the Archduke's court, where he could apply for the help he had promised to send. But he (Sanchez) was prevented from following this advice for two very potent reasons. Firstly, the want of a trusty and properly qualified person with whom to entrust the affairs of his embassy, as the Duke and Don Ugo had done at Rome; and secondly, the great distance of the place whereat the Archduke now holds his court, which is so far away that it would require riding post for twenty consecutive days to reach it, a sort of fatigue which neither his health nor his age will allow him to bear at this season of the year, besides the probability of the Archduke being already on his way to Italy before he (Sanchez) had time even to procure horses. Has again written consulting the Duke and D. Ugo. Should either of them recommend his departure, he will certainly leave Venice immediately, for which purpose he is already making the necessary preparations quietly and without demonstration.

Has no news whatever from the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand). Although he has frequently written to His Highness pressing him to come down with as numerous a body of troops as he can muster, he (Sanchez) has never had an answer, though he has no doubt that his letters, directed as they are, and with such precautions as he uses, must reach him. Has written again lately, wishing to know what he (Sanchez) and the Archduke's ambassador here at Venice are to do under the present circumstances. Fears that His Highness's answers have been intercepted. Has no positive information of what the Archduke's plans may be. Hears that he is still at Spora (Spires) presiding over the Diet. The captain of Trent writes in date of the 1st instant to the Archducal ambassador here, that the bishop of that place had sent orders to prepare rooms for the Archduke, who was shortly to come down at the head of considerable forces. No more is known at Venice of the Archduke's movements.

The Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux), ambassador of France, went to Ferrara some days ago, and has since returned. His visit is said to have been unsuccessful. What the object of it was he (Sanchez) cannot say, except that this Signory are trying all they can to bring him (the Duke) to their side.

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The Switzers have not yet answered the call made on them, at which the Pope and Venetians are greatly disappointed. The report is that 500 lances are coming here from France, besides the Milanese emigrants (*foraxidos*) under the command of Renzo da Ceri. The Venetian Proveditor at sea (Alvise Darmer) sailed four or five days ago for Corfú, where he is to take 14 galleys of this Republic, and then join the Papal ones under Andrea Doria. It is rumoured also that a large French fleet, the command of which is to be given to Pedro Navarro, is to join the above-mentioned sea forces, and that they are constantly menacing Naples and Sicily. He (Sanchez) wrote many days ago to the authorities of both kingdoms, warning them of the impending danger, and bidding them be prepared against any invasion of the enemy.

These people are making great preparations for to-morrow's pageant, when the league is to be proclaimed with great solemnity. He (Sanchez) believes that they will include in it the King of England, and that the ambassador (Prothonotary Casale), who is an Italian and a good Christian, will do all he can and make every possible demonstration in their behalf. The truth is that from various sources he (Sanchez) has heard that the said King of England refuses to enter this Italian league or to be named in it, alleging as an excuse that he must first see the treaty, in which, as reported, they have not given him the place he ought to have. Such are the news that came from England on the 27th ult°.; whether the King has since changed his mind or not he (Sanchez) cannot say.—Venice, 7th July 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 7th July."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

8 July. **478.** News from Rome.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 27.

On Sunday, the 8th of July 1526, at Rome, in the Pope's chapel, solemn proclamation was made of the league between His Holiness and the Kings of France, England and Scotland, the Signory of Venice, the Duke of Milan, the Swiss, and other potentates. His Holiness was accompanied during mass by the ambassadors of the said Princes. Mass was said by Cardinal de Trana (Trani) and the oration delivered by a servant* of Cardinal Trigulcci (Triulcio), who after mentioning the late wars between the Emperor and the

* "A very learned Roman, by name El Grono," says Domenico Venier, the Venetian ambassador, in a letter to the Signory, dated Rome, 8th of July. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. IV., Appendix, p. 490.

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French King, and attributing to Fortune the reverses sustained by the latter, spoke of the Spaniards in very offensive words, exaggerating the bad treatment they had inflicted on the people [of Italy], and announcing that the Pope, moved to compassion, had made a confederacy with the aforesaid Kings and potentates, for the purpose of expelling the Imperialists from Italy. The oration over, the singers chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus*, after which the Pope said certain prayers, and then retired to his apartments, where he caused all the ambassadors [of the League] and a good number of the Cardinals to stay to dinner with him.

Spanish. Copy. p. ½.

8 July. **479.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 14–16.

Wrote on the 28th of June last. The Duke of Bourbon left on the 2nd inst. for Milan. Two days before, a gentleman arrived, sent by the Senate of that city to congratulate him, and beg he would go thither as soon as possible, as the people were anxiously expecting him.

The castle of Lodi has fallen into the enemy's hands. It was so weak that it could scarcely offer any resistance. Captain Quesada, who was inside with about 50 men, rather than surrender it, broke through the lines of the Venetians, and managed to escape, carrying Herrera, the warder of Tarento,* in a litter (*letica*). They say he will not die of his wounds, but will be maimed for life.

The Pope's troops and the Venetians effected a junction close to Lodi. They went afterwards to Marignano, three leagues from Milan, where they encamped. The Imperial army, infantry as well as cavalry, is inside Milan, in strong position, and with plenty of provisions, waiting for the enemy, in case they should try to relieve the castle.

The Duke [of Bourbon] took with him the first instalment on the 100,000 ducats, the rest will be sent to him when due. More remittances will soon be required, for the above sum is insufficient for the wants of the Imperial army. (*Cipher:*) When funds are sent, let them come in specie, because bills can no longer be discounted or cashed, and no money is allowed to leave Rome, Florence or Venice, the principal marts in Italy.

(*Common writing:*) Some light brigantines are required to carry despatches between this port and Barcelona, as there will be no means henceforward of sending couriers by land. The brigantines can do service up to October. Begs to be provided with funds for all these expenses.

(*Cipher:*) The Imperial army must be reinforced; the enemy increases his forces every day, and so manifest is the

* Felipe de Herrera, the brother of Commander Miguel de Herrera, who was wounded by a hackbut shot through the jaws. *See* above, p. 773.

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ill-will of some of the country people, that our troops are liable to be seriously molested in certain localities. Such as the army is, it is called upon to keep up its reputation and chastise the enemies. If defeated or broken up it would be difficult to raise another one like it. Trusts to God that notwithstanding the inferiority of its numbers compared with those of the enemy, the army will do its duty, and that His Imperial Majesty will soon hear of another victory as signal and decisive [as that of Pavia].

(*Common writing:*) Intelligence has come that the Venetians are about to send 15 of their galleys to join the Papal fleet under Andrea Doria. Also that on the 3rd inst. Pedro Navarro had passed through Lyons en route for Marseilles, there to fit out a number of galleys, of which he (Navarro) was to take the command; that the Papal and Venetian forces are to make a joint attack upon Genoa, and also invade Naples and Sicily. If such reports be true—and there is every reason to fear they are—it will be necessary to collect a sufficient force to meet that of the enemy. The Neapolitan galleys might come here to join those of this Republic, because the Imperial fleet, divided as it is between this city, Naples and Seville, cannot accomplish anything; whereas, being together and under an able captain, they might work better. (*Cipher:*) Should the Pope's galleys and those of Venice appear in sight of this city, in its present almost defenceless state, he (Soria) fears the Genoese will be obliged to accept the enemy's terms, and that even the Duke [of Bourbon] will not be able to prevent it. It is, therefore, of urgent need to provide for its defence as soon as possible, for if the enemy takes possession of it, the supplies for the Imperial army, as well as the communication with Spain and the fitting out of the fleets, will be seriously impeded.

(*Common writing:*) The Switzers held a diet on the 22nd of June last, wherein it was resolved not to arm except at the King of France's request.* Yet late advices from Lyons state that the French were already collecting money for the pay of the said Switzers, who were to come down in numbers and join the army of the League. Count of Saint Pol was soon expected [in Italy] at the head of 500 lances.

Since writing the above, he (Soria) has received letters from the Duke of Sessa and Don Hugo de Moncada, in date of the 26th June. (*Cipher:*) They are forwarded by the Duke of Ferrara, as well as the enclosed for His Imperial Majesty, giving an account of the ambassadors' last negotiations with the Pope.† Is afraid that in future all couriers will be

* "Y en su dieta declararon que no podian dar gente á ninguno excepto al Rey de Francia."

† *See* a note at p. 759. Indeed, the agreement under No. 466 seems to have been one of the papers forwarded by Soria on this occasion. As Don Ugo and the Duke left Rome on the 24th, their letter to the Imperial ambassador at Genoa must have been written from Marino, or some other town in the lands of the Colonnese.

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detained by the enemy, and, therefore, sends the present despatch by sea to Barcelona, besides a duplicate by a land route. If not received before the 24th inst. it will be a sign that it has been seized in France. All the Emperor's servants in these parts are of opinion that the German troops now in Catalonia should be sent to reinforce the Imperial army. With such a reinforcement, and those which the Archduke is now preparing and which will soon be at Milan, much good may be accomplished.—Genoa, 8 July 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. From Lope de Soria, 18th July."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

8 July. **480.** Don Pedro [Jordan] de Urries to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 25.

Wrote, the other day, by a courier, who left Genoa by land, announcing the arrival of the Duke [of Bourbon]. Not knowing, however, whether his despatch has been received, writes again to inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs, and give his opinion thereupon. Thinks the first thing to be done is for the Germans, now in Catalonia, to come [to Italy], and land either at Portu or at Gaheta (Gaeta), there to join Cardinal Colonna, who might be appointed commander-in-chief in those parts, and instructed to march upon Rome, after taking possession of the castles and fortresses in the neighbourhood. The Archduke to send reinforcements as soon as possible, for although the Imperial army in Lombardy is efficient enough, the reported arrival of both Switzers and French in Italy might place it in a difficult position. A body of Spanish infantry of between 4,000 and 5,000 men might also be levied. By allowing the recruits passage free of cost, and provisions for the voyage, double that number can easily be enlisted in the towns of Castile and Aragon. Dreaded as they are in Italy, their presence is sure to do much good.

Since His Imperial Majesty sees the wickedness of these people, he must not be deceived by their promises. If money is wanting, let the Emperor take one third of the Church revenues for himself; for certainly he is the owner of all our property, and it is but just that we should give him a portion of what we own.* If the rents of one year be not enough, let

* Don Pèdro de Urries was himself an ecclesiastic and Archbishop of Saragossa at the time. He was residing in Rome for certain business of his see, when, like most Spaniards, he was obliged to quit. *See* also No. 136, p. 244.

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him take those of three, and also those of such Cardinals as consign to the Pope all their revenues from Church endowments in Spain, not forgetting the Datary and others who have advised him to pursue this highly commendable behaviour (*esta buena obra*) under the present circumstances.

Let not His Imperial Majesty be anxious for the result. We are as sure of victory as of late, provided proper means are taken, &c.—Genoa, 8th July 1526.

Signed: "Don Pedro de Urries."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

8 July. **481.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 46–49.

Wrote on the 28th ulto. from Turin, by a brother and lieutenant of Count Gayaço, who went post haste with despatches from Milan, &c. Has heard since from some Neapolitan gentlemen, and also from Captain Figueroa, who comes straight from the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), that the said lieutenant had been detained in France, and that he (Hurtado) will not be allowed to proceed without a safe-conduct. The Duke (of Savoy) has applied for one; hopes to get it in eight or ten days. In the meantime will say what he thinks of the prospects of the war.

(*Cipher:*) Against three different armies, now united together, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for the Imperialists to hold their ground; considerable reinforcements must, therefore, come from Germany; even then it will be no easy matter for them to join forces, the roads between Milan and Cremona being occupied by the Pope's army and by the Venetians, in such a way that the Imperialists cannot commu nicate with each other. We have at Cremona upwards of 3,000 men, *i.e.*, 5,000 mouths to feed,* everyone of whom forages where he can. The most efficient troops, who are the Germans, are not paid, nor is there means of sending money for their support. The castle and the country people are alike against them. They have been for upwards of one month shut up in such a way that it will be a miracle if they can hold the city any longer. The same may be said with regard to Milan and to the other places, like Pavia and Alessandria, the garrisons of which might easily have been concentrated at Milan. Now that the French army has arrived, it will be next to impossible to accomplish this, for the enemy are so numerous that they will cut the roads and stop provisions. The army, therefore,

* "Nuestra gente que está en Carmona pasa de tres mil hombres de guerra, que han cinco mil bocas; todos comen á discreccion."

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has two great risks to encounter, the superior power of the enemy and hunger. His Imperial Majesty must without further delay bring about peace, or provide the means of carrying on war by sea as well as by land.

If His Imperial Majesty decide on war, it is of the greatest importance—since the Viceroy is now in Spain—to have the largest possible fleet fitted out, so as to put on board as much as 1,000 cavalry, or as many as it can hold, besides all the German infantry now at Perpignan, and the greatest possible number of Spaniards; the fleet so manned and appointed to be under orders to sail for any part of this Italian coast, where it may be most wanted,—Genoa, Florence, Rome, or Naples; for wherever those forces land, the enemy will lose much of his arrogance, the Imperialists will be encouraged to perform greater deeds, and some of the confederates may, perhaps, be tempted to abandon the league. Many will perchance manifest their good feelings towards the Empire, who dare not do it now, owing to the enemy's great power. A good sea commander is also wanted, a man of ability and reputation; for it is evident that the confederates will try their utmost that way, by attacking Genoa, Sicily, or Naples. The King of Portugal (Joao III.) has four excellent galleys, well manned and provided with excellent artillery, of which he makes no use at present, besides several good vessels, much artillery and many mariners: an important fact to know. Should the Emperor approach nearer to the French frontier, it would help much towards countenancing the military operations by sea or land.

Has found here [at Chambery] two men of low quality; one a servant of Cardinal Frenesis (Farnesio), whose name is Miçer Latino, an agent of the Pope; the other one Colino (*sic*), who professes to be the agent of the French King, and is a servant of Mr. de Vara, the Grand Steward.* The Duke says that the mission of these people is to induce him to enter the league and grant a passage to the confederated armies, and that he told the former, "The Pope ought rather to exert himself for the establishment of universal peace. Whenever he does, he shall find me ready to obey his orders I could nowise enter into a league against the Emperor, being, as I am, the Vicar of the Empire." His answer to the French ran thus: "Let the King, your master, send me the articles of the league, and I will answer him to his full satisfaction." As to passage through his territory, he (the Duke) will grant it, provided the French troops come with their commissaries, and proper notice be given a fortnight

* "Aqui he hallado con el Duque dos hombres de poca calidad; el uno de ellos del Papa que se llama Miçer Latino criado del Cardenal Frenesis (Farnese); otro del Rey de Francia, que se llama Colino, criado de Mossiur de Vara, gran camarero del Rey."

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before. This answer would show that the Duke intends to remain neutral, as he has done at other times, following the wishes of the Switzers and of his own vassals.*

The Count of Geneva is here, not very much pleased with the settlement of his affairs at Court. He (Hurtado) has asked him what his intentions are respecting this league. His answer is that he intends to serve the Emperor as on former occasions, but that he has no money. Upon his inquiry, whether in case of being provided with funds he could raise any troops, he said that he could in a very short time raise 6,000 Switzers on the frontiers of his estate, and bring them in without the enemy becoming aware of it (*y que se meteria sin verse?*); in short, that he would do anything Mr. de Bourbon told him. He (Hurtado) has informed the latter of the offer made by the Count, that he may decide what is best for the Imperial service.

The Duke [of Savoy] has sent for the infanta [his wife]. Should His Imperial Majesty make up his mind to cross over [to Italy], which is the Duchess' most ardent wish, certainly the confederates would not fare so well here, for the Duchess looks more to the Emperor's interests than to her own.—Chamari (Chambery), 8 July 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord and Master."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado, 8th July. By duplicate."

Spanish. Original almost entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6½.

9 July. **482.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 54.

(*Cipher:*) No news from Milan, which is rather a good sign, for had there been any, unfavourable to the Imperial cause, he (Hurtado) is sure to have heard it, for bad news generally travels fast.

(*Common writing:*) Mons. de Bourbon landed at Genoa on the 28th, the date of his (Hurtado's) last letter. Yesterday a gentleman of his suite, who was going to Burgundy on a mission, passed through this town (Chambery). His master, he said, would be at Milan on the 4th or 5th inst. at the latest. Similar intelligence has been received from Turin. The Duke's presence at the camp will be very opportune,

* "Que quiere ser neutral, como otras vezes lo ha sido, segun la voluntad de los suizos y de sus vassallos."

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now that the articles of this Italian league are known, and the intentions of the confederates discovered. But with all this he (Hurtado) cannot help referring to his letter of the 28th. It is reported that the Marquis of Saluzzo is to command the French forces, mustering 300 men-at-arms, 6,000 volunteers and 8,000 Switzers besides. Of such military preparations however, if true, the Viceroy must be best informed, having resided so long at the French court.

(*Cipher :*) A courier from Rome has passed to-day through this town (Chambery). His news are that the Duke of Ferrara had taken possession of Modena, and declared for the Emperor. If true, it would be a great help to our cause.

The Duke of Savoy shows goodwill in everything relating to the Imperial service. Yet, requested by him (Hurtado) to forward any letters or despatches that might come directed to the Emperor, he answered but hesitatingly, that he would do his best, which is a proof that another and safer channel must be looked for. He has nevertheless promised to supply the Imperial army in Lombardy with provisions from Piedmont, provided they are regularly paid for.

(*Common writing :*) This Italian league has evidently been made not so much for the protection of the Duke of Milan as the confederates assert, but to destroy the Imperial army in Lombardy. Should the enemy gain his object (which God forbid) it would be next to impossible to succour Naples or Sicily.—Chamary (Chambery), 9 July 1526.

Signed : "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1526. Lope Hurtado, 9 July."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

9 July. **483.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 49.

Since his letter of yesterday news has come from Milan The Duke [of Savoy] has heard that Mons. de Bourbon arrived there on the 6th, and was received by the Milanese with every demonstration of joy,—tapestry hanging from the windows, &c. Other towns in the Duchy had made similar rejoicings. The enemy was still at Marignano and had tried to introduce succour into the castle of Milan, but had not been successful, losing many men in the retreat. They expect, however, assistance from France and from the Switzers.

The Marquis of Saluzzo arrived at Lyons on the 11th inst. On the 15th he had not yet left. He was to start on his

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intended expedition as soon as the men-at-arms were collected in Grenoble, and would then pass the Alps.

The Duke [of Savoy] has also received intelligence of the 7th inst., stating that seven companies of Switzers had been raised, and were to be placed under the command of a colonel named Federico Bozano,* who had gone thither for that purpose. It is also reported that Renzo de Cheri was at the court [of France], and that Theodoro Tribulcio (Triulzo) and other Italian chiefs, among whom there is scarcely one worth notice, were to accompany the expedition, under the Marquis of Saluzzo, who, as before stated, was to be commander-in-chief.

The Duke [of Savoy] has been keeping this courier from day to day, no doubt in order to ask permission of the French; otherwise he would not dare send him. As it is very doubtful whether the courier will be allowed to pass, he (Hurtado) has entrusted a duplicate of this letter to Captain Figueroa, that he may forward it as soon as possible to Spain.—Chamari, 18 July 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

P.S.—This letter was written, signed, and sealed when Ponperan Monperan (*sic*) arrived† with letters from Milan, in date of the 15th. Mr. de Bourbon writes to say that things are going on very well there; he hopes that the castle will soon surrender. The Venetian army on the 9th inst. had advanced as far as the Borgo of Milan, and attacked Porta Romana, intending no doubt to revictual the castle. They had been repulsed, and on the same night had fallen back on Marignano and Condaño (Codogno), where they were still encamped, fearing an attack. Had written to the Count [of Geneva ?] the particulars of the affair. *Dat. ut supra.*

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado. 18 July 1526."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7.

* Federigo da Bozzolo, according to Guicciardini, lib. XVI. F. Leandro Alberti in his *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Venecia, 1577, 4to), an invaluable work for the history of these times, calls him *Federigo Gonzaga, detto il Bozzolo*, and says of him, whilst describing the castles and villages on the banks of the Oglio (fol. 404): "Et seguitando alla sinistra riua dell' Oglio evvi Bozzolo nobile castello, ma molto piu nobilitato da Federico Gonzaga cognominato da Bozzolo, che fù home molto prode in trattar l'armi & valoroso capitano di soldati il qual passò di questa vita gli anni passati lasciando di se gran desiderio a i mortali." Federigo was the son of Giampietro, of the house of Mantua, uncle to the celebrated Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte. *See* the Life of this last by Ireneo Affo, *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga*, &c. Parma, 1780, 4to.

† "Teniendo esta escrita [y] cerrada han llegado aqui ponperan [y] monperan (*sic*) que Mossiur de Borbon despachó de Milan á XV."

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9 July. **484.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 29-32.

Sends with this the duplicate of his letter of the 3rd, which the master of a Portuguese galleon, bound for Genoa, took. (*Cipher:*) It was directed to Lope de Soria, the ambassador, with orders to transmit the same to Secretary Soria.

Nothing new has occurred since that date except that the Papal troops are marching on Sienna, with very good artillery, accompanied by many of the outlaws (*foraxidos*) who are supposed to have friends inside the city. Very few of the Pope's troops remain in Rome; as His Holiness has nothing to fear in these parts, they are quite sufficient for his defence. Many of His Imperial Majesty's servants would have preferred the Duke [of Sessa] remaining here, that he might be a sort of obstacle (*torcedor*) to His Holiness' designs. Has reasons to think that he (the Duke) has gone to Naples on His Majesty's service, and that Don Ugo still remains with the Colonnese at Genençano. The agent of Vespasiano Colonna here told him (Perez) the other day that the Pope had sent for him and inquired whether his intention was to keep peace or make war on his territory. In the latter case he (the Pope) would give orders for his towns and villages on the frontier to be put in a state of defence. He had not done it yet lest they should think his design was to attack them. He (Perez) does not know what the said agent answered.

(*Common writing:*) Sends His Majesty copy of the treaty of league as published at Rome; the proclamation of which is to be made with great solemnity on Sunday next. There are to be great rejoicings and illuminations; the prayer to be said by a secretary of Cardinal Triulcis (Triulci). Alberto di Carpi is in great spirits, and gives out that he will not be satisfied this time with the restitution of Carpi.

A rumour is afloat here that Mr. de Labret (Albret) will go to Navarre with forces, and that the King of England is to invade Flanders, whilst he of France will keep up the war in Italy with 10,000 Swiss infantry, besides 500 lances, which are to invade Naples under the command of Monsieur de St. Pol,. God grant that he may share the fate of the Duke of Albany, who, after all his boasting, had to apply for a safe-conduct to return to France!

The only news from Germany is the assurance of a forthcoming succour. It is said that 3,000 Germans are already coming down under the command of Don Pedro de Cordoba;* but on the other hand the report is that the enemy will occupy the mountain passes, and prevent if possible their entering Italy.

People here attach little importance to M. de Bourbon's arrival [in Italy], owing to his having come without an army. He (Perez) has heard that the Pope laughs at him, and says,

* A brother of Sessa, who was Master of the Horse to Archduke Ferdinand.

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"His Imperial Majesty not knowing what to do with him, sends him among us as a castaway and a lost man."*

Letters from Hungary were read in the last Consistory, purporting that the Turk was really coming down in great force, and that the kingdom would ultimately be lost unless relieved in time. No preparation is made here for meeting the danger likely to fall on Christianity; far from it, they throw every impediment in the Archduke's way, as His Imperial Majesty may judge from the enclosed copy of His Highness' letter to the Pope, which is very much praised and has given great satisfaction. Master Salamanca, the Archduke's agent and orator (solicitador) at this court, read it to the Pope the other day.

A servant of Monsieur of Bourbon arrived lately with a message to the Pope, begging him to desist from this war, and make his peace with the Emperor, who had always shown himself an obedient son of his and loved him better than anyone else ever did. The Pope's answer to the message was the same as usual. He wished to become the Emperor's friend, but could do nothing without the advice of his confederates, and then he (the Pope) proceeded to state his reasons for joining the league, &c.

The Duke's agent then told him that he was the bearer of letters for the Duke of Sessa and for Don Ugo, and wanted to deliver them personally. To which the Pope replied, "You had better give them to Secretary Perez for transmission; if, however, you decide upon taking them yourself a safe-conduct shall be granted."

He (Perez) advised the messenger to leave Rome the next day, in company with Commander Aguilera, who, having come last week with a message from the Duke and Don Ugo, was returning to them. The message, he has been told, was to prevail on His Holiness to suspend the march of his troops on Sienna, as well as all hostile movements between Rome and Naples. After a good deal of discussion, His Holiness declared that he could not order his men to stop, but that if the means were found to content and satisfy Siennese outlaws (*foraxidos*), he had no objection to induce them to desist from the attack on that city. Commander Aguilera is now going to Don Ugo in search of powers and instructions for treating with the Siennese. The Pope, on his side, has sent a message to the said outlaws (*foraxidos*) to pause in their march until all hope of an agreement has vanished. With regard to the other demand of the Imperial ministers, viz., that he should suspend all military movements against Naples, the Pope said there was no difficulty at all; it had never been his intention to invade that kingdom, although not one of the stipulations made with him had been

* "Que V. Mag^d por echarle de cabe si, le envió por acá como hombre perdido."

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fulfilled. He was not permitted to fill up a single ecclesiastical benefice; his apostolic bulls and briefs had been completely disregarded, &c. To this long list of grievances His Holiness added that one Cesare, belonging to the Colonna faction, had lately taken possession of one of his towns, called Nania, and arrested the commissary he had sent thither for inquiry. He wants before all things that the town be restored to him, and his commissary set at liberty.

This is in substance what His Holiness told Commander Aguilera. He (Perez) cannot say what Don Ugo will decide in consequence of the Pope's answer; all he knows is that the Papal troops and the outlaws (*foraxidos*) are marching on Sienna in all possible haste; that they are provided with good artillery, and that the Pope declares that before they reach the city the Siennese themselves will come out to meet them and deliver up the keys of the gates.

The lieutenant of the Sumaria of Naples has arrived at a place called Orbieto, 60 miles from this city [Rome], where he is now staying, as they neither allow him to proceed on his journey nor return. He has the Pope's permission to come here [to Rome], but it is doubtful whether he will be permitted to enter the city. He has the reputation of being the man who best knows the way of procuring money in Naples.

Sunday last the league was proclaimed with great solemnity, illuminations, firing of guns, &c. All the ambassadors of the confederated Princes dined with the Pope.

As Knight Commander (Aguilera), bearer of this, is leaving, he (Perez) will not write at length, but refer to his other letters.—Rome, 9th of July 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King, 1526. From Rome. From Secretary Perez, 9th July."

Spanish. Holograph, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering (by duplicate). pp. 3.

10 July. **485.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 33–4.

Wrote on the 27th of June by Lope Hurtado de Mendoça. Since then the forces of the Pope and the Venetians, mustering 20,000 men, after effecting their junction at Old Lodi, two miles from Lodi, marched together on the 28th on Marignano, ten miles from this place. Little by little they approached this city (Milan) till they came in sight of the suburbs (*burgos*) in front of the gates Porto Romana and Porta Tusa. This took place the very day of the Duke of Bourbon's arrival [at Milan]. On the 6th of July, a little before day-break, the enemy made an unsuccessful attack upon the city gates, which lasted till night, the artillery playing on both sides; but they lost so many men, that at one hour of the night they

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raised their camp in great confusion and retired to Marignano, there to wait for orders. Their loss in killed and wounded is said to amount to nearly 6,000 men.

The Duke of Bourbon and other commanders of this Imperial army, such as the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, are of opinion that the first thing to be done now is to distribute among the troops the small sum of money which came from Genoa, and something more which may perhaps be procured in this city. If Milan give 30,000 ducats —which he (Najera) thinks will be rather a difficult thing, since there is no money left in the city—the generals calculate upon issuing to the Spanish infantry two months' pay; 10,000 ducats on account to the men-at-arms and Germans here and at Pavia, and two more payments to the light horse. They also propose raising five thousand Italian infantry, namely, three for the defence of this castle of Milan, and two for that of Cremona, so as to be able to concentrate here all the forces of the Imperial army, and take the offensive, although it must be said that very strong doubts are entertained whether the Germans at Cremona will consent to join, unless they are paid the 39,000 ducats owing to them.

The plan of campaign of these generals consists in marching out against the confederates and giving them battle before they receive succour from the Switzers and from France. Hitherto the former have refused to come to their aid, but when they see that the French King sends his own men-at-arms and artillery, as he is in the habit of doing (*como suele hacer*), they will advance. Such being the case, His Imperial Majesty must consider that the entire world is against him, and that he has no other friends left save the Archduke and this army. Money must be provided, as well as reinforcements to defend Genoa against an attack of the enemy, for were that city to be taken (which God forbid) it would prove the ruin of the Imperial cause in Italy. The Archduke must be told to advance as soon as possible against the Venetians, for they and the Pope have so stopped the roads that no letters come either from Rome or from Germany. It is only owing to a most ingenious device that he (Najera) received yesterday letters from the Duke of Sessa and from Don Ugo, in date of the 25th ulto., informing him of what the latter had negotiated with the Pope.

Prothonotary Caracciolo is to go to the castle to-day, to see the Duke Francesco Sforza. He is to tell him that he must not expect succour for the present, the army of the confederates having withdrawn in confusion after the last unsuccessful attack. He goes by order of the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva.

Milan cannot be effectually defended against the enemy with less than 15,000 men. The generals, perceiving that no other city of this Estate can furnish provisions enough to maintain such a number of men, have determined to con-

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centrate their forces. There are now in Milan 9,000 Spanish and German infantry, 700 men-at-arms, and 1,200 light horse, who have until now defended this city and Estate valiantly and efficiently, as the Duke of Bourbon has been able to judge on his arrival. God in His justice will grant the Emperor victory over people who in return for the peace so generously offered to them made war on him. Count Gayaço, captain of a company of light cavalry, Juan de Urbina, Corvera and the rest of the captains of this army have behaved so well before the enemy, day and night, that it would be well for the Emperor to write to them in acknowledgment and praise of their services.

Antonio de Leyva is very much disturbed at hearing that His Majesty gives credit to (*da credito*) certain reports accusing him (Leyva) of being the principal cause of this war by extorting ransoms (*que ha llevado dineros de rescates*). He (Najera) can declare that, ever since the death of the Marquis of Pescara, the Emperor has had no better man at the head of his army, so strict in his military duties, so honourable, and so skilful in warfare. As for taking ransom money, he (the Abbot) can swear that ever since he has been attached to this army Antonio de Leyva has not received one farthing from that quarter, nor is he the sort of man to think of such a thing. On the contrary, it may be confidently asserted that both he and the Marquis del Guasto have done everything in their power to prevent this war, since very often, in order to support this army in needy times and prevent them from disbanding and attacking the lands of the Pope or the Venetians in quest of food, not to be procured elsewhere, they have pledged and sold their own property and that of their friends and relatives, even to their very shirts (*hasta las camisas*). Should His Imperial Majesty find out that his (Najera's) asseverations concerning so worthy a person as Antonio de Leyva are untrue he consents to have his head cut off.—Milan, 10th July 1526.'

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. From the Abbot of Najera, 10th of July."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

11 July. **486.** The Same to [Lope de Soria].

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 37.

I wrote to your worship the day before yesterday (9th July), announcing the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon in Milan on the 6th inst., the attack and repulse of the enemy on the ensuing day, and their hasty retreat on Marignano, where they are now waiting for orders from Rome and Venice. We are attending to our defences, and intend soon to march

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out against those who, after so gallantly taking possession of Lodi the other day, came to attack us here [at Milan]. To day 300 Neapolitans, who were treacherously surprised at Lodi, and obliged to take service with the Venetians, have deserted and joined our camp. They will be placed where, in case of disaffection, they will do us no harm. He who planned the whole treason at Lodi appears to be one Lodovico Vistarino, whom I believe your worship knows. The Neapolitans are really ashamed and disgusted at their late discomfiture, but notwithstanding we shall keep our eye on them.†

I beg your worship to see to the speedy and favourable expedition of the steward of the Duke of Bourbon, who goes [to Burgundy ?] for certain business. Yesterday a relative of the Lord of Monaco, who is going to Spain with despatches, left this for Genoa. He will be obliged to take a sea route, for Lope Hurtado de Mendoça writes [from Chambery] that all passes are closed, and nobody allowed to cross the French frontier without a safeconduct. The said Lope Hurtado writes that although the French King has decidedly joined the league, the Italian confederates are not quite satisfied with his doings, for until now there is no sign of either French or Switzers stirring.—Milan, 11th July, 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

11 July. **487.** ABSTRACT of a LETTER from NAPLES of the 11th July.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 35.

Everyone here contrives to serve His Imperial Majesty with such means as he has at his command. The quota (*rata*) of the nobility (*baruni*) in the new gift (*servicio militare*) amounts to 100,000 ducats, the third of which, due next August, is to be paid down at once. In September a new tax of five carlini is to be levied on each house.

These ministers, desirous of rendering a signal service to the Crown, have lent 2,000 ducats each, that is to say, have lent their names and signatures to bills drawn at Court.

The Duke of Sessa arrived on the 7th inst. at two hours of the night. Immediately after his arrival the [Collateral] Council was assembled, and the question of the money was debated; 20,000 ducats have already been procured from bankers and merchants, to be recovered with interest on the rents of the following August.

Though the present league is made against His Imperial Majesty, hope is entertained that the Emperor will be able

* "Esperando lo que el Papa y la Señoria les avisaran que hagan con nosotros."

† "Estos se hallan tan engañados y mal contentos quanto al mundo se puede pensar; non obstante esto se terná ojo á las manos."

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through his invincible power to triumph over all, as he did over the French on former occasions. People are confirmed in this opinion, not only by the arrival of M. de Bourbon in Lombardy to take the command of the Imperial army, as by the report that he brings with him a considerable sum of money.

The Colonnese have all taken service with the Emperor, with the only exception of one Giovanni Stephano Colonna, Lord of Prenestina,* who has gone over to the Pope's side.

We have been here in great fear of an invasion, knowing the preparations of infantry and light cavalry being made by the Pope at Rome and in the Marches. Our fears, however, have since subsided, and our frontiers been placed in a state of defence. There are 1,400 Italian infantry under the following Spanish captains: Spes (Espes?), Francisco Carrozo (Carroz), one Antonio Leva,† and another one whose name is unknown to me. Money has been sent to Don Ugo de Moncada, who is at Jannezano (Genençano), to recruit there between 2,000 and 3,000 infantry, Spaniards or Germans, as well as inhabitants of Romagna, 400 light cavalry under the leadership of Count Policastro, though he himself does not attend (*imperò ipso non vá*), of Ferranto Carrafa, who commands 100, of Diodemedes Carrafa with 60, Count Sarno (Sarni) with 100, and Ferrante Pandone with 50. No more troops are levied for the present, for there are besides 200 men-at-arms in various parts of this kingdom.

I believe we shall soon hear from these ministers what their plans are for the future campaign, for both Cardinal Colonna and Signor Ascanio (Colonna) are asking for reinforcements to invade the Campagna [of Rome], and give the Pope some work in hand, or compel him to recall part of his forces. I cannot say what these ministers will decide respecting the incessant applications of the Colonnese, but *ut sentio in varias sententias distrahuntur.* I believe, however, that they will decide for the best. May God enlighten their judgments for the Emperor's best service, and for the welfare of this kingdom!

Harvest very bad this year. In Apulia there has been such a quantity of the worm (*bruculi*) that its fields, generally considered the granary of this kingdom, are literally wasted. In many parts the sickle has not been used, &c., and the measure of wheat sells for four carlini. The silk crop, however, is abundant in Calabria, and oil very plentiful at

* The original has "Prenestino."

† The Italians of these days called Antonio de Leyva *Leva;* but if the christian name of the captain mentioned in this passage be really *Antonio,* there must have been two so called serving in the Imperial army. Probably the writer made a mistake, and wrote *Antonio* instead of Giovanni, or Juan de Leyva, who was his nephew.

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Bari, as well as at Otranto. The revenues of Calabria are calculated in consequence at 350,000 ducats.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria,* 4th of August."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 3.

12 July. **488.** The Marquis del Guasto to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 38.

The Marquis of Pescara, his predecessor in command of the Imperial army, borrowed certain sums from bankers of this place [Milan], pledging his most solemn word that the money —which was immediately used for the pay of the Germans—should be repaid, principal and interest, out of the first remittances that came from Spain. He himself made particular mention of the debt in his will, and yet the Milanese bankers have not yet been reimbursed; and the latter, aware that the Duke of Bourbon has lately brought money from Genoa, have renewed their applications for the payment of what is owing to them. The Duke [of Bourbon] himself now writes to Court on this subject, and he (Guasto) cannot do less than join his prayers to his, and beg that His Imperial Majesty, for the honour and credit of the Empire, and the satisfaction of his own conscience as Pescara's nephew and heir, may approve the plan proposed by the Duke, and reimburse these bankers.—Milan, 12 July 1526.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cæsareæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. Marqués del Gasto, 12 July 1526."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

15 July. **489.** Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 40–1.

Wrote on the 8th inst. by a brigantine bound for Barcelona, and sends now a duplicate by Leonardo Grimaldi, who comes from Milan, and is going to Spain by sea. Quite impossible to write by a land route, as all the roads in Italy are shut, and couriers not allowed to pass through France. Grimaldi will give verbal information of the last occurrences [at Milan], since he comes straight from that city, and was present at the assault of the gates by the troops of the Pope and Venetians. What he (Soria) has to advice is as follows:

* This letter seems to have been addressed to Soria [at Genoa] by some Neapolitan official. He no doubt had it copied and transmitted to Spain along with his own despatch of the 4th of August.

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A report is afloat that the Pope and the Florentines intend to attack Sienna. He (Soria) has also received intelligence (*Cipher:*) that the King of France is about to send Count de St. Pol with a good number of men-at-arms, and the Marquis of Saluzzo with his bands; they are to join the Papal troops and the Venetians, and attack this city (Genoa), the garrison of which is so weak and contemptible that, if assailed at the same time by sea and land, as the enemy appears inclined to do, it cannot hold out long. There are only six Imperial galleys in the port, besides three belonging to this Community. He (Soria) has often written to the Duke of Bourbon and to the rest of the generals and ministers about it, and yet no provision has been made for the defence of this city, the preservation of which is so important for the Imperial interests.

(*Common writing:*) Neither is the kingdom of Naples in such a state of defence as might be desired. The Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) is absent, which materially impedes the required defence. It is urgent that His Imperial Majesty give orders for the galleys [of Naples] to be collected and united to those of this Community. Some caraks and other large ships might then be armed, with which, all united, such a fleet could be fitted out as to have the command of these seas. (*Cipher:*) The Emperor must be aware that, although his army is excellent and well appointed, it is very inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, who are daily increasing their forces.

Encloses copy of a letter from the Turk to the King of France, that His Imperial Majesty may know what the intentions of that Infidel are.

(*Common writing:*) Has already given notice that any remittances of money for the use of the Imperial army must come in specie, owing to the difficulty of getting exchanges at Rome, Florence, Venice or France. The last bills, however, amounting to 100,000 ducats, have been discounted here (at Genoa), and most of the money placed at the disposal of the Duke of Bourbon, who in three or four days is to receive the remainder.

After writing the above he (Soria) has heard that the Florentines are really marching against Sienna. Has also received a letter from the Abbot of Najera,* dated the 11th inst., and a copy of which is enclosed, giving an account of occurrences at Milan up to that date.

Lope Hurtado de Mendoça writes from Chambari (Chambery) on the 10th inst. that he was expecting there a safe-conduct from the King of France, and that the Switzers intended to hold a diet on the 25th to decide whether they were to furnish troops to the League or not, and in what number. It was

* *See* No 486., p. 797.

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also reported in that locality that the Marquis of Saluzzo was to be the commander-in-chief of the French forces in Italy.—Genoa, 15 July 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 15th July."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2¼

19 July. **490.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 66.

Wrote on the 15th inst. by Leonardo Grimaldo, who went home in a brigantine. There is no more passing through France; the last courier which he (Soria) despatched, on the 28th last, was detained in that country. A person lately arrived from Rome told him (Soria) that the Duke [of Sessa] and Don Ugo de Moncada had left that city and gone to the land of the Colonnese. One hundred and fifty horse left [Rome] in pursuit of Don Ugo to kill him [*para matarlo*], but as they found him at the head of 500 foot, the assailants dared not attack him. The Pope was daily increasing his forces, some of which, well provided with artillery, he had sent against Sienna. Perusa (Perugia) and Florence had each furnished their contingent for that expedition.

Andrea Doria has taken Porto Hercole and Talamon, two seaports of the Siennese. Hieronymo Severino, who had left Genoa for Sienna by sea, has been obliged to return, having heard that Doria lay in ambush for him. He is actually soliciting the Duke (Bourbon) to give some assistance to Sienna. Something indeed must be done to prevent that city from falling into the hands of the Pope and of the Florentines, who are everywhere showing their enmity to the Emperor. Hopes, however, that they will soon have occasion to repent of their misdeeds, and that such provision will be made as to ensure the success of our arms. If the Emperor's journey to Italy is delayed it is quite evident that war cannot be carried on successfully without reinforcements and money, for the Pope and his confederates have openly proclaimed their intention of assailing successively every one of the Imperial dominions in Italy, Naples and Sicily included.

The last news from Milan are in date of the 16th inst. Both the Duke (of Bourbon) and the Abbot of Najera write to say that the castle was reduced to extremity and could not hold out many days.

Has had letters from Venice, besides the enclosed from Alonso Sanchez to His Imperial Majesty. The league had been proclaimed in that city with great solemnity. The proveditor

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[Alvise Darmer] had put to sea with his 15 galleys to join those of the Pope and France. The Genoese were much afraid at this, lest the armament was intended against their city, for if the enemy should come and blockade this port, all communication [with Spain] and the arrival of supplies will be stopped. There is urgent need to send the Neapolitan galleys here with all speed, as, joined to other sea forces, they might be superior to the enemy's fleet.

To-day the steward of the Duke of Bourbon left for Milan, taking with him the rest of the 100,000 ducats which Ansaldo Grimaldo has paid in full. The sum, however, is said to be insufficient for the wants of this army.

Letters from Lyons of the 13th inst. announce that the Marquis de Saluzzo with some Italian captains had arrived there for the purpose of crossing the Alps and joining the camp of the Pope and of the Venetians. He has with him a certain number of men-at-arms and a few thousand Switzers.

The company of Captain Figueroa,* once the body-guard of the French King, marched as far as Piedmont to incorporate itself with this Imperial army, but on reaching a place called Sanper in the Duke of Savoy's territory they were plundered of everything they had (*desbalijados*), and the captain and his men had to go back to France. The outrage was committed by the men of one Filiberto, the Duke's vassal, and by the band of Joan Birago.

(*Cipher:*) Had the galleys now at Naples joined those we have in this port, there can be no doubt that Andrea Doria would by this time have been disarmed. Even if they come before the Venetians, and the French can effect their junction with them, he (Soria) is sure of success, especially if Doria remains in the ports lately taken from the Siennese.

(*Common writing:*) This is the chief reason why Admiral Portundo ought to come here as soon as he can, and the Neapolitan galleys also. If, however, this cannot be effected, this Signory could at an expense of 20,000 ducats per month fit out a fleet of caracks and other large ships, much superior in number and artillery to that of the enemy. The Signory might furnish one half of the above sum, and the Emperor the other half. It is very important that some measure of this sort be soon taken (*Cipher:*) because Andrea Doria is already capturing all vessels bound for this port with provisions. This Doge has applied for 500 Spaniards or Germans to garrison the place, promising to give them the usual pay. Hitherto the Duke of Bourbon has not granted his request, but he will probably do so shortly, as

* "La compañia del Capitan Figueroa que estuvo en guardia del Rey de Francia." No doubt the same which escorted him from Vitoria to Bayonne, after which they probably attended on the person of the Viceroy. A reference to this event is made in one of Giberti's letters. See *Lettere di Principi*, &c., fol. 216.

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he must know how defenceless this city is, and how essential its preservation.—Genoa, 19th July 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. From Lope de Soria, 19 July."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

20 July. **491.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 71–2.

Wrote on the 9th by Don Ugo; the duplicate is enclosed. What has occurred since is that the Duke of Sessa has gone to Naples to raise men and money. Don Ugo remained at Genençano with the Colonnese, from whence he has begun negotiating with the Pope respecting Sienna. The conditions to be as follows:—Orders to be sent to the Papal forces not to proceed in their march against that city. The outlaws (*foraxidos*) to recover their confiscated property, and enjoy it at Sienna or wherever they most like; to hold public offices according to what is customary in the city; and to be pardoned all their crimes and misdeeds, &c. The government of the city to remain in the hands of those who now hold it, and the guard to be entrusted to a person of the Emperor's choosing, that the outlaws (*foraxidos*) may confidently return home. It was further proposed that Vespasiano Colonna should go to Sienna, take the government of the city into his own hands, and transfer it to the person His Imperial Majesty might afterwards appoint. The Pope wanted both Vespasiano and Don Ugo to become responsible; but as they were not sure that the Siennese would accept, they naturally wished, before taking any such engagement, to send one of their followers to Sienna, and ask the citizens' consent. This, however, the Pope would not grant, objecting that "if the Siennese came to hear of the proposed agreement, they were sure to refuse." Don Hugo and Vespasiano insist on that condition, and thus the matter stands. He (Perez) believes that the Pope will not accede to it. They are again to insist. It is doubtful whether the Pope will grant their request. If he does, it is an understood thing that there is to be a suspension of hostilities between Rome and Naples, and that traffic is to be carried on as before. Don Ugo agrees to this, but only on condition that the affairs of Sienna are to be settled first.

(*Cipher:*) What Don Ugo and the Colonnese will be able to effect is more than he (Perez) can say, because they are evidently waiting for the decision at Naples. The Council there seems inclined to accept the propositions about Sienna, and consequent suspension of hostilities, because they would rather not make war upon the Church. Such being the sentiments

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of the Neapolitans, no good (*ninguna buena cosa*) can be done in these parts, and such being the case, the Pope will be able to dispose of his entire forces in Lombardy. Even here, at Rome, he is very strong, for he is daily increasing his forces, and preparing artillery with its cars, its ammunition, and the buffalos to draw it from one place to another. He gives audience twice a day to the ambassadors of the confederated princes. The Datary and Jacopo Salviatis are continually with him transacting war business. The Datary no longer occupies his time with "Datas" as he used, for there is now another functionary named Meçer Felice, bishop of Civita Vecchia, who attends to that department. If therefore His Imperial Majesty wishes anything to be undertaken against the Pope* an express mandate must come for the Council of Naples seriously to take the affair in hand, and help by land and sea with men, money, provisions, ships, and anything else that may be required; for if the report be true that 14 Venetian galleys and an equal number of French ones are coming to join 11 the Pope has, their whole number will amount to about 40. Even if they were only 35 it will be a formidable armament, and were the enemy with such forces to make an attempt on Genoa or Naples the Imperia army would have enough to do to attend to so many things at once. Andrea Doria has already taken Porto Hercole, which belongs to Sienna, and will probably do the same with a neighbouring castle (*rocca*), and two more ports belonging to that Signory. In fact, wherever the enemy sees a chance of success, there we find him ready for an attack.

(*Common writing:*) The news from Milan is what His Majesty must already have heard through another channel. (*Cipher:*) All he (Perez) can say is that the Pope and his friends are very much concerned at the repulse and retreat of their army before that city, though they maintain that it was effected without loss of men and artillery, contrary to the general report. (*Common writing:*) The Pope has lately received intelligence that his army, with that of the Venetians, reinforced by 3,000 Switzers, and a number of men-at-arms daily expected from France, is to attempt a second time to relieve the castle of Milan, which, according to all accounts, is reduced to great extremity.—Rome, 20 July 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Before closing this letter he (Perez) must not omit to say that Vespasiano Colonna went to see the Pope, and what with Don Ugo's message, and what he himself represented, the permission was granted for one of Sessa's men to go to Sienna and propose the above-mentioned conditions to the citizens. Encloses memorandum† of them. They are exactly the same

* "Si vuesta V. Mag. es servido que se faga algo contra el Papa."

† Not in the volume. Those forwarded by Commander Miguel de Herrera may be consulted under No. 312.

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which Commander Herrera sent from hence on a former occasion. Don Ugo is coming to-day to an abbey of Cardinal Colonna, called Gruta Ferrata, two leagues from this city, in order to be more at hand for the negotiations of the truce, &c.

Articles of capitulation with the Siennese are also enclosed, and the Pope has promised, in case the stipulations are agreed upon, to give back Porto Hercole.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. The Duke of Sessa (*sic*), 20th July."

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

21 July. **492.** The Emperor to the Abbot of Najera.

Arch. Hist. Cent. Madrid. *Priv. y Car. Re.* f. 383.

Has received his letters in date of the 2nd and 8th of June. No answer is required till the arrival of fresher ones, which are anxiously and daily expected; perhaps they have been intercepted, as there is every reason to think. Begs him to send duplicates of all he has written since that date, and to inform him at the same time where and when he suspects the said letters to have been intercepted or detained, so that proper care may be taken for the future, and the despatches sent by another route.—Granada, 21st of July 1526.

Signed: "Yo El Rey."

Countersigned: "By His Majesty's command, Alonso de Soria, Secy."

Addressed: "From the Imperial and Catholic Majesty to the Abbot of Najera, his Commissary to the Imperial army in Lombardy."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

24 July. **493.** Capitulation of the Castle of Milan

S. Pat. Re. Milan, L. 1. f. 18.

Articles of the treaty made by the most Illustrious and Excellent Lord the Duke of Bourbon, Lieutenant and Captain-General of His Imperial Majesty in Italy, on one side, and the Duke Francesco Sforza on the other, the 24th of July 1526, at Milan.

1. Francesco Sforza to surrender the castle and *rocha* of Milan to the Duke of Bourbon.

2. To retire to Como, where he is to enjoy jurisdiction, as well as the revenues of the city and bishopric.

3. To receive from other ducal revenues at Milan a sum of 30,000 ducats every year.

4. Personal security to be ensured wherever he choses to go.

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5. Not to be molested for the past, neither himself nor his servants.

6. The same security to be granted wherever Francesco Sforza wishes to go.

7. Similar stipulations to be understood in favour of those of his servants who have remained by him.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

24 July. **494.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoça to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 90.

Arrived at Chambery with the judicial inquiry (*informacion*) on the damages caused by the Imperial troops in Piedmont. Has not gone further, because he is aware that Spaniards travelling through France without a safeconduct are arrested on the road. Has applied to the Duke of Savoy to procure him one. The Duke has written to France, and been refused, but is about to renew his application through one of his secretaries now going to Spain. In this manner the Emperor will know whether the safeconduct has been granted or not. In case of non-success he (Hurtado) wishes to know what he is to do.—Chamari (Chambery), 24th July 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Chamari, 24th July."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

24 July. **495.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 76–80.

(*Cipher:*) His last letter was of the 7th inst. Cannot write as often as he used, owing to the roads being closed. Hears only occasionally from Rome, and, therefore, has little or no intelligence to communicate.

This Republic is making all manner of military preparations. Every day their army is strengthened, and so is the Pope's. Though not yet sure of obtaining the help of the Switzers, it is to be feared they will ultimately gain their object, such are the pressing solicitations of the Pope and of the King of France. Indeed, it is reported that the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) has already joined the camp of the league with 2,000 Switzers and Valesians.

Has lately received letters from Juan de Castro, a servant of the Archduke, formerly at Milan, and now at Trent, asking for a safeconduct from the Signory to go to Milan, where he had a message of his master's to deliver. The said Juan de Castro had been sent thither (to Trent) by the Emperor's generals, on a mission to the Archduke, and was now

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returning with the answer. Believing that it was far better for the Archduke's ambassador to apply for the safeconduct, he (Sanchez) requested him to go to the Signory about it; because were the Signory to refuse, it would then be quite evident that they wished also to break with the Archduke, whose friends they profess to be. The ambassador accordingly made his application. The answer was, that as their own army was in Lombardy, it was imprudent to grant safeconducts to people going [to Milan]. They would not for the world fail in the stipulations of their league.

In consequence of the Signory's flat refusal, he (Sanchez) had advised Castro to communicate to the Imperial generals at Milan the message he had from the Archduke, through various ways, and in the most secret manner. Had accordingly sent him his own alphabet and deciphering key, and placed besides at his command a trusty person well acquainted with the roads between Trent and that city. Has since heard that Castro had succeeded in making the Imperial generals [at Milan] acquainted with his mission.

Has received several letters from His Highness the Archduke in answer to his of June last. One particularly, in date of the 6th inst., stating that he has express orders from His Imperial Majesty not to move [from Spira] until the diet is closed, and that he is doing all he can to finish that business, which is one of great importance. Knowing, however, the state of things in Italy from him (Sanchez), as well as from the Imperial generals at Milan, and lastly from Commander Herrera on the 10th of June, he (the Archduke) was in great perplexity as to the best course to pursue, especially as he had no orders from Spain. He was, nevertheless, getting ready 2,000 infantry to reinforce the Imperial army, and would soon put an end to the deliberations of the diet, when he would be able to cross over to Italy with the whole of his forces.

In his letter of the 8th the Archduke announces that the German peasants have everywhere been defeated, and would soon be so far reduced as to allow the troops employed in their pursuit—eight thousand strong—to be sent over to Italy. This would prove a most important addition to the Imperial army, since besides strengthening its ranks it would baffle the hopes of the Venetians, who have been trying to get the aforesaid peasants into their pay. The Archduke further says that the cost of pacifying his own estates, besides maintaining 5,000 men during eight months in the Tyrol at the express desire of the Marquis of Pescara, has been so excessive that he is without funds. Begs him (Sanchez) to procure money in any way he thinks best; otherwise he will not be able effectually to help the Emperor's cause in Italy. Sanchez has replied to the Archduke that he has neither money nor the means of procuring it; that even if he had bills of exchange on Venice he could not have them cashed, for the

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Signory does not allow him to take more than 20 ducats at a time for his own daily expenses. He had written to the Duke [of Sessa] and to Don Hugo to devise means of procuring the required sum in Naples, or at least enough of it for the maintenance of the said 8,000 men, until an answer came from Spain or from the Duke of Bourbon at Milan; for it would be a very disreputable thing if those men, now so near the Italian frontiers, should be obliged to return home for want of pay, and worse still if they were to enter the enemy's service.

His Imperial Majesty will judge by the Archduke's answer to his (Sanchez's) pressing solicitations how far the promised help is to be relied upon. The affairs of Italy are in great danger. It is imperative to make such provision as will ensure success. The enemy is daily increasing his forces; the Switzers, perhaps the French too, will ultimately join them, and although the Imperialists have hitherto held their ground and performed miracles fighting single-handed against so many foes, yet it is to be feared that, the enemy's forces increasing, they may be worsted in the end.

A captain, named Gaspar Mar, and several other knaves (*bellacos*) lately in command of the German peasants, arrived here some days ago, and offered their services to the Signory. They had (they said) left at the frontier 1,500 men, who had escaped from the last encounters with the army of the Swabian league, and wished to know whether, in case of their services not being accepted, a free passage to Rome through the Venetian territory would be granted to them. No sooner did he (Sanchez) hear of their arrival and intentions than he called upon the ambassador of the Archduke and begged him to go to the Signory and remonstrate against their admitting into their service men so criminal, who have destroyed and plundered more than 1,000 monasteries and other places of worship. As the Pope's confederates they could hardly give shelter to people who were the enemies of all religion, and persecuted by the Archduke and the Swabian league. Were the Signory to grant them what they asked, it would be equivalent to declaring against His Highness and the Holy League. Their answer was that they would not take them in their pay, but could not refuse them passage through their territory, because they were Christians after all. Notwithstanding the above promise made to the Archduke's ambassador, notwithstanding a message which the chiefs of the said Swabian league sent through a trumpeter, purporting that if the Signory admitted the said villains into their territory they were to consider the league as dissolved, and look forward to an invasion of their lands by the Archduke, he (Sanchez) hears that a certain pay has been assigned to the said Germans. Has been told so by a spy he has among them, and accordingly requested the ambassador to write to the Archduke and to the captains of the Swabian

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league, informing them of the Republic's behaviour in this particular. Gaspar Mar and the others have a priest in their company, who, two or three times a day, and at every village where they halted in Germany, used to preach their Lutheran doctrines. A pretty thing, indeed, that such people, persecuted as they are by the Imperialists, as the sworn enemies of religion, should find favour and protection among the confederates,* and be incorporated into the Papal army!

Simon de Tarsis, the postmaster at Milan, who left that city on the 25th last, has arrived here (in Venice), and, as a good servant and minister of His Imperial Majesty, waited on the Signory, though he has not visited him (Sanchez) from fear of awakening suspicion. He says that a despatch which Bartholomé de Tarsis had received for him (Sanchez), containing certain powers and instructions from the Emperor, had been forwarded on the 23rd of June last by the ordinary post. As he (Sanchez) has not received it, he concludes that the Signory, wishing to spare him the trouble of reading its contents, has intercepted it.

Bills of exchange, to the amount of 40,000 cr., drawn by English merchants, and payable to the order of this Signory, have been received. Some people, however, assert that the money comes from France, not from England, and that the French, not being able to procure bills in Lyons, had the money sent to London. Has not been able to ascertain whether the sum remitted is really on account of England or of France. The Signory have had letters from this latter country, stating that the King was to go to Blois, and thence to Paris. It is added—though the report may turn out untrue—that the King's journey was for the purpose of paying the King of England a visit.

In case of the castle [of Milan] surrendering and the Duke falling into our hands, it is the intention of the Italian confederates, as he (Sanchez) has been informed, to confer the duchy on the King of France, thinking that by so doing they will ensure his co-operation with a large force.

The report is that the Pope has lately made an agreement with the Duke of Ferrara, who is to give up Rezo (Reggio) and Rubiera on condition of receiving Ravenna in exchange, and it is publicly stated also that the Duke is to be commander-in-chief of this Italian league. Nothwithstanding these rumours, he (Sanchez) has not heard of the Duke having made any movement.

* On the 19th of July, and probably the very day that the Doge made this statement to the Archduke's agent, a letter was despatched to Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in England, informing him, for the Cardinal's satisfaction, that 1,500 lansquenets of those who sided with the peasants in Germany had appeared on the borders of Cadore and Cividal, requesting passage through the Venetian territory on their way to the Valtellina. If necessary, the State would make use of them for the present war.—Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 588.

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On the 8th inst. the league was publicly proclaimed in this city, as will be seen by the enclosed copy of the proclamation. On the 22nd all the ambassadors residing here went to the College Hall, that of England (Prothonotary Casale) among the rest, for the purpose of swearing the league, though more likely to ratify it.

The Archduke's ambassador has late advices from Friuli, stating that the Hungarians had defeated the Turks and slain forty thousand of them, besides taking possession of five bridges they had thrown over the Danube. He (Sanchez) believes the news to be true, although being favourable to the Imperial cause, the Venetians avoid giving it publicity. Yesterday the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara called and gave him (Sanchez) a letter from the Secretary of the Doge, at Genoa, adding that the Duke [of Ferrara], his master, would willingly take charge of any correspondence of his. Thanked him for his kind offer; told him many things important for the Imperial service, and entrusted to him the present despatch to be forwarded to the Doge's secretary at Genoa. Whilst conversing with the said ambassador, he (Sanchez) mentioned the report of the Duke, his master, having, at the Pope's suggestion, agreed to exchange Rezo (Reggio) and Rubiera for Ravenna. Not only did he show the most profound disgust at hearing what was said of his master, but declared that the Duke would never come to an arrangement with the Pope. May it be so! His Imperial Majesty, however, will know the truth of this affair through the Duke of Sessa and Don Hugo. He (Sanchez) has not received letters from either of them for many a day.

There is a report here that the Pope is about to create three Cardinals, natives of this Republic, from whom he is to get as much as 100,000 ducats. Cannot vouch for the truth, but the fact is that all offices are sold [at Rome] for money, and that the Pope gets a very good revenue from such customers as the Venetians.—Venice, 24th of July 1526.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Venice. From Alonso Sanchez, 24th July."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 9.

26 July. **496.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoça to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 92–3.

Wrote on the 18th, announcing that the King of France had refused the safe-conduct applied for by the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele), and that a second application had been

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made. Should he (Hurtado) not be allowed to pass through France, he begs for instructions how to act.

(*Cipher:*) M. de Bourbon's answer to the Count of Ginebra (Geneva) was that His Imperial Majesty would consider it a great service if he (the Count) were to raise 3,000 men and lead them to Bersse (Vercelli ?). Money should be sent him for the stipend of that force. The Count, however, will not do this, and grows every day colder on the subject. Has communicated the affair to the Duke, his brother, who does not either feel disposed to grant us aid on this occasion. Nevertheless the Emperor ought to write to them both, offering favour and protection in case they should accede to the wishes of Mons. de Bourbon, for in times like the present it is necessary to cajole the few servants the Emperor has still left in Italy.

For the last fortnight the Duke has been talking of despatching this express, and has at last decided to send him through France. This he does no doubt for the purpose of communicating to the French King the contents of the Emperor's last letter to him, for the Duke evidently wishes to be on good terms with both parties, although he professes to be a good servant of the Imperial cause.

(*Common writing:*) Advices have come that the Switzers have held their diet. Those of the Lutheran sect refuse to supply men either to France or the Pope ; three only of their cantons were raising eight companies of infantry.

(*Cipher:*) The enclosed is from M. de Bourbon. Has not heard from Milan since. Has been told that 6,000 men are collecting at Marseilles, and that the French fleet is to join that of Andrea Doria, and attack Genoa.

On the 19th inst. the Marquis of Saluzzo left Lyons post-haste to go to Carmeniola (La Carmagnola), where his forces, amounting to 8,000 foot between French and Italians, and 500 men-at-arms, were to join him. The King of France has written to the Duke [of Savoy] respecting the appointment of commissaries, who are to quarter his troops on their passage through his territory.

The bearer of this letter will be one of the Duke's secretaries, who is going to France on a message of his master's. He is to tell the French King to bear in mind his (the Duke's) close relationship to the Emperor and the many obligations he owes him ; the solemn promises the King himself made at the time the peace was signed ; and last, not least, the service of God and the welfare of Christianity at large. Should His Majesty of France accept his interference in this business, he (the Duke) would with pleasure repair to the court of France, thence to go to Spain to His Imperial Majesty.

Such is the message which the said secretary is instructed to deliver to the French King, and at the same time to ask him what his terms are. A similar message has been sent to

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the Pope, begging he will exert himself in extinguishing this great fire kindled throughout Christianity. The Duke, however, wants to know the Emperor's intentions, and offers, in case his mediation be accepted, to go to the King of France, and thence to any place that may be fixed for the conferences.

His (Hurtado's) opinion is that the Duke ought to be encouraged in this project of his. Things here are in such a plight that it would be far more advantageous and honourable for us that the overtures, if any are to be made, should come from the Duke than from any other quarter. Besides, the Imperial army would be greatly benefited by the Duke's absence, since owing to the Infanta's decided protection it might get supplies out of Piedmont, which could not be procured elsewhere. The Duke being at the Imperial Court, His Majesty would have frequent news of his army; besides which, if he goes on this journey, he is sure to take certain persons with him who whilst in France or Spain will be harmless, whilst if they remain here they will most likely side with our enemies.* He (Hurtado) enjoys some credit with the Duke; if his offer be accepted, will persuade him at once to undertake the journey.

Maintains his opinion, that unless proper provision be made in money and everything else for carrying on a vigorous war by land and sea, it would be by far more prudent to come to some arrangement with the confederates than trust to fortune for the success of our arms. Has written to M. de Bourbon that, since the enemy is doing all the harm he can, it would perhaps be advisable to set Hieronymo Moron at liberty, and make use of him. He (Moron) is in great distress† just now; not likely to trust the French, whom he hates, nor the Duke of Milan either, as he says; his release from prison cannot affect anyone, and may be useful to the Imperial cause. He is justly considered as the ablest politician in all Italy, and where treason is so much practised as here, it is often more profitable to forgive than to punish. Traitors know best how to deal with those of their kin, and he is sure to know how the conspiracy of the confederates began, and what they aim at now.

(*Common writing:*) Has not heard from Milan since the 13th. The report is that the armies of the Pope and of the Venetians have retreated from before its walls; whither, it is not stated. Has heard also that the castle has surrendered to our troops. This he (Hurtado) believes to be true, for

* The original has: "Con el Duque iran personas que si acá está, estarian con los enemigos."

† "Que mire si seria bien sacar [de prision?] á Geronimo Moron, que si quisiese podria servir bien; tiene harta necesidad y creo que lo haria por fuerzas, por que de Franceses el no se fiaria ni tampoco del Duque segun su dicho; por libralle á nadie se hace agravio."

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the intelligence comes from people who bear no affection to the Imperial cause.—Chamberil (Chambery), 26 July 1526.

Signed : "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1526. From Chamberi. From Lope Hurtado, 26th July."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

27 July. **497.** A. de Rup, Seigneur de Vaury, to the Emperor.

Lanz. *Corresp. des Kaiser Carl. V.* Vol. I. 218.

His master, Mons. de Bourbon, is writing to Spain. The situation of affairs on his arrival at Milan was almost desperate, as almost the whole of Italy was in arms against the Emperor. What can be expected from the King of France he cannot say; but certainly his ill-will to the Emperor increases every day. The taking of this castle will not be to his taste, though it will not prevent him from doing all the harm he can.

Begs the Emperor to supply his master with money ; never will money be so well spent, as Bourbon is sure to make him master of the whole of Italy. Should proper provision be made, the Duke of Bourbon can have as many recruits as he chooses, for the men love him. The Prince (Archduke Ferdinand) offers to bring down 6,000 lansquenets if he has the money, but his master has none except what he (Rup) brought from Spain. Hopes with God's help that his master's services will be such that the memory of them shall subsist for ever.—Milan, 27 July 1526.

French. Copy.

27 July. **498.** Prothonotary Caracciolo.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 100.

As both the Duke of Bourbon and Antonio de Leyva must have informed His Imperial Majesty of all the events of the war since the arrival of the enemy before this city (*fino a li burghi*), of their retreat and subsequent return to within one mile of this city, and lastly of the surrender of this castle, which took place before their eyes, and without their being able to prevent it, he (Caracciolo) need not dwell on this subject, save to say that his Imperial Majesty must be highly pleased with the prudence and foresight of his captains, as well as with the ardour (*gagliardeza*) displayed by the soldiers on this occasion. Would to God that, as he (Caracciolo) praises the indomitable courage of the men at the trenches and in the field, he could say as much for their behaviour towards the citizens of Milan, for certainly there can be nothing more unjustifiable or cruel than the treatment

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which the Milanese without distinction of classes or sexes have experienced at their hands.*

The Duke of Milan surrendered his castle on the 24th according to the terms of the capitulation, of which Mons. de Bourbon has sent a copy. After his interview with the Imperial generals he (Caracciolo) spoke to him, and advised him to trust in the Emperor's generosity and forgiveness, to which he replied that there was nothing in this world he desired so much as to do the Emperor's service, as future events would show. He is very weak and emaciated. Caracciolo accompanied the Duke to the enemy's camp, where he remained much longer than was anticipated, returning only yesterday with Scipione della Tella, who is to go [to Cuomo] with him to see that the Spanish garrison in the castle (*rocca*) give it up to him, as stipulated. Whilst at the enemy's camp the Duke had been much solicited by the captains of the Pope and of the Venetians to remain with them, they promising to reinstate him in his duchy, &c., which offers the Duke had rejected, saying that he trusted in the Emperor's generosity, and would live and die in his service.

(*Cipher:*) Thinks that the Pope and the Venetians seeing us in possession of the castle [of Milan], and that their united forces are not powerful or experienced enough to cope with ours, will now try to win over to their cause the King of France and ensure his co-operation. If they do, and the King of England joins them, as asserted, the gravity of the case cannot be concealed, and yet as long as the sons of the most Christian King of France are in the Emperor's hands, one can hardly believe that he will miss the opportunity of recovering them by means of an agreement.

(*Common writing:*) Owing to late events and to the incessant turmoil of war rendering the roads to this city insecure, he (Caracciolo) has been hitherto unable to attend to the commission which brought him [to Milan]. He will now proceed to the examination of Giovanni Angelo Riccio, the Duke's secretary, that he may join his master at Como, according to the terms of capitulation. Moron is at Trezzo, whither he (Caracciolo) cannot go at present, owing to the enemy having occupied the road to that fortress; besides which it is important that all witnesses in this case, besides others now at Rome or in Venice, should be examined together. Will, however, do his best, and his commission at an end, apply for a safeconduct to go to Spain to kiss the Imperial hands.—Milan, 27 July 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

* "Non è cosa piu aspera, ne iugo piu insopportabile, ne crudeltà maggiore quale se usa con li homini de questa città; ne habeno respecto ne a qualità ne ad gentilhuomini, ne ad età ne ad sexo per che sono tutti augariatissimi (aggraviatissimi ?)."

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28 July. **499.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 114–5.

Wrote on the 10th inst. advising the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon [in Milan] and other occurrences up to that date. Since then the army of the Pope and of the Venetians, hearing that the castle was reduced to extremity, advanced again from Marignano on the 21st, and encamped four miles from this city, opposite to one of the gates called *Porta Orientale*, with the intention of introducing succour to the besieged. The Imperial army waited for them in the plain called *Il Giardino*, upon which the enemy halted and desisted from the attack. Next day, the 22nd, the Duke Francesco [Sforza] offered to capitulate, and on the 24th the castle surrendered on the conditions here enclosed.*

On the 25th, which was Saint James' (Santiago) day, the Duke Francesco delivered the keys of the castle to M. de Bourbon, and immediately after, at the 22 hours, left with the garrison in the direction of Como. He was accompanied by Antonio de Leyva beyond the trenches, and afterwards by Count Gayaço with 100 light horse. On his arrival at the enemy's camp the Duke expressed a wish to see the Duke of Urbino, and desired the said Count to return with his escort to Milan until he should send for him. He remained at the camp all that night and the following day and night, visiting his friends and inspecting (*reconociendo*) a force of about 3,000 Valesians which the bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza), his relative and the warder (*castellano*) of Mus, have enlisted in his (the Duke's) service. On the 27th, according to the report of our spies, the Duke left for Como, where we fancy he will not like to remain long, owing to the two companies of Spanish infantry who are there, not choosing to evacuate the place, firstly because the articles of the capitulation do not expressly make this stipulation, and secondly because Como is a very important position for the passage of troops from Germany, and other military purposes. The Duke, besides, has excited considerable suspicion by the fact of his remaining so long at the enemy's camp, where, as before stated, are a number of men whom the bishop of Lodi and the castellan of Mus have engaged for his service. It is not probable therefore that these generals will acquiesce in his wishes.

The castle was provided with food for a fortnight—bread, fresh meat, fowls, horses, &c. The Duke [of Bourbon] has appointed a certain M. de Catançan governor, an old man of sixty, with 100 Spaniards and an equal number of Germans under him. The appointment is not much to the taste of the Spaniards, who censure it openly, saying that the nomination ought not to have fallen upon a Frenchman. but on one of their nation or else on a German, since it was they who conquered the castle. The Duke, however, as lieutenant and captain-general of His

* *See* above, No. 493, p. 806.

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Imperial Majesty, in the presence of the Marquis del Guasto, of Antonio de Leyva, of Juan de Urbina, Corvera, and other captains, received the customary oath of allegiance from the said Catançan, who promised to hold the fortress in the Emperor's name and for his service. The enemy still occupy the same positions, which they are strengthening, with a design no doubt to stop our supplies and destroy the resources of this city, so as to oblige us to attack them in their defences, and give them time to receive the reinforcements they expect from France and from Switzerland.

Our plan of campaign for the present is to re-victual this castle, and so to order our forces as to be able to march against the enemy and give him battle before he has time to receive reinforcements. But it must be said also that the soldiers of this army after the surrender of the castle, and having, as it were, the city at their mercy, will not easily be persuaded to attack the enemy in their positions, unless they first receive three or four months' pay, to cover which the funds lately brought by the Duke are insufficient. If His Imperial Majesty has not by this time made ample provision for the maintenance of this army, all our efforts will be unavailing. It is quite certain that when the Pope and the Venetians see the impossibility of maintaining the Duke Francesco in his estate they will offer it to the French King, and it might happen that the ambition of which that Monarch is possessed may make him forget his own children kept as hostages [in Spain]. The Marquis of Saluzzo, they say, is coming to Italy at the head of 500 spears. He is already at Lyons, and though he moves on slowly, his arrival is confidently expected.

Respecting Switzers no certain intelligence has come, save that they were holding their diet, and deliberating whether the 10,000 men applied for by Treasurer Morleto* and by Il Sormano, in the King of France's name, are to be furnished or not.

Before M. de Bourbon's arrival, certain negotiations were opened by the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, for a league with the Grisons. They have since continued, and we now hear that some parties in that country—the most principal and influential amongst them—have offered to furnish 2,000 and even 4,000 men, and to allow besides free passage through their territory to the 6,000 Germans whom the Archduke has ordered under Jorge Fransbergue (Fruntsperg) and Marco Cit (Sitig?). Would to God they might come soon, for we could then easily vanquish our enemies.

News from Rome is that the Neapolitans and the Colonnese were arming fast, and that the Duke of Sessa had gone to

* "El tesorero Morleto y el Sormano." Morleto is evidently a mistake for Moretto or Mons. de la Morette, at this time ambassador of France to the Swiss Cantons.

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Naples. Don Ugo with the Colonnese was in the neighbourhood of Rome. The Pope and the Florentines had sent a considerable force with good artillery against Sienna, though pretending that it was the outlaws (*foraxidos*) of that city who had planned the expedition. By sea Andrea Doria has taken Porto Hercole, which belonged to the Siennese. This and a good deal more is to be expected from the Pope and the Venetians, who show themselves everywhere the sworn enemies of His Imperial Majesty.

The two secretaries of the Duke Francesco Sforza, Angelo Riccio, and Policiano are still in Prothonotary Caracciolo's hands to be interrogated and examined as witnesses, according to the commission given by the Emperor to the said Prothonotary.—Milan, 28th July 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 28th July."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3½.

28 July. **500.** Prothonotary Caracciolo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 110.

Wrote yesterday announcing the Duke's departure for Como. However, as the Imperial generals do not consider themselves bound by the articles of the capitulation either to remove the Spanish garrison in keeping of that city, or give up the castle (*rocca*), it is believed that the Duke Francesco will not make a long stay there. The generals have shown him (Caracciolo) the article of the capitulation on which they rely for not recalling the Spaniards. The place is indeed very strong and important in a military point of view, and the general's suspicions have been aroused by His Excellency's long visit to the enemy's camp. When the Duke sees that the city and castle (*rocca*) of Como are not given up to him, he is sure to go in all directions where he can stir up the few followers who still remain under his banners.

In his (Caracciolo's) opinion the Pope and the Venetians will now turn their eyes towards the most Christian King, and offer him their help and assistance for the conquest of Milan. There is therefore urgent need that His Imperial Majesty make such provision as will ensure victory to his arms.—Milan, 28th July 1526.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo, 28th July."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

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29 July. **501.** ANTONIOTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 128.

Congratulates the Emperor on the surrender of the castle of Milan, and the victory which the Siennese have lately obtained over the Pope and the Florentines. Has charged his ambassador at the Imperial Court to convey his congratulations, and to be the interpreter of his sentiments. Recommends Gio. Baptista de li Fornari, who at his solicitation has done, and is still doing, good service to the Imperial cause, lending money when required. He now goes to Spain to forward the suit of two of his brothers, Thomasso and Domenico, who are residing at the Emperor's Court. If rewarded, as they all deserve, His Majesty will always find the purse of the three brothers open for his wants.—Genoa, 29th July 1526.

Signed: "Antonioto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. From the Doge, 29th July."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

29 July. **502.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 123–6.

Wrote on the 25th and 27th inst. by a Catalonian bark (*barca*). Has since had a letter from Rome of the 17th stating that Vespasiano Colonna had arrived there and seen the Pope once or twice every day for the purpose of coming to a settlement about Sienna. Vespasiano was to go thither, and arrange matters between the citizens inside and the emigrants. The mediation had been gladly accepted by the Siennese, whilst the emigrants (*foraxidos*) objected that they could not feel secure within the walls of Sienna with such a governor as Vespasiano Colonna, a professed servant and vassal of His Imperial Majesty. Nothing therefore had been settled, and consequently the army of the Pope and of the Florentines had again marched against that city. On the 21st inst., however, and close to the city walls, there was a mutiny among the invading troops, who began to cry *Paga! Paga!* and refused to advance; so that for this time, at least, the attack on Sienna is postponed, though Andrea Doria still holds Porto Hercole and Talamon.

Knight Commander Aguilera and Secretary Perez still remained at Rome negotiating with the Pope. The former kept going to and from the territory of the Colonnese, where Don Ugo now is. It is added that the Duke of Sessa has gone to Naples for the purpose of raising certain cavalry and infantry with which to march on Rome, besides manning the galleys still at Naples. Had these come down and joined those now in Genoa; had the fleet, lately commanded by Portundo, and which needs an able sea general to replace him,

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effected its junction, greater things might have been accomplished against the enemy, both by sea and land.

(*Cipher :*) Rumours are still afloat that the Venetian fleet is about to come to these waters for the purpose of attacking Genoa in conjunction with the Papal and French. Had the Neapolitan galleys come to this port there would be ample means of sending out to sea a sufficient force to take the offensive, as there are here, and on this coast, a number of caracks, galleons and other large ships, which might be armed in a very short time were it not that the Doge, though well disposed to do service, is entirely without resources. The faction of the Fregosi, on the other hand, is sure to work all the mischief they can so as to turn the scales against His Imperial Majesty. He (Soria) keeps writing continually to the Duke of Bourbon to send 500 Spaniards or Germans. If so Genoa would be secure against treason, whereas now it is in constant danger. No notice whatever has been taken of his application, owing no doubt to the circumstance of the Duke being at the time engaged in the siege of the castle [of Milan], and having also the army of the Confederates in front. Now that the castle is taken and the enemy has retreated, there is no longer cause for the refusal, especially as the Doge is willing to give the men the same pay as at the Imperial camp.

(*Common writing :*) The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva write in date of the 25th, announcing the surrender of the castle [of Milan] and the departure of the Duke Francesco Sforza for Como. Encloses copy of the capitulation as it has been transmitted to him. The Duke (of Bourbon) had appointed a Frenchman, named Monsieur de Tançan,* to be governor of the castle, with 100 Spaniards and as many Germans under him. As soon as the castle is re-victualled the generals intend to march against the enemy, still encamped one league and a half from the city. The Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva had received letters from Cremona announcing the arrival of 6,000 Germans in the Mantuan territory. They had fought their way through a pass, called La Clusa,† on the banks of the Adige (Ladice) above Verona. (*Cipher :*) This piece of intelligence, however, the Imperial generals did not consider as positive, though highly probable, for the said Germans had been some time at Brixinon (Brixen) for the purpose of exterminating (*para devorar*) about 2,000 peasants, the relics of the Salzburgh mob, who were still infesting that country. (*Common writing :*) Encloses printed proclamation of the league made at Venice, which has been sent to him by Alonso Sanchez, and a letter, also printed at Rome, wherein the wicked plans and intentions of the enemy are fully developed.

* *See* above, p. 817, where he is called Catançan.

† Probably La Chiusa, which Leandro Alberti Bolognese, in his *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Venetia, 1577, 4to), p. 469, describes thus: "A man sinistra (del Ladice) euui la Chiusa, Chiusura Stradella, stretissima via fra l'Alpi."

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Alonso Sanchez writes that no sooner did the Venetians hear of their army and the Pope's having been defeated on the 7th instant at Milan, than they sent orders to Romania to levy 6,000 more foot, and were doing all they could to reinforce their army. They gave out also that in case of the castle surrendering (*cipher*) they would offer the duchy of Milan to the King of France. He (Soria) has no doubt that they (the Venetians) will attempt anything rather than let His Imperial Majesty take possession of the Duchy, and that the Pope will favour their plans, and, if necessary, bring the Turk to Italy. The last advices from Rome are that His Holiness was about to send a certain personage to Spain, and that Andrea Doria had sailed six days ago for Provence in his own galley (*galera capitana*) for the purpose, as it was stated, of conveying the said ambassador to France.

At this moment the Doge receives a letter from Captain Sarzana at Sienna, informing him how on St. James' day the citizens sallied forth against the enemy, routed completely the Pope's troops and the Florentines, and their artillery captured. —Genoa, 29th July 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 29th July."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3¼.

30 July. **503.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 130.

(*Cipher:*) Since sealing the enclosed of the 29th, advices have come from Lyons of the 27th inst., stating (*cipher*) that money had been received there from the King of France, destined for the army under the Marquis of Saluzzo, who was to leave for Italy in five days. Remittances had likewise been forwarded for the stipend of the Switzers, who were soon expected to join the army of the League. These were to hold their diet on the 3rd of August, and decide whether the forces applied for would be granted or not. The general belief was that the Switzers would at last furnish the contingent required. The Archbishop of Salerno (Fregoso) was going to Provence for the purpose of taking the command of the [French] fleet, now at Marseilles, and then coming down upon this city and port of Genoa. Money had likewise been remitted for the arming and victualling of the fleet in that port (Marseilles).

News has arrived that Andrea Doria on the 28th anchored with his galley at Antibo, put on shore the ambassadors of

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the Pope* and of the Venetians,† and then returned to Civittà Vecchia. He (Soria) has also heard that on the 26th some of the galleys coming from Marseilles had entered the port of Antibo, and that Pedro Navarro was on board one of them. There can be no doubt therefore that all these preparations are directed against this city.—Genoa, 30th July 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Received at Granada. From Lope de Soria, Genoa, 30th July."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 1¼.

31 July. **504.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 81.

(*Cipher:*) Sends duplicate of his letter of the 20th inst. Though a suspension of hostilities has been negotiated with the Pope, nothing has yet been concluded in expectation of an answer from the Siennese, who have been consulted thereupon, also because the Duke [of Sessa] and Don Ugo [de Moncada] having heard of the late occurrences at Milan, have asked for new conditions which are not much to the Pope's taste.

His Holiness has here [at Rome] between five and six thousand infantry and some cavalry; the Duke and Don Ugo with the Colonnese are two leagues from this city, at a place called Grota-Ferrata, and the troops stationed on the frontiers of Naples have been ordered to advance. What their numbers may be he (Perez) cannot say, but they are reported as very efficient.

The Duke and Don Ugo have promised the Pope that in case of war being made on this side they will inform him a week before. Encloses copy of the Pope's demands respecting the suspension of hostilities, and also the answer made by the Duke and Don Ugo. The Pope declares that he will never grant what they ask of him, because he is so bound by the articles of the Italian League that his hands are tied and he cannot do otherwise, so that all negotiations have come to an end for the present.

Cannot send news from Milan or Genoa; all he can say is that the Pope is very much affected by the ill-success of his

* Zuan, or Giovanne, Baptista Sanga, who, as appears from a letter of the Doge and Senate of Venice to Gasparo Spinelli, their secretary in England, dated the 28th July, was going to France to urge King Francis to send his men-at-arms and Switzers into Italy. After performing this office in France, Sanga was to proceed to England to press Henry to join the league immediately. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Pap.*, III., 590.

† The appointment of Sebastian Giustinian and Lorenzo Bragadin as ambassadors to France about this time is also recorded in Rawdon Brown, III., 586.

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arms. He complains bitterly of the Duke of Urbino, and of the Venetians, and even of the French King, by all of whom he pretends to have been deceived. He sent, some time ago, a servant of the Datary* to France to request the King to send him troops and money for this war, and he is anxiously expecting his return.

He (Perez) thinks that if the answer be unfavourable the Pope will easily find some means of forsaking the League, and going over to His Majesty's side. Indeed it is the opinion of people experienced in such matters, and who wish for the success of the Imperial cause in these parts, that if the Pope should offer any reasonable terms they ought to be accepted from him, after taking, however, such securities for his future behaviour as may be deemed advisable. Should he refuse, His Imperial Majesty must wage war on him with the utmost vigour, expel him from Rome, and inflict on him all possible injury,† since by doing so, he will inevitably be led to sue for the Emperor's mercy, and place himself in his power. All His Majesty's good servants, however, think that an agreement of some sort with His Holiness is far preferable, nay, more advantageous for the Imperial interests than the above compulsory measures.

His Imperial Majesty has no doubt received intelligence from Genoa respecting the defeat of the outlaws (*foraxidos*) on St. James' day, with the loss of upwards of 500, and sixteen guns. The Siennese had made, besides, a good number of prisoners, who (it was said) had been executed on the following day. This last news, however, requires confirmation. The Siennese were very proud of their success, especially as the victory had been gained without the help of anyone. The man sent by Don Ugo to negotiate the return of the emigrants had entered the city the day before that event. He has not returned yet, nor is it likely that he will succeed in his errand, for after their recent victory over the Pope's troops and the Florentines, the Siennese will feel little disposed to admit the emigrants back into their city.

The Pope has been more affected by the late events at Sienna even than by the loss of the castle of Milan. The enemy expect reinforcements from France, and will then try to recover Milan, and pass it over to the French King, which has always been the favourite plan of the Venetians.

Ten thousand Germans, sent by the Archduke, are coming by forced marches. On the 20th of June last they were two days from Trent. They are commanded by a captain called Jorge [Fruntsperg]. Sanchez, however, writes from Venice on the 26th that unless money is immediately forwarded they will not proceed on their march. Eight

* Capino ?

† "Sino quisiere venir en esto V. Mag. debe de hacerle la guerra muy de veras porque haciendosela asi le sera forzado venirse a poner en sus manos ; ó sino le echará de Roma y le podrá hacer todo el mal y daño que quisiere."

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thousand of them belonged to the late army of the Swabian League, now disbanded; the rest have been levied by the Infante (Archduke). The report here is that they muster 15,000, but the fear caused by their arrival naturally tends to exaggerate their number. Great discontent prevails against the Pope at Rome, and the people would be glad of a change (*holgarian de cualquier revolution*). However, as popular humour is not to be depended upon, he (Perez) dares not say how they would act in case of such a change occurring. Most people think that when the Romans see the war begin in earnest, and their territory invaded, they will rise in favour of His Imperial Majesty. Vespasiano Colonna, however, perceiving that the proposed suspension of arms is not agreed upon, and that the affairs of Sienna remain in the same state as before, has gone back to meet the Duke and Don Ugo, and is now with them.

The Duke of Ferrara well-nigh came to terms with the Pope the other day. He was to receive Ravenna and 200,000 ducats in ready money, and obtain besides the command of all the forces of the League, on condition of restoring to His Holiness Rezo (Reggio) and Rubiera; but up to the present nothing has been concluded, nor is it likely that the Duke will consent, now that affairs are taking a better turn than was expected.

Cardinals Campego (Campeggio), La Valle, Tortosa* and Sienna, now residing in Rome, show much good will to the Imperial cause, and ought to be written to in acknowledgment of their good intentions. Cardinal Cesarino is absent, but is equally well inclined.—Rome, 31st July 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Secretary Perez, last day of July."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2¼.

4 Aug. **505.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 140–1.

Wrote on the 30th last by Donato de Tassis, who left in a brigantine. Has since received letters from Milan announcing that the enemy was still encamped at a place called San Giorgio, where the hospital for the pestilence (*amorbados*) is. There they had a strongly fortified camp, with trenches and other defences, in which they seem to have more confidence than in their own hands. The Imperialists were re-victualling the castle [of Milan], after which they intended to march against the enemy. Six thousand Germans

* Wilhelmus Enkenvoërt Bishop of Tortosa, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul.

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were close upon the land of the Grisons, only waiting for permission to pass through their territory. There was no doubt that the Grisons would grant it, since some time previous they had of themselves offered to help with two or even four thousand infantry. Upon the arrival of these reinforcements it is confidently believed that the enemy before Milan will raise their camp and go elsewhere.

The Duke of Milan was still with the enemy. After conversing for some time with the commanders he sent Sforzino to Como, to inquire whether the Imperialists were ready to evacuate the place and give it up to him. Upon the refusal of the Spaniards, who composed the garrison to do this, he despatched a certain Doctor Jacopo Filipo Sacco to the Duke of Bourbon, desiring that the city and castle should be delivered up to him according to the terms of the capitulation. Negotiations were going on, but it was doubtful whether M. de Bourbon would grant the Duke's request, for they maintain that he (the Duke) has violated the terms of capitulation, besides which Como, they say, is now a strategic point of too much importance to be left in his hands.

Lope Hurtado de Mendoça writes from Chambari (Chamberi) on the 26th ult°. to say that the King of France had refused him the safe-conduct, and that the Marquis of Saluzzo had not yet left Lyons on the 21st, but was soon to come over to Italy with the forces under his command, having sent his own brother in advance to raise troops on his estate. Count Pedro Navarro was at Marseilles with the French fleet, ready to join the 15 galleys of Venice, and advance together upon this city.

(*Cipher :*) Should the enemy's fleet make its appearance on this coast we shall be placed in most imminent danger. Genoa and its territory live entirely by trade, and if blockaded by superior forces the inhabitants will receive nothing from the outside, and will be reduced to extremity, besides which, being as it is a land of factions (*tierra de parcialidades*), it is to be feared that its people may one of these days be compelled to accept the enemy's terms. This might easily be remedied by collecting a sufficient force here to meet those of the enemy. Has often written to Naples for the galleys to come ; has had no answer. With 10,000 cr. (*escudos*) every month, added to an equal sum which this Signory offers to lay out, a fleet might be fitted out in this port, equal at least if not superior, to that of the enemy.

(*Common writing :*) Has advices from Naples and Rome up to the 24th ult°. The Duke of Sessa had returned to the land of the Colonnese with troops, and the Pope was trying to increase his at Rome, but unsuccessfully, as he found nobody willing to enlist under his banners. Vespasiano Colonna had left Rome to meet the Duke and Don Ugo. The report was that Vespasiano and Don Ugo did not exactly agree (*estaban diferentes*). The latter was still negotiating with the Pope

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for a suspension of hostilities between Rome and Naples, alleging that the people of that kingdom did not take up the business of war with vigour and zeal, and consequently that it was far better to treat for a truce than go on with the war. Vespasiano, on the contrary, was of opinion that war ought to be prosecuted with the greatest vigour, so as to keep the Pope in continual fear, and prevent his forces and those of the Florentines, his allies, from attacking Lucca and even Genoa by land, as it is his avowed intention to do, whenever he feels secure of attack from Naples and the Colonnese.

(*Common writing:*) Enclosed is a letter from Alonso Sanchez, the ambassador in Venice, with advices from that city. —Genoa, 4th August 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 4th Aug."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

5 Aug. **506.** The Viceroy of Naples to the Emperor.

Arch. d. Roy^me^ de Belg. Brux. *Doc. Hist.* III., f. 103.

Arrived this morning at this place. Presented the Emperor's letter to the King of France, who spoke to him at length concerning the reply made to his ambassadors, Monsieur Dembrun (the Bishop of Ambrun) and the President (Jean de Selve) on the Bourgogne business.

The said ambassadors are now going to His Imperial Majesty to see about the conclusion of the truce, and also to make an answer respecting the above matter. Believes the King to be as well disposed to do his duty (*se mettre en tous ses devoirs*) as he has ever been since his capture. He has written to his sister (the Duchess of Alençon) to make haste, and intends to send Mons. de Bryon (Philippe Chabot) to France, as soon as the truce is made, to hasten her departure.

The King has again told him (Lannoy) that he wishes to remain the Emperor's friend for ever, and that, unless by obtaining his liberty he can also secure the continuance of that friendship, he would rather remain in prison all his life.

It is very important, therefore, that the said Duchess go [to Spain] as soon as possible, in order to see how matters turn out.—Jan de Lotera? Monday, 5th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "A sa Maj^te^ de l'Empereur, etc."

French. Copy. p. 1½.

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7 Aug. **507.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 146-51.

His last was in date of the 26th July. The castle of Milan surrendered on conditions already known to His Imperial Majesty. The Duke Francesco Sforza left for Como after spending three or four days at the enemy's camp. (*Cipher:*) Whilst there he was so much pressed* by the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) and by the Venetian proveditor,† as well as by the commander of the Papal forces, not to keep his word, that he sent a trumpeter to Como to ask those in keeping of the place to evacuate it at once. Their answer was that they were ready to obey his orders, but could not evacuate the city, as they had to attend to its defence. Upon which the Duke returned to the enemy's camp, and thence to Lodi, where he now is. Some people believe that in going to Como his (Sforza's) intention is to garrison the castle with 800 Venetians, and that on his arrival at the camp the commanders of the Papal and Venetian forces had presented him with 4,000 ducats, 2,000 each. He is now at Lodi, intending to come as far as Padua for the baths, and thence, as the report goes, to this city (Venice). Cannot say whether this last piece of intelligence be true or not; all he knows is that his ambassador (Taverna) left on the 3rd inst. for Lodi, to hold a conference with him, and is soon expected back.

On the Duke's arrival at the camp this Signory held a council of *Pregay*, at which, as he (Sanchez) has been informed, it was resolved to use every endeavour to persuade him to break his word. One of the councillors was of opinion that he (Sforza) should be left alone to do his own will in the matter. The Signory (he said) had fulfilled their engagements towards him; some means might be found to put an end to a war which might otherwise go down as an inheritance to their children.‡ Another councillor maintained a contrary opinion; he said it would be a shame for the Signory, after entering into the league against the Emperor, not to do everything in their power to help the Duke. There was much discussion, and the former proposition being put to the vote, it was rejected by 125 *noes* against 25 *ayes*. About the time when it was rumoured that the Duke Francesco wished to fulfil the conditions agreed to with Mons. de Bourbon, Sanchez happened to meet at Church the Milanese ambassador (Taverna), who was once a great friend of his; told him he would be glad to speak to him on business, and accordingly the ambassador came to his lodgings one night (the 3rd inst.)

* "En este tiempo hubo tantos martinetes y combates por el Duque de Urbino y el provehedor de estos [Venecianos] y los otros del Papa," &c.

† "Piero da Cà da Pesaro.

‡ "Y hubo uno que propuso que era major dejarlo correr con su voluntad, y pues habian cumplido con él ver si habia alguna buena forma, pareciendole que desta guerra habria para sus hijos."

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in disguise. The Duke in the meantime, not having been received at Como as he expected, had come back; whereupon, as Sanchez was aware of it, the following discourse took place between him and the Milanese ambassador (Taverna): "When I said I wished to speak to you (said Sanchez) it was under the impression that the Duke Francesco wished to keep on good terms with His Imperial Majesty; but as I find that he is of a different opinion I have nothing to say to you. Should the Duke remain in possession of his estate, which can only be effected by the Emperor's favour and grace, nobody will rejoice more than myself; otherwise you must do your duty and I mine, which is to do each other all possible harm. There is one thing, however, I wish to impress upon your mind: the only honourable and profitable path for your master to follow is to conciliate the Emperor and ask his forgiveness; all others are fraught with danger, and can only bring ruin and desolation on your master."

Many other things did Sanchez tell him to the same purpose, which would take too much time to relate, the Milanese ambassador agreeing with him on most points, and producing a letter from the Duke, dated the 27th of July, from the camp of the Venetians, wherein he warned him (Taverna) not to negotiate with this Signory anything that might displease the Emperor, whose friend and servant he wished to be. He (the Duke) was resolved for the sake of honour and reputation to fulfil his promise, and begged the ambassador to inform Sanchez of his determination.

The Milanese ambassador went on to say, how upon the receipt of his master's letter he had applied to the Doge for an audience, and that on the 29th inst. he had gone to the College Hall and read its contents to the assembled councillors, when, after consulting with the Pope's nuncio and with the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) for one whole hour—during which time he (Taverna) was kept waiting in an adjoining chamber—they sent for him and begged he would wait two or three days for the answer. This was the reason why he had not called before upon Sanchez, as he wished to know first what the Signory had to say to the Duke's note. He had not heard since from his master, but had been told by some of the councillors that he was returning from Como, and about to go to Lodi; lamenting that M. de Bourbon had not fulfilled his agreement, since he (Sforza) had not been admitted into Como, after it had been expressly stipulated that he was to have the city left free and open.

His (Sanchez') reply was thus conceived: he was no judge in the matter, not being acquainted with the articles of the capitulation. He thought, however, that even if the Imperial generals had not intended to keep their agreement, they had at any rate granted the most essential part of it, which was to let his master go freely wherever he pleased. Upon which the Milanese ambassador observed, "That was done on

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purpose, and as it were to lead the Duke into a snare, both M. de Bourbon and Antonio de Leyva, who is my master's mortal enemy, wishing to shut out thereby all chance of his ever securing the Imperial grace." Sanchez answered, "Let the Duke, your master, conduct himself with prudence and keep his promises, and I warrant you that both the Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada, invested as they are with full powers from His Imperial Majesty, will do all they can to arrange matters satisfactorily for him. In case of the war continuing .....* It might happen also that the King of France, believing the Estate of Milan to be for himself, or at least for the Duke Massimiliano, (Sforza) helped the confederates more than he does at present; but still I should like to see the Duke, your master, to hold his promises and keep his word, because by so doing the league would be somewhat lamed (*quedaria coxa*), and if the Pope wished to desert it, he could find a good excuse (*justo color y titulo*) for such an act."

In the course of conversation Sanchez told the said Milanese ambassador, "You will soon witness such a vigorous move on our part that the Emperor's affairs [in Italy] will be in a more prosperous state than they have ever been." "And yet," replied Taverna, "certain letters of M. de Bourbon and other generals to the Emperor, which these people have lately intercepted, are far from confirming your assertion." "You are not to wonder (was Sanchez's reply) at the contents of those intercepted letters, or any others that the Imperial generals and ministers [in Italy] may have addressed to the secretaries [in Spain], for it is customary for those who want help and assistance to exaggerate the danger of their position. I myself, who knew the real state of things, describe them as in a most perilous condition in order to hasten the expected succour."

These last words were said intentionally, and against his (Sanchez's) own conviction, he knowing full well the danger in which all the Imperial servants are, not having received ever since the commencement of this war any help whatever, either from Spain or Germany, and our army being inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, so that it requires miracles of valour and devotion for them to stand their ground as they have done hitherto.

In his (Sanchez's) opinion there can be no doubt that the Pope and his confederates will soon receive help from France and from the Switzers.

The Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada have sent their answer respecting the Archduke. Both approve of his (Sanchez's) idea, and have written to the Collateral Council of Naples, asking for a sufficient sum of money to enable the German infantry to come down. They also inform

* Owing to a crease in the paper at this place of the deciphering a whole line is illegible.

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him that a suspension of hostilities between Bolonia (Bologna) and the frontiers of Naples was being negotiated with the Pope. Of what use the said suspension, if obtained, can be to us he (Sanchez) cannot discover, for the kingdom of Naples cannot well stop in its warlike preparations, if it is to be defended against the enemy, and it will not prevent the Pope from taking up arms, whenever it suits him. Nor is the period assigned sufficiently long for Naples to receive in the meanwhile the expected succours in men and provisions. The agreement therefore, if made, can only bring discredit on His Imperial Majesty, and enable the Pope to send a larger force into Lombardy; whereas if Naples, the Colonnese and other Imperialists were to wage war in those parts, and invade the Papal estates, there is not the least doubt that the Pope would relax (*aflojar*) with regard to Lombardy, and perhaps, too, come to terms with the Emperor. On the other hand, should the Switzers come down to the assistance of the confederates, as reported, the suspension of hostilities between Rome and Naples can only be beneficial to the Pope, for the enemy will collect such a force in Lombardy as to be able to detach part of it for the invasion of that kingdom, in conjunction with that of the Pope.

Such at least is his (Sanchez's) opinion on the matter. Has written to the Duke and to Don Ugo, submitting the above considerations to their superior wisdom and knowledge of affairs, although with the scanty forces now under their command—only 3,000 foot and 500 light horse—they can hardly be expected to accomplish much in those parts.

The ambassador* of the Duke of Ferrara called on the 1st inst., and brought him (Sanchez) a letter from the secretary of the Doge of Genoa, of the 23rd July. Showed him also one which the Duke (Francesco Sforza) had written to him, saying that all his (Sanchez's) letters directed to Genoa had been duly forwarded by express messenger, and offering his services for the future. That was the only sure way (he said) of communication [with Spain], and the Duke would be glad to employ himself in the Imperial service, &c. The ambassador added that the affairs between his master and the Pope were in a worse plight than ever. The Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo, however, write on the 29th to say they are not at all pleased with the answer made by the Duke Alfonso to their overtures, and that they had sent a confidential person to know his last resolution.

His Imperial Majesty is no doubt already acquainted with the failure of the enemy's attempt on Sienna. The confederates were routed with heavy loss in men and artillery, of which no less than 24 pieces were taken by the Siennese. He (Sanchez) hears that the enemy is preparing a second

* Jacopo Theobaldo.

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attack, and that the Florentines are to contribute 50,000 ducats monthly for that purpose.

This Signory has lately sent to the camp a person of quality, the father of Cardinal Pisani.* Some say that he goes to replace the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), who is discontented at the slighting manner in which people speak of him and of his military qualities, and wishes to resign the command of the army. Others say that he and the Venetian proveditor (Pesaro) are not on good terms, and that Pisani is gone to the camp for the purpose of reconciling them. However this may be, certain it is that this Signory is displeased with the Duke [of Urbino], and that division reigns in the enemy's camp.

(*Common writing :*) The warder (*alcayde*) of Mus, a castle still held by the Duke Francesco Sforza, has lately detained two ambassadors which this Signory was sending to France, on the plea that he (the warder) had not been paid for his advances in money to certain Grisons ordered for the service of the Venetians.

(*Cipher :*) The Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo have written to him (Sanchez), in date of the 29th, not to move from Venice till further orders. Though not actually within Rome, they were so close to it that it was almost as if they were inside. He (Sanchez) might be useful at Venice to report news and communicate both with the Archduke and with the Emperor through Genoa. And so it is, for although he has not yet found means of safe communication with Milan, except through Genoa, the truth is that he can be of use in many ways. Of the good offices of the Marquis of Mantua he (Sanchez) could not, if he wished, make a favourable report. His ambassador† residing in this city never comes to see him, though he used to visit him almost daily in former times. He is continually with the ambassador of the Duke (Francesco Sforza), and pays frequent visits to the Pope's nuncio and French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux).

Has been told that on the 3rd inst. Joannin (Giovannino) de Medicis for the Pope, and Malatesta Ballon (Baglione) and Camillo Ursini (Ursino) for this Signory, encamped at Cremona with a force amounting to 300 men-at-arms, 400 light horse and 5,000 foot, besides 3,000 more which they have in the Bressana and Bergamasco. By means of the watchword (*contrasignos*) which the Duke Francesco procured them, they had introduced into the castle 300 hackbutiers (*escopeteros*), and had been cannonading the city for the last three days. Among their troops were those 1,500 Lutheran peasants,

* Probably Alvise Pisani, the father of Francesco Pisani, Cardinal *in Porticu*, who, conjointly with Pesaro, commanded the Venetian forces in October, as appears from a letter to the Doge and Signory, dat. Lambra, 18th Oct. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, &c., vol. III., p. 614.

† Giovanni Battiste de' Malatesti.

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about whom he (Sanchez) wrote some time ago, as having been taken by the Signory into their pay. Has heard also that when the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) heard of this he wrote to the above-mentioned captains (Medicis and Baglione) that if it was true that lansquenets were coming down [to Lombardy] he strongly advised them to raise the siege of Cremona, wait for them in the plain of Bergamo, and offer them battle. An ambassador from the King of France is also daily expected here (Venice), and the report is that he has already arrived in the Bressano.

No news from the Archduke, or from Germany. His ambassador in this city, however, has letters from Trent of the 3rd inst., advising that 3,000 Germans had arrived in that city, and that at Brilinon,† a day's journey from Trent, there were nine more companies of them. The officials (*rigientes*) of Innsbruck had received orders to make fresh levies, and they (the Germans) were only waiting the Archduke's mandate to pass over to Italy.

Six captains of the Imperial army have just been brought to this city; five of them were taken prisoners at Lodi, the other one at Monza. Sends a list of their names.‡

There is a report that the Pope intends to make a second attempt upon Sienna.—Venice, 7th August, 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Venice. From Alonso Sanchez, 7th August."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 11½.

9 Aug. **508.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF BOURBON.

S. E. L. 1454, f. 62.

Sends 100,000 ducats to Flanders for his army in Italy.—Granada, 9th Aug. 1526.

Addressed: "Duci Borbonico."

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

11 Aug. **509.** The ARCHBISHOP OF MONREALE to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 164.

Has received intelligence from the Stratico and jurors (*jurados*) of Messina that on the 7th inst., at the 18th hour, 13 galleys, believed to be Venetian, were observed to pass by

* *See* this ambassador's letter of the 24th July (No. 495).
† The same place, elsewhere called Brixinon (Brixen). *See* above, p. 806.
‡ Not in the volume.

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the Pharo, wind right aft. A frigate was immediately despatched after them, but the wind being high, she could not overtake them. Her commander reports that there were among them four "bastardas," and that, whilst in front of the Pharo, signals were made to them, which they did not answer, and consequently three shots were fired from the tower.

Has thought it advisable to inform the ambassador of this occurrence, that he may see to the safety of the Imperial galleys now in the port of Genoa. There are here [at Palermo ?] a number of merchant vessels ready to put to sea, and measures have been taken as to the best route for them to take, so as not to fall into the enemy's hands.

Encloses the letter of the Stratico.*—Palermo, 11th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "El Arzobispo de Monreal."

Addressed: "To the most magnificent Sir, and almost brother, Don Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "The Archbishop of Monreale, 11th of August."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

13 Aug. **510.** Declaration of War made by the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1454, f. 48.

Carolus Imperator universis et singulis, &c. Has always preferred peace to war, and consequently concluded a treaty with the King of France, his prisoner. Instead of being thankful for it, the Queen Regent of France (Louise de Savoie), the Pope, and other Italian powers have attacked Milan, which is a fief of the Empire. Has been obliged to take up arms in its defence.—Granada, 13th Aug. 1526.

Latin. Original draft in the hand of Alfonso Valdés.

13 Aug. **511.** The Emperor to Don Hugo de Moncada.

S. E. *Prin. Ital.* L. 1454, f. 112.

Empowers him to treat with Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and endeavour to win him over to the Imperial party. Is to promise in his name:

1st. The confirmation of all the fiefs he holds from the Empire.

2dly. The marriage of his eldest son to Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, with a good dower.—Granada, 13th of August 1526.

Addressed: "Hugoni de Montecatena, Priori Messanæ, &c."

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

* The letter, dated "Civita Messana, die VII. Augusti, XIIII. indictione MDXXVI.," is at fol. 165 of the same volume, A. 38. It is followed by some Latin distichs of Hyeronimus Borgius, dated Neapoli idibus Augusti, describing the appearance of three suns in the sky, entitled: *Ter gemini solis interpretatio.*

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13 Aug. **512.** ALONSO SANCHEZ to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 187.

Wrote to him on the 9th ult°. by the same conveyance. Has since received his two letters of the 1st and 2nd. Regrets to hear the news they contain, for if money, as he says, has arrived from France, recruits will not be wanting for the enemy's army, and the Switzers will come down in numbers. What gives him (Sanchez) greater uneasiness is that there is no news from Castro, from which he concludes that the Archduke's answer has been unsatisfactory. He is the more inclined to believe this as he has a letter from His Highness of the 28th July last, wherein he dwells at length on his total want of resources; and although at the time His Highness wrote he might perhaps not have yet received the letters of Micer Jorge Fransperg (Fruntsperg) and of the Regents (*regentes*) of Innspruch, yet from the delay in his answer any mishap may be anticipated. Indeed he (Sanchez) fears that unless money is immediately sent to Germany, either by the Emperor himself or by the generals at Milan, the expected reinforcement of Germans will not be forthcoming.

The enemy who attacked Cremona, after the assault in which they were repulsed, moved their camp to another position. Has received letters from that locality, stating that on Saturday last they again attempted to carry the place by storm, but were completely routed with the loss of upwards of 1,000 men.

His last letters from Secretary Perez are of the 6th inst. At that date the Duke of Sessa was very ill with tercian fever at Marino, and Don Ugo [de Moncada] was keeping her ladyship* (*Su Señora*) company. It was no longer question of a suspension of hostilities. In his (Sanchez') opinion there never was a more unprofitable or disreputable transaction than the one proposed, for had the suspension of arms been agreed upon, the Pope would have been left in complete liberty to attack us in Lombardy. Instead of fruitless negotiations, the Imperial ministers ought to have done their utmost to remit funds to the Archduke. Had they done so, the German infantry would already be near Milan.

The ambassador† of the Duke Francesco Sforza went the other day to see his master. He has since returned and visited one by one all the ambassadors of our enemies; has not called upon him (Sanchez).

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* The Duke, who, as will be seen hereafter, died on the 18th of August, had been married to Doña Elvira de Cordova y Figueroa, daughter of the Great Captain Gonzalo de Cordova, but his Duchess is said to have died two years before, at Sessa. *See* Lopez de Haro *Nobiliario Genealogico*, &c. If, however, instead of "Su Señora," as in the original, "Su Señoria" was intended, this apparent contradiction might be avoided, since the latter expression *Su Señoria* (his Lordship and his Ladyship) would apply to the Duke himself.

† Francesco Taverna

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Having lately received letters from Spain through the medium of Micer Julian,* he (Soria) concludes that the way to correspond is through him; has accordingly addressed to him his own despatch of the 24th ult°. The news from Cremona is confirmed; the enemy was really defeated with considerable loss. At Milan an arrangement had been made with the Grisons for the passage of the German infantry through their territory, as likewise for their furnishing a certain contingent of troops.

There is a report here (at Venice) that the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) is coming to help Milan at the head of 250 Burgundian spears and 4,000 infantry, and that he is already in the territory of the Duke of Savoy. May it be so! —Venice, 13th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

P.S.—Has just heard that the Switzers have held their diet, and resolved not to allow the French King to make levies in their land, unless he pays down 250,000 ducats owing to them in past times.

Addressed: "To the most magnificent Sir, Don Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador at Genoa."

Indorsed: "Copy of Alonso Sanchez' letter to Soria, the ambassador."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

14 Aug. **513.** The Collateral Council of Naples to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 375.

Beg for instructions how to act. Report the message which Don Ugo de Moncada sent them, and their answer to Sancho Zapata, who brought it. All things considered, and after hearing Don Ugo's opinion on the subject, they have approved of Ascanio Colonna's departure for the army.

Have written to Don Ugo asking for particulars about the Duke of Camerino, for although he (Don Ugo) informs them that he has offered to send 5,000 or 6,000 ducats, and to come to this kingdom (Naples) to serve His Imperial Majesty, letters from Rome advise, on the other hand, that he was expected there with a considerable force, with which he was to garrison the castle of Sanct Angelo.

Repulse of the Florentines at Sienna.

The suspension of hostilities, agreed to between Don Ugo and the Pope, not valid until the Emperor's ratification be obtained.

Report on the movements of the Venetian fleet, which Doria's galleys are soon to join. Have in consequence written to Garci Manrique, now at Gaeta, to Commander Ycart, and to the rest of the captains of galleys on that coast, as well

* Elsewhere called Giuliano (Giulino ?)

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as to the Archbishop of Monreale, to be on the alert, and report as often as they can on the movements of the enemy, Have learnt since that the Venetian galleys and those of Andrea Doria had reached Civitta Vechia, and that the intention of the commanders was to attack Genoa.

The Doge as well as the Imperial ambassador [in Genoa], Lope de Soria, had urgently applied for the Neapolitan galleys to be sent to the succour of that city and port, but Il Gobo had been of a contrary opinion. His report had been forwarded to Don Ugo, as captain-general of the sea forces, for decision; when the orders of the latter arrive they will be punctually executed by Commander Ycart.

Have heard from Don Ugo. His answer to the message which Sancho Zapata took back is that after mature deliberation it had been resolved that Ascanio Colonna, instead of going to Sienna, as proposed, should remain on the frontier of the Colonnese estates, and defend the same against the enemy. Don Ugo has also written asking them to appoint a general in the room of the Duke of Sessa, just deceased; their answer was that they did not consider themselves sufficiently authorized to make such appointment. Don Ugo himself had better take the command of the whole force until the Emperor's pleasure was known. A heavy loss has been sustained by the death of so faithful a servant of His Imperial Majesty as the Duke [of Sessa] was; fortunately it took place when Don Ugo was at the camp.

It had been decided by common vote to make some sort of attack on the frontier of the Roman estates, so as to divert the enemy's attention and encourage the Siennese. Ascanio Colonna was well disposed to do service; he had been appointed to the command of the forces, once under Sessa, and provided also with money and victuals to the end of October; but in their opinion the principal aid was to come from Germany, for without it nothing important could be undertaken, their own resources being very scanty, whilst the enemy's forces were very considerable, besides their expecting the aid of Switzers and of France.—Naples, 14th Sept. 1526.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 3.

16 Aug. **514.** Commander [Luis de] Ycart to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 378.

Went to Gayeta (Gaeta) with the galleys. The confederates have a fleet of 21 galleys at Terracina: 13 of the Venetians and eight of the Pope. Great want of provisions exists at Rome, especially of wine and victuals (*vituallas*) owing to his stopping them whenever he can.—Gaeta, 16th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Ycart."

Addressed: "To the Emperor, our Lord, &c."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

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17 Aug. **515.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 168-9.

Wrote on the last day of July. Since then the Pope continues collecting troops, infantry as well as cavalry; the infantry to invade the Genoese territory, and it is said they are only waiting for the arrival on that coast of the 13 or 14 galleys of the Venetians to make the attempt. It is rumoured also that the Pope has some understanding in certain towns of the coast of Naples; if so, that kingdom might also be invaded. The cavalry the Pope intends for Sienna, which the exiles (*foraxidos*) think of attacking a second time. Meanwhile his troops and those of the Florentines are doing all the injury they can on the territory of that Signory; two places on the coast (Porto Hercole and Talamon) have been taken, and Doria is about to attack others, whilst a son of Renço de Cherri (da Ceri), with his company of men-at-arms and some light cavalry in the Pope's pay, is overrunning the Siennese territory.

The emissary sent by Don Ugo de Moncada to Sienna returned three days ago. He was imprisoned and nearly put to death by the citizens, who could not be persuaded that he was an Imperial agent. He reports that the Siennese are in very high spirits, and much opposed to any sort of arrangement with the emigrants (*foraxidos*), whom they despise and refuse to admit into their city. Believing that they will again make an attempt, they have applied to Don Ugo for some Imperial troops to assist them in the defence of their homes. The general belief, however, is that the emigrants will not return thither for the present, but will go on wasting the lands of the Siennese as heretofore. (*Cipher:*) If they do, the Siennese will be obliged in the end to come to terms with the enemy, without consulting His Imperial Majesty, which would be highly detrimental to his interests [in Italy]. Cannot say what Don Ugo's intentions are, and whether he will be able to help the Siennese, for he seems much dissatisfied with the councillors of Naples, who, he says, do not provide the necessaries of war. He (Don Ugo) is still at Marino and Grutta-Ferrata with a few foot and horse, doing nothing except maintaining that frontier against the Pope. Indeed, unless he soon receives reinforcements from Naples, it is believed that he will be obliged to retreat.

The other day negotiations were again set on foot between the Colonnese and the Pope, and apparently without Don Ugo's knowledge, to bring on a suspension of hostilities between Rome and Naples; but the Pope refused to grant the truce unless Don Ugo pledged his solemn word not to succour Sienna or Genoa if attacked, and not to invade the Papal territory. This condition, of course, Don Ugo could not accept, and, therefore, matters remain as they were. It is not likely that negotiations will be again resumed, for the Pope wants to be at liberty to undertake any expedition against those two Signories (Sienna and Genoa) that may prove beneficial to his interests.

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The servant of the Datary,* whom the Pope sent to the King of France, has not yet returned, but is expected back soon. These people are in hopes that he has obtained the desired co-operation in France. Don Ugo himself had some days before offered to return to Rome, if His Holiness felt disposed to come to some agreement with His Imperial Majesty. The answer was that the Pope wished first to ascertain the intentions of the French King, and ascertain whether any of the confederates forsook the league or not. Since then nothing more has been done or said in the matter, and he (Perez) does not go to the Palace for fear they should think he is going to solicit them. The Pope holds daily councils with the ambassadors of the confederated powers, with the Datary, and with Jacopo Salviatis, all about war and the operations of their army, with which, however, they are anything but pleased. The other day the Pope sent to the camp one of his private chamberlains (*camarero secreto*), named Paolo di Rezzo (Reggio). It was suspected that the object of his mission was to detach a portion of the army and send it against Genoa, but as the Venetian fleet has not yet arrived on the coast, it is presumed that his mission had another object. There are a thousand different reports about the Germans, some saying that they have already arrived in Italy, others that they will never come. The truth is that there are no positive news about them, and that the Pope and the confederates dread much their coming; for should they make their appearance in Italy before the Switzers, they consider their cause as utterly lost. A portion of the enemy's army has gone to Cremona, where, they say, they have met with a warm reception, in consequence of which they raised their camp, after placing a garrison in the castle.

(*Common writing:*) Has no news whatever from Milan. Andrea Doria has taken Porto Hercole and Talamon, two places on the coast belonging to the Siennese.

The Duke of Sessa has been dangerously ill ever since the beginning of this present month, and in fact there have occasionally come rumours of his death. Not wishing to die at Marino, he was brought to Rome [in a litter] at his express desire.† He is still suffering from double tercian fever and is not expected to live.

Has heard that the object of Paolo Rezzo's visit to the camp was to bring about a reconciliation between Count Guido Rangone and Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis,‡ who

* Capino da Mantova.

† "Antojosele que [no] habia de morir en Marino, y por esto le trageron aqui."

‡ According to a letter of Pisani and Piero da Pesaro, the Venetian Proveditors General, to the Doge and Signory (dat. Oct. 1526), Giovannino de' Medici slew on that day Ipolito da Lucha, a military commander, recommended to the Signory by the King of England, but by comparing dates and statements this must be another assault of the many that the celebrated condottiero is said to have committed about this time. Compare Guicciardini (lib. XVII.), who often praises "la sua ferocitae la sua virtù."

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had quarrelled ; the cause of the quarrel being that the latter had struck (*dió de palos*) the Count's lieutenant.

It has been reported here that His Imperial Majesty was already at Barcelona (*cipher*), a piece of intelligence not much to the taste of these people, though thousands rejoice at it, and pray to God that it may turn out true. It is also reported that the bishopric of Burgos has been conferred on Cardinal Colonna, which has given great satisfaction to all the Colonnese faction and filled them with hope.—Rome, 17th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

(*Common writing:*) When about to close and seal this letter he (Perez) hears that the Duke of Sessa is so ill that he cannot live many hours.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty," (by duplicate of the 17th August).

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. Perez, 17th Aug."

Spanish. Holograph, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

19 Aug. **516.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoça to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 174-7.

(*Cipher:*) His last letter was of the 27th ult°., *viâ* Genoa. On the same day the secretary of Mons. de Savoy (Carlo Emanuele) took his departure for France. He has since written to the Duke, his master, that he saw the most Christian King and Madame (Louise of Savoy), and showed them the despatches whereof he was bearer. Both approved of their contents, saying there was nothing to suppress or to add. The secretary left for Spain on the 8th. He will inform His Imperial Majesty that the French King has positively refused to grant him [Hurtado] a safe-conduct. Begs His Imperial Majesty to send him instructions how to act.

(*Common writing:*) Has begged the Duke [of Savoy] to forward his report to Spain, since he could not take it himself. The Duke has answered that he (Hurtado) had better keep it until he himself goes to Spain.

Has received letters of the 8th inst. from the Abbot of Najera and from Lope de Soria. The latter announces that Genoa is now placed in a good state of defence. Both communicate to him the agreeable intelligence of the defeat of the Florentines before Sienna. The Duke of Sessa, Don Ugo de Moncada, and the Colonnese are close upon Rome. The Abbot adds that an agreement has been made with the Grisons, who not only will let the Germans through their territory, but consent to furnish 2,000 men of their own troops ; that the 2,000 Valesians whom the Bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza) and the Warder of Mus (Medici) had brought over at the request of the Duke Francesco Sforza had been disbanded, and were returning home, as nobody offered to provide their pay.

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The Duke (Francesco Sforza) is at Crema, still insisting upon having Como. M. de Bourbon objects on the plea that the Duke has violated the capitulation by going over to the enemy's camp, &c. A messenger has been despatched to the Archduke, through the land of the Grisons, to hasten the march of the 6,000 Germans under the Captains Jorge [Fruntsperg] and Marco [Sitig?]. The confederates are a short mile from Milan, in very strong positions. There is every day much skirmishing, in which the enemy is always worsted. The Imperialists have plenty of corn, and hand-mills to grind it, besides provisions of all kinds in abundance. They are only waiting for the arrival of the Germans to take the offensive. Advices had arrived from Captain Pedrarias, who commands at Como, stating that the Warder of Mus had seized 15,000 ducats which the Pope and the Venetians were sending for the of pay the Switzers, and that he had also taken prisoners and shut up within the castle the 25 horse-men who escorted the money.

When Hurtado left Milan he charged a friend, well versed in military affairs, to write to him occasionally, for which purpose, and for fear of his letters falling into the hands of the enemy, he entrusted him with a copy of his own cipher. The friend has written; his last letter contains the following paragraph: "These gentlemen are not at all pleased with the Commander-in-Chief, Monsieur de Bourbon, who seems determined to be absolute. He has given the governorship of this castle [Milan] to a Frenchman; has removed Bracamonte from his office at Capua, and appointed in his stead another Frenchman called Monsieur de Lamothe. The Marquis del Guasto is the only one who enjoys some credit with him, for Antonio de Leyva is not in favour, and the Abbot [of Najera] still less, owing to his being a friend of the latter. He has tried to supersede the captains appointed by these generals (Guasto and Leyva) and replace them by Frenchmen of his suite. This, however, Leyva will not tolerate. The spirit of the soldiers is far from good; they have refused two months' pay that was offered to them on account, declaring that they will not take the field unless the whole of their arrears be paid up, which in the present scarcity of money is next to impossible. We do no good. The captains of this army are not treated with due consideration. Milan is in despair at having to feed us. We eat like lords at the expense of our hosts (*con salva de los patrones*), because we are told that they wish to poison us; this being the chief reason why the army remains so long at this place without marching, as it ought, against the enemy. Everything is very dear, and the country exhausted. Food cannot be procured except with the greatest difficulty. Help we expect none, either in men or money, so that we are on the verge of ruin. Your Worship may thank God that he is not here with us.—Milan, 8th of August."

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If His Imperial Majesty will only cast his eye over the above lines and bear in mind what he (Hurtado) wrote many days ago on this very subject, he cannot but acknowledge the urgency of the case, especially now that the enemy is being reinforced.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis of Saluzzo left Grenoble on the 9th inst. for the capital of his estates, followed by Fedrico (Federigo) di Bozano, at the head of his men. They were to pass review at Saluzzo, and be paid there. It is reported that they muster 500 spears and 4,000 infantry in all. They have no artillery with them; his the Marquis is to take from his own estates. The infantry is not so numerous as reported, and is bad besides. The Marquis has left the road leading to Susa, and taken that of Saluzzo, (*cipher*) from which people conclude that he intends to march on Genoa. This is the more probable, as intelligence has been received that the French fleet is ready to sail thither, and the Archbishop of Salerno (Fregoso) and Pedro Navarro to go in command of it. Perhaps, too, the Marquis with his forces intends to attack Alexandria, where he is reported to have secret friends, or else take up a position on the road to Genoa, so as cut off the supplies in money which Monsieur de Bourbon receives from that city. Whatever the Marquis' intentions may be, his movements must be watched, and this he (Hurtado) has written to Mons. de Bourbon.

(*Common writing:*) There is a report that the Switzers are no longer coming down. They had actually started for a place where they were to be paid, but after waiting some days, finding that the money was not forthcoming, they returned home. This letter goes by express, directed to the Imperial ambassador at the court of France (Praet), who will perhaps find the means of transmitting it to Spain. The bearer goes for the avowed purpose of asking for the safe-conduct so often denied to him (Hurtado). Should this means of communication succeed, His Imperial Majesty may correspond with him in the same manner, or enclose the letters to the Infanta [Duchess of Savoy] who is as devoted as ever to the Imperial service.

Has letters from the Lord Chief Steward* stating that two couriers bringing Imperial despatches, and two more servants of his with messages to the Emperor, had been detained in France. He and the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) had provided for the defence of the county (*condado*).† He (Hurtado) communicates frequently with the Lord Chief Steward, sends him Italian news, and directs his own letters to the Archduke that way, as no other road is secure from the enemy.

* "El mayordomo mayor me ha escrito, &c."

† By "condado" the writer means the county—not the Duchy—of Burgundy, which Charles held at this time.

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Had written so far when he received a letter from Turin stating that on the 15th inst. Pedro de Martinengo, a Venetian captain, had passed through that city on his way to Saluzzo with 50 horsemen, and 60,000 ducats destined to the Marquis for him to pay his troops with and march on Genoa.

The Duke [of Savoy] has had a letter from Bressa (Brescia) of the 15th inst., informing him that Monsieur de Bourbon had marched out of Milan, and that the Spaniards under him had mutinied. His Imperial Majesty should write a letter to the captains of the [Spanish] infantry, stimulating their zeal and good discipline under the present circumstances. Antonio de Leyva is so ill that he cannot be expected to live.

Post Data.—Has received a letter from the Archduke, dated Espira (Spires) 8th of August. He says that if M. de Bourbon wants him to send Germans he must provide the money. His Highness does all he can for His Majesty's service. Not having a cipher at hand, he cannot say in plain writing the many causes, besides the absolute want of money, which prevent his sending the said force. It is upwards of two months since he has had letters from Italy. Commands him (Hurtado) to write as frequently as he can; in compliance with which orders, he (Hurtado) has sent him the news from Italy and from the Imperial camp in Lombardy, besides communicating to M. de Bourbon the substance of his letter.

(*Common writing:*) The steward (*mayordomo*) of the Prince of Orange has arrived. He landed yesterday at Savona. The Imperial courier who came with him started immediately for Genoa.

Monsieur de Claramont took the horses that came with those of Bourbon, fifty-two in all, besides several mules and beasts of burden, after making the Marquis of Cebá and his escort prisoners.*

(*Cipher:*) Some of His Imperial Majesty's servants, and he (Hurtado) among the rest, think that since things have gone so far, it would be advisable to have the Dauphin confined where the French could not hear of him, because whilst continuing where he is at present, it is equivalent to his being at Bles (Blois). Were the King of France to be without any news either of him or of his brother, it is probable that he would make greater efforts to recover them.†

Asks for some credentials or appointments? in blank to be filled in with the names of those who are the Emperor's

* "Monsieur de Claramonte tomó los caballos que venian con los de Borbon, que eran todos cincuenta y dos y otras mulas y acemilas; prendió al Marques de Ceba y los otros."

† The King's sons were soon after removed to the castle of Pedraza, near Segovia. *See* Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., lib.* XV., cap. XXV.

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servants in Italy. A few only are wanted, for their number unfortunately is not considerable. — Chambarin (Chambery), 19th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

22 Aug. **517.** Alonso Sanchez to Lope de Soria, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 182.

Has had no news from Spain since he wrote on the 18th ult°. He continues, however, to write through Micer Julian (Giuliano?), as he considers that the safest channel.

News at Venice are that 500 French lances and 4,000 foot have already entered Italy. If true, he (Soria) must already have heard of it. The Archduke (Ferdinand) still persists in his resolution not to move from where he is until he has received both orders and money from Spain; yet if provided with sufficient means from Milan, he will send any number of men. The diet is closed. He (Sanchez) cannot say whether any resolutions favourable to the Imperial cause have been taken there. Has written to the Archduke begging him come to Innspruch, as he will be better placed there than anywhere else for acting when the Emperor's orders arrive.

This Signory, it is reported, have had intelligence from Civita Vecchia stating that their galleys had entered that port and that their proveditor was going to Rome to have a conference with the Pope. If the report be true, the Venetian fleet must be already in those seas. It is to be supposed that they will have a warm reception, for by this time Genoa must be well prepared.

It is said here that the Duke of Sessa is dead. Has received no letters from Rome announcing his decease; on the contrary, when he heard last, on the 11th, the Duke had been dangerously ill, but was better and almost out of danger.

The Venetians stormed Clemona (Cremona) on the 16th. They were repulsed with a loss of upwards of 3,000 men in killed and wounded, besides a great many fugitives who left their camp in consequence.

Castro writes from Trent on the 16th that a good number of Switzers had been engaged by the Pope and the Venetians as well as by the King of France, and were soon to come down to Italy.

Cremona is making a stout defence and cares little for the enemy. The Turk has at last taken the castle he was besieging, though with great slaughter of his own people. The King of Hungary (Louis II.) had taken the field with a powerful force and was about to offer him battle.

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Has heard from Pablo Monfron (Giampaolo Manfrone*), father of one of the three captains slain at Cremona, that the total loss of the Venetians on that occasion was 2,000, and that the company of men-at-arms commanded by his son was entirely destroyed. Castro writes to say that the Switzers are coming down in greater numbers than ever.—Venice, 22nd Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Al muy magnifico Señor Don Lope de Soria, Embajador del Emperador en Genova."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter of Alonso Sanchez to Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Contemporary copy p. 1.

23 Aug. **518.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 184.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote by express on the 20th inst., and directed his letter to the Imperial ambassador at the French court (Praet), hoping that he would find the means of forwarding it to Spain. If that ambassador can also manage to send him (Hurtado) those from home His Imperial Majesty is sure to be informed of the progress of the war, and to receive news from the Infante (Archduke), Mons. de Bourbon, Genoa, &c. He (Hurtado) on his side can always find means to communicate with Don Ugo and the rest in cipher, as he has done on late occasions, and let them know the Emperor's wishes.

The Archduke has written to him in date of the 8th inst. complaining that he had no news whatever of what was going on at Milan. Has answered him, and sent him his own cipher to use.

Don Pedro [de Castro?]† writes that the Turk is very powerful in Hungary and that the Diet will soon be closed.

The Abbot of Najera writes from Milan on the 8th that the enemy's camp was three short miles from that city, very numerous and strong. An agreement had been made with the Grisons to give passage to the Germans, and furnish, besides, a contingent of 2,000 men. Provisions were plentiful in the Imperial camp, but the Spaniards were discontented owing to M. de Bourbon having given the command of the castle of Milan to a Frenchman. The Germans were grumbling for their pay, and unwilling to advance against the enemy unless their arrears were paid.

* His name was Giulio Manfrone. He was killed in one of the assaults together with "Il Capitano Macone, e molti altri soldati di condizione." *See* Guicciardini (*Istoria d' Italia, lib.* XVII., ed. Friburg, 1776, p. 163), who relates the affair in all its details. Sandoval calls him Manfredonio (Manfredone?): "Quedando muertos en el Iulio Manfredonio y Alexandro Marcello, y otros principales capitanes Venecianos, de lo qual quedaron tan mal parados y deshechos que no se atrevieron á acometerlos otra vez."—*Lib.* XV., *cap.* XXII.

† His name was Juan (John), and not Pedro; but perhaps another of the Archduke's secretaries, also a Spaniard, is meant, unless it be Don Pedro de Cordoba, Sessa's brother, who about this time was in Ferdinand's service.

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The Duke [Francesco Sforza] was at Crema on St. James' Day. The Siennese had gained a great victory over the Florentines, and taken 16 field guns from them.

The Marquis of Saluzzo crossed the passes on the 11th; brings with him 500 lances and 4,000 infantry; has encamped in the vicinity of his city (Saluzzo). On the 18th he had not advanced beyond Turin.

Letters from the last-named city state that a Venetian captain, with 60,000 ducats for the Marquis' camp, had passed through with an escort of 50 horsemen. So provided, the Marquis is to march on Genoa immediately.

A messenger of the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) passed through this town, Chamberi, on the 18th. He had landed at Savona, and was going to Milan accompanied by a courier.

Count Vara* and Mons. Falconer have written to say that the [Venetian] galleys are going towards Barcelona or Valencia. If such be the intention of the enemy care must be taken that the ships now being fitted in those two arsenals be protected against their attacks.

The Duke has intelligence from Villafranca [de Niça] that on the 12th Count Pedro Navarro was there with 16 galleys and three brigantines.—Chambery, 23rd Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope Hurtado, Chamberi, 24th (sic) of August."

Spanish. Original wholly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 1½.

24 Aug. **519.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 187–90.

His last letter, of the 4th inst., went by a Barcelona frigate. Sends the duplicate now. Received, on the 16th, the Imperial despatches of the 21st and 28th July, together with the powers for the Duke [of Bourbon] to receive the 100,000 ducats lately remitted. The bills of exchange were presented, and accepted; will be paid when due. Has likewise received the despatches addressed to M. de Bourbon, the Marquis del Guasto, to the Abbot of Najera, Lope Hurtado, Alonso Sanchez, Duke of Sessa, &c. Has forwarded them all to their address; that to the latter by sea, for the Pope and the Florentines keep such a close guard on the passes that it is impossible to send anything by land. Even by sea there is much danger, for Andrea Doria is cruising about. Had the Council of Naples sent the six galleys they have there to

* Also written Bara. Count de Beer? If so, he is the same individual mentioned in No. 516 as being in Burgundy.

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join those of this Signory, this coast might have been made safe, and much good done. God forgive the Neapolitans for their negligence!

(*Cipher:*) Has read the paragraph in cipher concerning the Imperial mandate for M. de Bourbon to receive the 100,000 ducats. As some of the merchants here knew of the said mandate already, it being next to impossible to keep such matters secret; as the wants of the Imperial army were so great, and it was so difficult to have the bills cashed here, owing to the scarcity of money; as some change might be apprehended in this city owing to the appearance of the enemy's fleet on the coast, he (Soria) thought it advisable to inform Mons. de Bourbon of the arrival of the said mandate, and yet to delay its remittance on the plea that the roads were unsecure, &c. Has done so, and sent the Duke a copy of it, which will naturally cause some delay in the payment.

(*Common writing:*) It is to be hoped that with this money much may be done for the Imperial service; for, according to the last news from Milan, of the 16th inst., 6,000 Germans, under George Fransperg (Fruntsperg), and 3,000 Grisons were to arrive on the 20th. The enemy was still encamped at about one league from Milan. Though the Imperialists provoked them every day, the confederates remained within their fortified camp, and refused to fight.*

The enemy has suffered a great check at Cremona. Letters from the Marquis del Guasto and the Duke of Bourbon, of the 13th inst., announce that their army under Malatesta Vallon (Baglione) has retreated from before its walls. The Duke Francesco Sforza is still at Crema.

Another commander of the confederates, Damian Corço by name, who with 800 men subsidized by the League was to join Juan de Birago and other captains under the Marquis of Saluzzo in an attack upon this city, was the other day completely routed at Novara. It appears that whilst crossing that district with three companies of infantry he was attacked by Fabricio Marramaldo, who killed nearly 200 of his men, and despoiled (*desbalijó*) the remainder, taking from them three banners that were sent to Milan. The junction of Corço and Birago was thus prevented. Hearing of his comrade's discomfiture the latter betook himself to Valencia, where he resides at present, having, as they say, been pardoned by Mons. de Bourbon, together with all his relatives and several more emigrants (*foraxidos*) belonging to that city, and among the rest the late Lord of Gavi. Mons. de Bourbon has since ordered all property confiscated from the said Birago and others to be restored to them, as likewise the castle of Gavi, which the Marquis del Guasto gave him (Soria) to hold as a

* "Aunque los de V. Mag^d. van cada dia a ponerles los dedos en los ojos."

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fief of the Empire. Is ready to obey the Duke's orders, but cannot help thinking that a measure of this sort must prove highly detrimental to the Imperial service [in Italy]. The castle being strong, and commanding the road to Genca and to Lombardy, ought not to be given up except to persons of great trust. He (Soria) was put to great expense in gaining it from the Duke of Milan, and keeping it ever since, without the least remuneration or assistance. Begs His Imperial Majesty to order the Duke not to disturb him in the possession of the said Gavi.

Letters from Rome, of the 10th, state that the Duke of Sessa was seriously ill at Marino, in the territory of the Colonnese. The better to support his army, the Pope had seized, for a month, the revenues of all offices at Rome, and imposed besides a tax (*talla*) of 150,000 ducats at Florence. Vespasiano Colonna had been wedded to the daughter of Ludovico (Luigi) Gonzaga, a thing very much to be wondered at, considering he (Vespasiano) had asked for the hand of the late Viceroy's* widow.

Encloses copy of last letter received from Alonso Sanchez.† Nothing is yet known about the Venetian galleys which threatened to come to these waters. Those of Rhodes are still at Civitta Vecchia, disarmed.

An order came yesterday from the Duke of Bourbon *to borrow* 10,000 *ducats in this city, to be spent in military and naval preparations.*‡

(*Cipher:*) According to advices lately received from Rome, the Pope and Don Hugo were still negotiating for a suspension of hostilities between Bologna and Naples. The Pope is said to take much interest in the negotiations; firstly, that he may be safe at Rome; and secondly, that he may concentrate all his forces against this city.

(*Common writing:*) Hears that all his late despatches have reached their destination, with the exception of one, dated the 28th June, which was intercepted in France, and the bearer imprisoned. Encloses duplicate of his intercepted despatch, but fancies that the best way of communication in future, as long as the present war lasts, will be by sea. 2,000 Switzers have joined the enemy's camp, and more are expected. Fabricio Marramau and other Imperial captains keep Juan Birago closely surrounded in Valenza.

At Savona the French flag has been hoisted, and three Genoese merchant vessels coming from Iviça [in Spain] seized; thus clearly showing the hostile intentions of the Savonese against this Community.

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* Who this Viceroy [of Naples?] can be it is not easy to determine, for Charles de Lannoy did not die until 1527. His predecessors in that office were Don Juan de Aragon conde de Ribagorza, 1507–9; and Don Ramon de Cardona, conde de Alventos, 1509–22.

† No. 518.

‡ The words *in italics* are in cipher.

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Letters have come from the Duke [of Bourbon], announcing that two companies of Spaniards, under Cerbellon and Diego Ramirez de Guzman, had been detached for the defence of this city, and would shortly leave Milan. Fabricio Marramao had been ordered to keep in readiness, and march to the assistance of this Community if required. He [Soria] feels confident that with such provision the safety of Genoa is now ensured, and victory over the enemy certain.

The Abbot of Najera has written to him (Soria) as follows: "The day before yesterday we had letters from Lecco, announcing the arrival of George Franspergh (Fruntsperg) in the land of the Grisons and the Valtellina passes with about 10,000 German foot. Captain Teguen [of the Grisons] had written, begging him to stop three or four days where he was, till he could join him with 2,000 Grisons he had raised for the Imperial service. We are daily expecting to hear of their arrival at Lecco or Como. The enemy here are in great confusion, and their generals do not agree. Juanin (Giovannino de' Medici) and Count Guido [Rangone] are at variance. The Venetian proveditor (Pesaro) is gone to Cremona with four or five guns and 2,000 men. I fancy that this movement of the Venetians is rather intended to get their heavy artillery out of the way than to use it against Cremona, in the last assault of which Julio Manfrone, a captain of the Venetians, and four more were slain.* I consider that the city is in no danger for the present. Immediately after the arrival of Jorge Fruntsperg and his Germans we intend to pay a visit to these gentlemen, our neighbours, and if they only wait for us—which I very much doubt—they will get a nice drubbing. Respecting the castle of Gavi, and other points in your letter, I will answer you by next post. The courier now about to be sent to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) will take the route suggested by you."

Intelligence has come from Pavia that part of the Imperial garrison made a sally one night, and surprised at Sanct Angelo some 150 foot and 100 horse of the enemy, defeated them, and took their baggage (*y los desbalijaron todos*). Advices have also come from Plasenzia (Piacenza) that the enemy had again stormed Cremona, but had been repulsed with great loss, thus confirming the Abbot's news. According to Don Jayme de Requesens, who is now in this port, the two Sicilian galleys under his command are badly provided with fighting crews, slaves to man the oars, artillery, biscuit, and so forth. It is most needful to have them placed in a serviceable condition.

(*Cipher:*) Since the above was written Spinal (Espinal?), Don Ugo's secretary, has arrived. He left Marino on the 22nd of July last, and has come to have an interview with the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), and to induce him, if he

* *See* above, p. 844.

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can, to declare for the Emperor. He (Soria) has seen Don Ugo's instructions to his secretary, and also the answer made by the Duke, which is in substance as follows: The Duke is willing to become the Emperor's servant under these conditions; 1stly, he is to be appointed commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies in Italy; 2ndly, his eldest son (Hercole d'Este) is to marry the Emperor's daughter, and receive as dower the county of Carpi; 3rdly, he is to be acquitted of the 125,000 ducats owed by him to the Emperor, out of the 200,000 he promised for the investiture of the duchies of Ferrara and Modena; 4thly, His Imperial Majesty is to take him for ever under his protection. The Duke asks besides for other minor concessions easy to grant, and promises, in case of his offers being accepted, to serve the Emperor with all his forces against whomsoever may be his enemy. As the recent appointment of M. de Bourbon to the command of the Imperial army stands in the way of the Duke's nomination, which is the very first condition stipulated, the said Espinal is now going to Milan to treat of the matter with M. de Bourbon himself, after which he is to return here with the answer and embark for Spain.

(*Common writing:*) The said Duke [of Ferrara] has forwarded to him (Soria) the enclosed despatch of Alonso Sanchez for the Emperor.

Has since received letters from Milan of the 21st instant. announcing that the vanguard of the Germans was already at Lecco; also that part of the French succour to the army of the League had arrived. Two companies of men-at-arms, one of them commanded by Federico Bozol (di Bozzolo), were already on this side of the Alps. The Venetians still insisted on the siege of Cremona, and were doing all they could to reduce that city. Lastly, the Duke of Sessa had gone to Rome to get cured of his tercian fever.

Last night the French fleet passed before this city. Six of our galleys went out and kept up a brisk cannonade with it. At day-break 13 large and small merchant vessels (*navios cairos*) were discovered at sea. They come from Sicily laden with corn and other provisions for this city; and as there can be no doubt that the aforesaid French fleet is after them, and, if attacked, they will become an easy prey to the enemy, he (Soria) has in union with the Doge (Antonioto Adorno) taken all possible precautions. Four caracks are being armed, which, added to the six galleys now in port, will go out to their relief, (*cipher:*) for were the enemy to get hold of them, the Genoese would be highly dissatisfied, and perhaps induced from the scarcity of food and other causes to accept the enemy's terms. There is therefore urgent need that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) come here as soon as possible with his fleet of galleys; for once united to the naval forces in this port, success can no longer be doubtful.—Genoa, 24th of August 1526.

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Post data.—Advices have been received, stating that the troops which left Alessandria to attack Juan (Giovanni) Birago had returned home without accomplishing anything, owing to the said Birago having received assistance in time.*

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 24th of August."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7¼.

26 Aug. **520.** VESPASIANO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 375.

Has written to his agent at Court, Marcello, all that has occurred ever since Don Ugo [de Moncada's] arrival in Italy. Begs that full credence be given to the said Marcello.

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas de los Coluneses."

Italian. Copy. p. 1.

26 Aug. **521.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 197–8.

His last was of the 17th inst. Encloses duplicate. Wrote on the 18th to Secretary Soria, informing him of the Duke of Sessa's demise.

The only news of importance is the agreement recently made between the Pope and the Colonnese. As provisions for the support of his small army could only be obtained from the lands of the Church, which was tantamount to waging war on the Pope—an undertaking which seems not to be to Don Ugo's taste, or to that of the Neapolitan Council—that general gave the said Colonnese permission to treat separately for themselves. In consequence whereof Vespasiano Colonna came over [to Rome] and made the following agreement with His Holiness. The Cardinal and all his relations and adherents to be pardoned by the Pope; they (the Colonnese) pledging their faith and giving securities not to wage war from the estates and lands they hold in fief of the Church, but to be allowed notwithstanding to aid individually and with their persons and troops wherever the Emperor may want their services. The Pope accordingly issued two briefs to that effect. Vespasiano returned [to Marino ?] on the 24th, and Don Ugo has since given orders for his men, horse and foot, to retreat to the frontiers of Naples. The Pope has issued, besides, another brief allowing two or three of the Siennese to repair to

* "Tengo aviso como la gente de Alejandria que estaba sobre Juan de Virago son vueltos en Alejandria sin hacer nada, porque ha venido socorro al dicho Virago."

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Don Ugo and discuss with him the best means of coming to terms with the emigrants (*foraxidos*), which is what the Pope desires most; for although the said emigrants are wasting, as usual, the territory of Sienna and doing all the injury they can, the Siennese, on the other hand, have recovered a place called Orbitello, which the enemy took some time ago from them. The Pope promises on the agreement being signed to give back to the Siennese Porto Hercole and Talamon, but only on condition of Nania (Anania), which the Colonnese took, being restored to him.

Thirteen Venetian galleys have entered the port of Civitta Vecchia. They are expected soon to sail for Genoa in conjunction with those of the Pope. This is asserted so publicly that no cipher is needed to report the intelligence. It is added that the French fleet under the Archbishop of Salerno (Fregoso) and the Marquis of Saluzzo with his land force are to attack Genoa by sea and land simultaneously. They are not to attempt taking the city by force, but merely to surround it on all sides, so as to stop communication and cut off the supplies, that the Genoese may be obliged through famine to accept the enemy's terms. It is now rumoured that the Pope is about to pay off and dismiss his troops, with the exception of 500 only, and that the gates of this city [Rome] leading to Naples are to be left open for the people to go in and out freely. It is even asserted that His Holiness has told Vespasiano [Colonna] that, if Don Ugo agrees to it, he has no objection to allow the trade between Rome and Naples to continue as before, by sea as well as land. Does not know what Don Ugo's answer will be. He and Cardinal Colonna have left Marino, and gone to Subiaco, on account of the plague having broken out in the former town.

Everyone here is amazed (*espantado*) at His Majesty not having once written to his ministers since the war broke out. Most people, however, think that help is at hand, and that the Emperor cannot fail to send us instructions. May it be so! His Imperial Majesty must be well informed by way of Genoa of what passes in Lombardy. No need, therefore, for him (Perez) to repeat such intelligence as reaches Rome, generally from the opposite party. Suffice it to say that there can be no doubt about the rout of the enemy at Cremona. The Venetians have lately reinforced their camp with 2,000 Switzers. They give out that upwards of 10,000 have already arrived in Italy, and that they expect 4,000 more, besides 500 spears, with which forces they intend to take the offensive.

(*Cipher :*) About the Germans there is great variety of opinion, some saying that they are already in Italy, whilst others assert that they are not coming at all. A good number, however, are already at Trent and Bolçano under George Franspergh (Fruntsperg) and other captains, waiting for orders to come down to the lowlands. But, on the other

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hand, [Juan de Castro] a servant of the Archduke's (Ferdinand) writes from Trent, in date of the 13th inst., that the Germans will not come unless provided with money [from Milan], the Arckduke having none to give them. Even the 2,000 [Germans], already enlisted with so much difficulty, could not well make their way into Italy, except in company of a larger force.

(*Common writing:*) A gentleman has come here from the King of France to make offers to the Pope, and to ask him for the concession of the tithes (*decimas*). It is said that the Pope is to grant the King's request, and that the King promises to send down his men-at-arms and Switzers, though he wishes the thing not to be made public at once. In the meantime he (the King) will try to make an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, and if unsuccessful, will then publish his intentions and side entirely with the Pope.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness is very proud of his last covenant with the Colonnese, believing his power to be so great that even those who could harm him come of their own accord to implore his mercy. He has great confidence in the arrival of the French troops, and that the army before Milan, reinforced as it has been and will be by Switzers, will achieve great things.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke Francesco Sforza remains at Crema. He hopes that Cremona will soon be taken from us, and that he will be able to fix his residence there.

(*Cipher:*) The Duke of Camerino has just sent one of his men, to Don Ugo de Moncada, in all secrecy, to offer his services to His Imperial Majesty.

The Duke of Ferrara perseveres in his attachment to the Imperial cause; he has written to Don Ugo about it, and sends him (Perez) frequent advices from Milan and from other places.

(*Common writing:*) It is rumoured that the Pope has granted the tithes (*decimas*) to the King of France.

His Holiness has dismissed all the troops he had here (at Rome) with the exception only of 500 infantry that he keeps, in order that the captains, each of whom is to have 60 men under his orders, may be well satisfied. Pisa is the place where the seamen and soldiers are to be recruited for their intended Genoese expedition. Hears it stated that the Germans are coming at last; cannot say it for certain.—Rome, 26th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Secretary Perez, 26th Aug." (By triplicate.")

Spanish. Holograph. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3½.

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27 Aug. **522.** Prothonotary Caracciolo to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 206.

Since the taking of the castle [of Milan] the enemy has been encamped one mile (*miglio*) from this city. They have since detached forces against Cremona, which has made, and is still making, a stout defence. The Duke of Bourbon and the rest of the captains of this Imperial army are very vigilant and full of spirit, waiting only for the arrival of reinforcements to march against the enemy.

Has duly received the Emperor's letters of the 21st July last, announcing the remittance of the bills, &c.—Milan, 27th Aug. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 27th of Aug."

Italian. Original. pp. 1¼.

27 Aug. **523.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 210–14.

Wrote on the 28th last, announcing the surrender of the castle of [Milan], and enclosing copy of the capitulation; also an account of the infantry and artillery sent by the Pope against Sienna. Has since to report that on the very same day the castle surrendered (St. James' Day) the Siennese sallied out against the besiegers, 8,000 in number, and routed them completely with the loss of 700 men and 14 guns.

The enemy's camp is still two miles from this city, so strongly fortified with trenches and redoubts that there is no possibility of attacking it, though there are daily skirmishes. They have within the last few days received reinforcements to the amount of 7,000 men, Switzers and Valesians, on the arrival of whom the Venetians detached to Cremona a force consisting of 5,000 of their troops and seven guns. On the 3rd inst., after battering the walls for some hours from the river side, between the castle and the gate of the Pò, they made the assault, but were repulsed. On the 7th the enemy made another unsuccessful attempt, and lost 400 men. Lastly, on the 15th, our Lady's day, having received a reinforcement of 2,000 men brought from Brescia and Verona, they again attacked our positions, and lost upwards of 700 men* and six captains, among whom was one named Julio Manfron (Giulio Manfrone?), a Venetian (*de la Señoria*). That very night, at three o'clock, upwards of 100 feet (*pasos*) of the city walls, between the castle and the enemy's

* "Dia de nuestra Señora dieron otro asalto de cinco batallas muy grande, y duró mucho, donde no hicieron mas de perder 700 hombres."

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batteries, gave way (*se cayeron*); but before the enemy became aware of it the breach was repaired.

Meanwhile the Duke of Urbino, their commander-in-chief, perceiving that his troops made no progress at all in the siege of Cremona, detached a second division of 2,000 men and four heavy guns, with which the enemy battered the walls of that city incessantly. On the 20th a fourth and last assault was made, which ended like the others. The enemy's loss in all these encounters has been so great that they begin to despair of ever being able to reduce Cremona, and are seriously thinking of raising the siege. The loss of the garrison consists only of 30 men, among whom is Pedro Mercado, the brother of Juan Mercado. There are inside, the companies of the Adelantado de Granada, under the command of captain Pedro Osorio, mustering in all 250 spears; that of Pedro Çapata, under Captain Rodrigo de Vargas; the spears under Vespasiano and Ascanio Colonna; 250 light cavalry; 2,000 Germans under Captain Corradin; and three more companies of Spanish infantry, all men of courage and experience, who served once under Antonio de Leyva at the siege of Pavia. The whole force is under Field-master Urrias, the Knight Commander of Montesa.* The enemy expect from France 500 spears and 10,000 infantry, under the Marquis of Saluzzo and Frederigo Bozano (Bozzole), both of whom are said to have already arrived in the Saluzzo, at a castle called Rebelo, though with 150 spears only and about 700 foot. It is reported that the Pope has sent them money to levy 4,000 more men in that locality.

Juan (Giovanni) Birago with upwards of 1,000 men of the Marquis (of Saluzzo) has lately been committing ravages in the neighbourhood of Alessandria; but the Imperialists have surrounded him, and he is now shut up in a town called Valencia [di Po], belonging to the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara), where Fabricio Marramaldo with 2,000 Neapolitan and Italian infantry, Diego Ramirez de Guzman, Juan Cerbellon, and Captain Clavero, with their respective companies of Spanish infantry, and one more of the Germans stationed at Pavia, keep him closely invested. The Imperialists have with them four guns from Alessandria. The place itself not being very strong, and the men not much disposed to fight, hopes are entertained that it cannot hold out long, and that those inside will be properly chastised. If so, this will teach the Marquis and Frederigo [Bozzolo] to come down another time in greater force and with less fury; though it must be said that their marching to the field of war is anything but quick, owing probably to some device of the French King, who wishes to gain time and see if he

* "Y el Comendador Urrias, Maestre de Campo." This Urrias, whose name is more generally written *Urries*, was an Aragonese nobleman related to Secretary Urries. His christian name was Pedro, and he was commander of the military Order of Montesa; a different person from Pedro Jurdan de Urries, abbot of Monte Aragon, whose letter addressed to the Emperor from Rome is at page 244, under No. 136.

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cannot in the meanwhile make an arrangement with His Imperial Majesty.

Has already mentioned in one of his last despatches how the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, before the arrival of M. de Bourbon, had sent to the Grisons a gentleman from this city (Milan) expressly to ask for 2,000 troops and free passage for the Germans; and how a captain of that nation, named Theguene, had offered to grant the said passage and raise, besides, for the Emperor 2,000 or even 4,000 of his own countrymen, at the rate of one gold crown (*escudo*) for each man, engaging to bring them as far as Como or Leco, where they were to receive the remainder of their pay. Since then the Duke of Bourbon has sent one of his own gentlemen, named Tamis, to bring this negotiation to a close. He is provided with 2,000 crowns for as many Grisons; but although the Duke's agent and the above-named Milanese agent started on their mission a fortnight ago, no news has been received of them, which is the cause of some anxiety, as the rumour in the enemy's camp is that the enemy has secured the services of the said Grisons.

George Fruntsperg is now with upwards of 4,000 men on the frontiers of the Baltelina (Valtellina). He writes in date of the 24th of July last, wondering how it was that the Emperor's generals did not advise him how and when he was to pass [into Italy]. The said Tamis was charged to give the order as soon as the Grisons had granted the passage. On the 3rd inst. the Duke sent a Spaniard of his own suite, called Pedro de Burgos, to inform the Archduke of the above arrangement, and beg he would at once send reinforcements by way of the Grisons, as the required permission had been obtained. Pedro de Burgos and a French gentleman whom the Duke sent on this mission had been arrested at Lugano, released, and again taken prisoners at Velinçona (Belinçon), and lastly directed on to Lucerna (Luzern), where the Switzers were at the time holding their diet. As an ambassador of the Archduke resides at this latter place, it is to be hoped that he has already procured their release, and a safe conduct to prosecute their journey.

(*Cipher:*) The Archduke's reinforcements are more wanted than ever. Our numbers are few, and we have upwards of 1,500 men on the sick list, though none die. The enemy has in front of us upwards of 20,000 infantry, Switzers and Valesians together, besides 1,000 Lutheran peasants (*villanos*) escaped from Germany. Against such numbers we cannot, unless reinforced, take the offensive.

(*Cipher:*) Geronimo de Espinal, Don Ugo's secretary, arrived here on the 21st inst. with the draft of agreement about to be made with the Duke of Ferrara. We all think here that the conditions, as stipulated between Don Ugo de Moncada and the Duke cannot be improved, and yet

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the Duke [of Bourbon] says that they so greatly touch his honour and reputation, he being reduced to the rank of lieutenant-general, that he cannot possibly accept them, unless he has express orders from His Imperial Majesty. He, therefore, has sent on the bearer of this despatch, to be followed in a couple of days by Espinal himself, who is charged to make certain representations in the Duke's name. He (the Abbot) begs His Imperial Majesty to consider that, such being the situation of affairs, nothing short of victory can extricate us from present difficulties, and that so important an auxiliary as the Duke of Ferrara cannot and must not be despised. At the earnest request and solicitation of the Marquis (del Guasto) and of Antonio de Leyva, M. de Bourbon has consented to write him a letter. We all wait for His Majesty's answer.

(*Common writing:*) Juanin [de Medicis] and another of the Pope's captains (Count Guido Rangone) have had words together, the Count having written to His Holiness that Juanin (Giovannino) was receiving more pay for his men than he was entitled to (*tomaba muchas pagas demasiadas*); upon which they have had such altercation together, that if they survive the present war they are sure to fight a duel. Nor is the Duke of Urbino much in harmony with the Pope's generals, for very often the Venetians want one thing and the Papal troops another.

The Duke Francesco Sforza is still at Crema. If what Esforcin (Sforzino), his near relative and best captain, said a week ago to the Duke of Bourbon, to the Marquis del Guasto and to Antonio de Leyva be true, the Duke [of Milan] has openly declared himself the friend and ally of the Pope and of the Venetians. The said Esforcin wishes to remain in the Emperor's good graces, that being perhaps the cause of his not accepting the mission which the Duke offered him some time ago to the French King, and yet he wants also to be on good terms with the Duke, his kinsman and natural lord. He holds a castle and estate called Pontremoli, a very strong and important pass on the frontiers of the Florentines and Genoese, which may be worth 1,000 ducats a year or thereabouts. For greater security the Duke of Bourbon, after consulting the Marquis [del Guasto] and Antonio de Leyva, has given the tenancy of the said castle to Count Synebaldo de Flisco,* who used to have it in old times. The Count resides at Genoa, and is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty; he possesses many vassals and lands bordering upon Pontremoli, and has therefore undertaken to reduce that castle with his own men and artillery, after which he may, if properly reinforced, be a thorn in the side of the Florentines.

* Thus in the original, but there can be no doubt that Senibaldo da Fiesco is meant, whose occupation of Pontremoli is mentioned by Guicciardini, lib. XVII.

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Prothonotary Carachiolo (Caracciolo) is still busily engaged in the examination of Juan Angelo Riccio, the Duke of Milan's secretary.

The Duke of Bourbon, after consulting the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and other captains zealous for the Imperial service, has restored to the emigrants (*foraxidos*) of this estate of Milan all the property in houses and lands which they possessed before their departure for France, and likewise conferred on them the same charges and posts they held in the French army.* This he has done for two different purposes; first, to bring these people over to the Imperial service and detach them from the bands (*conductas*) of the Marquis of Saluzzo; the second, to promote by means of the said emigrants certain plans devised by Antonio de Leyva, and of which more will be said hereafter.

The names of the said emigrants (*foraxidos*) and the number of their followers are: Count Lodovico Beljoyoso (Belgiojozo), Count Pietro, and Count Alberigo, all three brothers, with 30 men-at-arms each; Count Antonio de Gaui with 50 light horse; Cavalier Birago with 40 men-at-arms; Captain Juan Geronimo di Castion with 50 light horse; Marco Antonio Cusano with 50 do.; Pietro Botichela (Botticella), captain of 1,000 foot, besides all other emigrants (*foraxidos*) of this place serving in the said companies, all of whom, after the inspection and approval by the Duke, are to be reinstated in their houses and property.† Galeaço de Virago (Birago) with his sons, Cesare Birago (sic), Guarnero Guasco, Fioramonte di Castion, and Antonio de la Cruz (della Croce) are also to regain possession of their estates. The Duke of Bourbon has promised compensation to Vespasiano Colonna for Belgiojozo, and also to Lope de Soria, Imperial ambassador in Genoa, for Gavi, besides reimbursing him his expenses in taking that castle from a vassal of the Duke Francesco, and holding it ever since for the Imperial service. Nothing can be more just, since it was granted to Soria by the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, before the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon, on condition of his defending it against the enemy, as it commands a very important pass to the Genoese territory. The Doge and Community pretend to have a right to it, and say that it ought never be given to an enemy of the Emperor. It is probable that the Duke, not to discontent either of the two parties (the Count and the Doge), will keep the castle and estate of Gavi, until the suit be tried by law, or His Imperial Majesty decide in the case. In like manner the Duke talks of offering compensation to Captain Hieronymo Pechio, governor of Alessandria, who possesses a village

* "Y los ha admitido con las mismas conductas que tenian en Fráncia."

† "Y mas todos los foragidos deste Estado que fueren soldados en las dichas compañias, de quienes despues de vistos el Duque de Borbon se contentare, que sean restituidos à sus casas y bienes."

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called Occhiobianco, once belonging to Galeaço Virago (Birago). A similar indemnity to be given to all those who may be in possession of property once belonging to the said emigrants (*foraxidos*) of Milan.

Pedro Navarro and the Archbishop (Fregoso) have arrived at Savona with 16 galleys, two galleons, and four brigantines, but with no troops on board to effect a landing. Their object is to intimidate the Genoese and provoke a rising of the people. It is reported that they intend to take on board a portion of the forces under the Marquis of Saluzzo and Frederigo Bozano (Bozzolo). The Doge is sufficiently provided with men for the defence of his city. However, should the enemy's fleet take troops on board, orders have been sent to the Spanish and Italian infantry now before Valencia [di Po] to go to the assistance of that port, whenever summoned by the Doge or by Lope de Soria, in any numbers that may be required.

(*Cipher:*) Supposing the enemy's intention to be, by remaining encamped before this city, to stop our supplies, oblige us to raise our camp and go somewhere else, all their efforts will be in vain, for in spite of all their vigilance provisions come in daily.

The Duke of Bourbon and Antonio de Leyva are determined to content this army by distributing among the soldiers the whole of the 100,000 ducats lately remitted, and on the arrival of either of the reinforcements promised by the Emperor and Archduke to march out [of Milan] and take up positions wherever we may stop the enemy's supplies and oblige them to abandon their fortified camp. Should this not put them on the move, the generals intend sending to Piacenza 4,000 or 5,000 Italians of the said bands (*condutas*) belonging to the emigrants, as that city, being but scantily guarded, may easily be taken. Should the enemy, as is most probable, raise his camp, the rest of the Imperial army is to go in pursuit, meet them before they pass either the Adda or Po, and make them pay the cost of the provisions they have consumed whilst remaining in this district. Urgent orders ought to be issued for the fleet now fitting out [at Barcelona] to come as soon as possible, and for the Infante (Archduke) to hasten the promised succour.

(*Common writing:*) Received on the 19th inst. the Imperial letter dated the 21st of July last. Since his despatches of the 2nd and 9th of June, which he finds have reached their destination, he has written home twice; once on the 27th June by Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, who left this on a mission to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, at Chambery, and is still detained there for want of a safeconduct, and again on the 10th of July. Lope Hurtado, the bearer of the former, being unable to pass through France, entrusted his despatches to a gentleman of Count Gayaço's suite, who was

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taken prisoner in France. Of his letter of the 27th he (the Abbot) now sends a duplicate, but as the express who took that of the 10th July met on the road to Spain, and not far from Court, the courier who has since arrived with the Imperial letters of the 21st July, there is no occasion for a repetition of the same. The Pope and the Venetians keep such careful guard by land and sea on the frontier passes, that there is no safe road for letters from Rome or Venice, notwithstanding which he (the Abbot) purposes writing home and elsewhere as before.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 27th Aug. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

28 Aug. **524.** The Marquis del Guasto to Captain Joan Baptista Castaldo [y Gutierrez]*.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 228-31.

We have frequently written to the Archduke, who makes us all manner of promises, and yet the expected reinforcements do not arrive. We doubt not, however, that he will soon help us. Never could his assistance be so welcome as at the present moment, for certainly our position is very critical.

Our troubles and sufferings are such that I cannot describe them to you in a letter. Antonio de Leyva, though almost continually bedridden, owing to the bad state of his health, works as much as four of us.

But since you wish to know the true account of late events, and complain of not receiving letters from me, I will, as summarily as possible, inform you of all that has occurred since the beginning of this war. And first about Lodi. The town and castle were only victualled for three days, firstly because the movements of the Venetians had already begun, and secondly because the Pope's army compelled the peasants to fly with their valuables, and let their corn rot in the fields. Three companies of Spanish infantry who garrisoned the place, hearing that their comrades had been ordered to concentrate in Milan, would on no account stop there, and abandoned their posts, upon which nothing was left for Antonio de Leyva and myself to do but send thither the Italians, on the excuse of giving them employment, for 15

* Giovambatista Castaldo, a great friend of Pescara, and who, according to Bernardo Navagero, wore always on his breast the image in gold of that celebrated captain. It was he who was sent to Spain in 1525 to reveal to the Emperor the Milan conspiracy and the proposals made by Clement VII. He greatly distinguished himself in the campaign of Hungary against the Turks. His mother was a Castillan lady of the name of Gutierrez (perhaps the daughter of Gutierrez, the treasurer at Naples).

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or 20 days more, till a better expedient could be thought of. That traitor Ludovico Vistarini, who was in command of the Italians, and whom we had described in our letters to the Emperor as the head of certain treacherous intrigues at Lodi, played his cards so well by informing us of the sudden retreat of the Spaniards that we thoroughly trusted him, and sent him thither at the head of his Italians. The traitor was already in treaty with the Duke of Urbino to deliver the place to him. Accordingly, one night, as the said Lodovico Vistarini was on guard at one of the gates, and the Venetian army close by, he secretly sent for them, and upwards of 2,000 approached the walls and entered the city. Fabricio Marramaldo,* who commanded there, considering himself lost, fled to the castle with a few gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*) who followed him.

Hearing of this next morning, at the break of day, I rode to Lodi, followed only by a few Spaniards, as the remainder, not giving credit to the news and believing it to be a feint of ours to take them away from Milan, refused to accompany me. At Marignano I took up 200 men, with whom, added to my small force, I at once marched to the relief of Fabricio. I entered Lodi by the castle gate, before which the enemy had already erected bastions. This notwithstanding, I sallied out against them, followed them up the streets to the piazza or market-place of the city, and there fought with them, Herrera the warder (alcayde) being wounded by a hackbut shot through the lower jaw.† He is not dead, but will remain horribly mutilated for life. Fabricio Marramaldo received a sabre cut in the arm, and was, besides, shot in the shoulder. Had not the Duke of Urbino come up at this moment with the rest of his force, we should certainly have retaken possession of the city, for we had defeated the enemy and gone in pursuit of him as far as the gate of the bridge on the Adda. But on the Duke's arrival we were compelled to re-enter the castle. I would willingly have passed the night at Lodi, but hearing that the Venetian army was close upon us [at Milan], that the Pope's had already crossed the Pò, that Lodi itself could not be retaken without employing all our army in the siege and abandoning Milan, I resolved to quit Lodi that very night, leaving within the castle a Spanish captain with 20 men (*con veinte hombres*) to defend it for two or three days, until I should send him succour. The captain did his duty so well that when compelled to give up the castle he broke through the ranks of the besiegers, slew many of them, took two of their banners, and retreated [to Milan] without losing one man. In this manner Lodi was lost, as I wrote to you at the time by Donato de Targis

* Also called Marramao, and Maramus by Guicciardini.
† Felipe de Herrera.

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(Taxis?), and afterwards by Lope Hurtado, but perhaps both my letters were intercepted by the enemy.

The fears which you, Joan Baptista [Castaldo], seem to entertain about the fate of Carpi are groundless; for the two companies of Spanish infantry under Vargas and Luys de Viacampo (Villacampo?), besides your own of horse, are more than sufficient for the security of that town. I have letters from those commanders every day assuring me that they are in no want of provisions; that they have excellent artillery and plenty of ammunition, and that their men are in such high spirits that there is no fear whatever, and they will hold the place against the whole world. Your own brother, besides, is making daily incursions and doing much injury in the enemy's territory. I have just now sent him 150 horse as a reinforcement, so that you need not be anxious, for with God's permission everything will turn out well.

What you tell me about Commander Herrera having said that all the fortresses we hold in Italy had six months' provisions, and that we are now victualled for a whole year [at Milan], is not true, and I am astonished how a man who saw everything with his own eyes, and heard all the reports in Council, can publicly make such an assertion, knowing, as he ought to know, that not one of the fortresses has provisions for more than one month. I cannot help thinking that if Commander [Miguel de] Herrera has considered it necessary to make such a statement at court, he must, nevertheless, have told His Imperial Majesty the plain truth.

The enemy, as I wrote to you by Donato [Taxis], is still close upon us, encamped half a mile from this city. We go out almost every day to skirmish with him, trying to draw him out of his positions, stronger even than the Rocca of Milan itself. Meanwhile we are consuming whatever small provision there is in this city (*comiendo lo que no hay*). Our hearts are moved to compassion at the sufferings of these people, who, poor and distressed as they are, must necessarily find also the means of feeding our army. We only wait for the promised reinforcements to sally forth and attack the enemy. Should they fail, or tarry on the road, we are still determined, after distributing among the troops the money lately received from Genoa, not to let this opportunity of relieving the distress of the Milanese pass, but to attack the confederated army, wherever it may be. To that effect we are about to order the concentration here [at Milan] of the entire garrison of Pavia, of a portion of that of Alessandria, and of all the Italian infantry, about 3,000 strong, now besieging Valenza [di Pò], where Joan [Giovanni] Birago is actually shut up with his 1,500 men. I hope that by the time I write Valenza is taken, and that we shall be able to dispose of the besieging forces. However this may be, we intend to draw the enemy out to a spot where, through the superior discipline and courage of our men, and the weakness of the enemy,

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greatly reduced in numbers by the detachments sent to the siege of Cremona, we may gain as complete and decisive a victory as those of old times. Indeed we should already have accomplished this part of our military plan, had it not been that a considerable portion of our men are actually disabled by sickness. So great is their number that I could hardly believe it, had I not seen it with my own eyes. Very luckily the disease is not a dangerous one; very few die of it, and most have already returned to the trenches, whence we make daily sallies on the enemy, who, surrounded as he is by strong bastions and all manner of earth-works, may be fairly said to be besieged in his own camp, as nothing will induce him to come out of it.

Fifteen banners of Italian infantry, who went the other day to Cremona with competent artillery to help in the siege of that city, were almost completely destroyed by a sally of our garrison. Giulio Manfrone, Pietro di Longena, both captains of Venetian men-at-arms, Marco Correggio, captain of infantry, and several other officers of note were slain in the encounter, and had not the confederates retreated in haste they would all have perished to a man.

The other day, as 1,000 of the enemy were escorting a convoy of arms and ammunition on the road to Novara, Fabricio Marramaldo, who happened to be there with his Italians, and who had previously received information from me, fell suddenly upon the enemy ten miles from the above-named city, and routed them most completely with great loss in dead and prisoners, besides taking three banners from them.

There was at Sanct Angelo another force of the enemy, consisting of 1,000 Italians, besides two companies of men-at-arms. One night Count [Giovanni Battista] Lodrone, who is at Pavia, went out with 1,500 Germans, killed an immense (*infinitos*) number of them, and took many horses.

The Florentines, by the Pope's orders, had marched on Sienna with 4,000 men and a number of guns. On St. James' day the people of that city went out, routed them most completely, and took the whole of their artillery, at which the Pope is very much disgusted, and the confederates in general not a little disheartened. His Imperial Majesty, indeed, ought to be much obliged to this Republic of Sienna for its constant fidelity to and affection for the Imperial cause.

Genoa is in great danger. Count Pedro Navarro with the French fleet and that of the Pope and Venetians, is two miles from the port. The Doge has raised some infantry, and we have sent him two companies of Spaniards who were at Alessandria. We have also decided, with the Doge's consent, that a fleet should be armed within the port, for which purpose the Duke of Bourbon has lately consigned 10,000 ducats out of the sum that is to come from Spain. I hear that the fleet is being fitted out with all diligence. May God be pleased to preserve that city, the loss of which might be highly detrimental to the Emperor's interests in Italy!

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We have been lately negotiating with the Grisons, but as they are people of low nature (*gente bestial*), little reliance is to be placed on their promises. We wished for their friendship, more as regards the passage of the Germans through their territory, which they are expected to grant, than for any assistance they could give us. I cannot say what will be their decision.

I have written very often to the Collateral Council of Naples, and to all my friends and relatives in that kingdom, informing them at length of the state of things. I still continue to advise them of any new occurrence, though I have had no answer to my letters for upwards of one month. Perhaps they are intercepted by the enemy.

This very day the Secretary of Don Ugo de Moncada (Geronimo de Espinal) arrived in this city, with the draft of the treaty made with the Duke of Ferrara, and in truth, as far as I can judge, the Duke [of Bourbon] resents the whole thing as an injury done to his honour and reputation. Had Bourbon known at first what the Duke's intentions were, and been consulted in the matter, I think he might not have taken it so much to heart. As it is, he is very much hurt. I have entreated him to write a letter to the Duke of Ferrara, which he has done, expressing his approval of, and consent to, the treaty lately made with Don Ugo, whose secretary is now going to Court to procure its ratification by the Emperor. In my opinion this is a most important step, because until the answer [from Spain] comes, the Duke of Ferrara will entertaim hopes of his proposition being accepted, he will not join the confederates, and we shall profit by the delay. With regard to Carpi, as far as I am concerned, I imagine that the Duke [of Ferrara] will not confirm the aforesaid agreement, and openly declare for us until he gets a binding promise from me.* I have written to him to say that not only am I ready to give up that estate, but anything else His Imperial Majesty may want of me, for my life and property are both at his service. I send you a transcript of the letter I have written to the Duke [of Ferrara] on this particular, the substance of which this secretary of Don Ugo, now going to Court, is also charged by me to communicate verbally to His Majesty.

Respecting the Dukes of Bourbon and Ferrara I can only repeat what I have told you in my previous and longer letter, namely, that His Imperial Majesty must needs ponder this affair well, so as to put a stop to the dilatory proceedings (*dilaciones*) of one of the parties, and the annoyance (*enojos*) likely to result to the other. You must recollect how earnestly the Marquis of Pescara, my honoured master and

* One of the conditions stipulated by the Duke of Ferrara was that the county of Carpi, then possessed by Guasto, should be given over to one of his sons. *See* above, p. 848.

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uncle, and myself have endeavoured to gain such a friend as the Duke of Ferrara might prove to the Imperial cause, and God only knows what I have gone, and am still going, through to procure such an arrangement of this matter as may satisfy both parties.

The sea forces of the confederates have effected their junction, but as this news must be already known at Court, I will say no more about it, save that the enemy is likely to do everything in his power to prevent the Viceroy's fleet coming over to Italy.

People say that the Duke of Urbino is rather unwell, and has had words with the proveditor of the Venetians. The Duke Francesco [Maria Sforza] is still at Crema; he refused to live at Como whilst our troops were there, although they offered to obey his commands and do his pleasure.

French spears, they say, are coming down. From all parts the enemy's army receives reinforcements. Were we to have only one of those so often promised us, either from Spain or Germany, though in small number, I can assure you that we would make the most of it. But if they do not come soon, we have decided, in order not to waste our money, to advance against the enemy.

I have also been told that Juanin de Medicis and Count Guido [Rangone] are continually quarrelling with each other. Please God that with the speedy arrival of reinforcements we may at once put an end to their quarrels.

The above account, perhaps a little too long, of our doings here, I am pleased to send you, because I know how sorry you are not to be here with us. I am no less so that you are away at such times as these.—Milan, 28th of August 1526.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of letter from the Marquis del Guasto to Captain Joan Baptista Castaldo y Gutierrez, dat. Milan, 28th Aug. 1526."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 6¼.

30 Aug. **525.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 224–7.

Wrote on the 24th inst. in answer to the Imperial letters of the 21st and 29th July last, duly received on the 16th of August. The Duke of Bourbon has applied for the first third of the 100,000 ducats lately sent from Spain, saying that as soon as the money is sent, the Imperial army will quit Milan and meet the enemy. Intends to remit the money to-morrow, although the roads are by no means secure, owing to Juan Birago being still inside of Valenza, and the brother of the Marquis of Saluzzo with Federigo de Bozol (da Bozzolo), having taken up positions near Asti with some infantry and cavalry. He (Soria) has further heard that French men-at-arms had crossed the Alps to join the army of the League, and

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that some of them were already in Piedmont. Fabricio Marramaldo and some of the Guelphs, with about 600 Germans from Pavia, and some guns, had attacked Joan de Virago (Giovanni da Birago) at Valenza, but unable to take that fortress, had retreated to Basiñana (Bisignano). Thinks the troops now coming from France will join Birago at Valenza. The report is that Mons. de Guise will first undertake this city (Genoa), and then Naples.

Things at Milan are in the same state. The Duke of Urbino in bad health, and wishing to go to Brescia to recover. Cremona still besieged by 10,000 of the enemy with good artillery. They attacked it twice on the 27th inst., but were repulsed with considerable loss, especially among the captains and officers of the army, no one daring to approach the walls, with the exception of two companies (*banderas*) of Switzers, of whom very few escaped. Such was the spirit of the defenders that it may be safely asserted the enemy will never take the city by force. It is said that the camp of the confederates has been reinforced by 5,000 Switzers; that the whole army of the League amounts to 40,000 men receiving pay, and that the King of England has already contributed 80,000 ducats to the expenses of the war during the last two months.

The Duke of Sessa died on the 18th inst., as appears from the enclosed letter of Secretary Perez to him (Soria). He has named his mother-in-law [the Duchess of Terranova] to be the guardian of the one son and the daughters that he leaves behind.* Don Ugo is still at Marino with the Colonnese.

Encloses a letter from the Archbishop of Monreale† advising that 13 galleys of the Venetians had passed by the pharo of Messina. They had since arrived at Liorna (Leghorn), where they have been joined by 16 of the French. These last had captured in the gulph of Spezzia, and within the very port of Leriso, belonging to this office (*oficio*) of San Giorgio, nine ships coming from Sicily to this city laden principally with corn; among the rest one with biscuit, gunpowder, tallow and other articles for the Sicilian fleet of galleys. It was the fault of the governor of Leriso, who would not give the ships proper help, wishing no doubt to favour the enemy, as he happens to be a Fregoso, as are most others belonging to this office of San Giorgio. He (Soria) has, with the Doge's consent, told them his mind about it. Their answer was that they would have the governor of Leriso properly chastised for

* Not in the volume. The Duchess of Terranova mentioned in this passage was the widow of Gonzalo de Cordova, whose daughter, Elvira, the Duke had married. The Duke left one son (Gonzalo), who succeeded him in the estate, and two daughters.

† *See* No. 512, p. 834.

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his negligence; but the truth is that this office is very corrupt, and the fortresses and castles belonging to it are in bad hands. The Doge knows it all, but pretends that he cannot help it. Reform is indispensable in this particular, and must come from His Imperial Majesty.

Encloses copy of letter from Alonso Sanchez.

Our fleet here, being chiefly composed of caracks, could not give chase to the French galleys, by whom the above-mentioned ships laden with corn were at last captured. The caracks came back to this port, where they now are, with six more galleys. Some galleons are now being fitted out, with which and the above there will be, it is hoped, a respectable fleet.

A galleon of the King of Portugal has just arrived in port with a numerous and well-appointed crew, and mounting very fine artillery, owing to which circumstance, and to the want of a fleet to defend this city against the enemy, this Doge and Community, with his (Soria's) advice and consent, have decided to take her into their service, and offer the captain, whose name is Hernando Yañez, and crew, the usual stipend. The captain refuses this offer, and the Doge is determined to seize the ship by force. The King of Portugal should be written to not to take this proceeding in bad part.

Leonardo Grimaldo arrived this morning with the Imperial despatches. Has forwarded those for Venice and Milan. Intends to send those of Rome and Naples to Spain by the first opportunity. Has delivered to the Doge and Community the letters that came for them. All are very much gratified, and very thankful to hear that the Viceroy of Naples is coming here with his fleet, and that the Emperor is sending them 3,000 ducats for the expenses of the naval armaments to be equipped in this port. This has revived them, for the fleet of the Confederates, amounting to 37 galleys, is now seven leagues from this port, and, as may be supposed, the Genoese are rather alarmed at its presence in these waters. They have sent to the Duke of Bourbon for the 30 pieces of heavy artillery which His Imperial Majesty granted them by his last letter, and also for the bills of exchange for 30,000 ducats, out of which they intend to return the 10,000 which the Duke of Bourbon formerly advanced them. Should Don Ugo [de Moncada] come over with the Neapolitan galleys, our security here would then be complete, but it is to be feared that the death of the Duke [of Sessa] will be an impediment, or that the galleys will not dare to come, knowing the enemy's fleet to be in front of our harbour; although, if the galleys went to Corsica first, they could with a fair wind come here easily, and without danger. The same may be said respecting the four galleys now coming from Spain, and even the Viceroy's fleet; they might all come in safety as far as Monego, Corsica, or Sardinia, meet there, and decide upon the best point at which to attack the enemy.

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Has written to the Duke [of Bourbon] at Milan for the 30 pieces of artillery. Leonardo Grimaldo is to take the letter.

Whilst writing the above [Geronimo] Espinal, present bearer, arrived from Milan on his way to Spain. From him the Emperor will learn the news of that city as well as of this locality. The 16 galleys of France passed this morning in front of the port bound for Savona. Those of the Pope and Venetians are on the other side, at Portofino, about seven leagues off, so that the intention of the enemy is evidently to blockade this port from east to west, so as to prevent any supplies coming in. May the Viceroy arrive soon with the fleet!

Last night a boat (*barca*) was captured, in which were letters from the King of France to Count Pedro Navarro, the substance of which is that he is to do his utmost to get possession of this city, or to prevent the Viceroy from landing in Italy. The Doge is about to send copies of the letters.—Genoa, 30th August 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 30th August. Duplicate."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7½.

31 Aug. **526.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 232–3.

Sends triplicate of his letter of the 26th, the duplicate of which went by Don Ugo de Moncada. Courtiers at Rome are daily expecting the news of the fall of Cremona, whither they have lately sent reinforcements in men and artillery. Hopes, however, that their expectations will turn out vain, for the Cremonese, he hears, are making a stout defence, and have turned out of the city all useless and suspected persons, to the great disappointment of the besiegers.

No news from Milan; if any, His Imperial Majesty must already have had it by way of Genoa.

The Papal and Venetian galleys left Civitta Vecchia on the 24th inst., bound for Genoa. They were to take troops on board at Pisa. The infantry the Pope had here has been dismissed; most went of their own accord to join the camps (*campos*) about Milan; only 500 men remain, whom His Holiness wishes to retain near his person.

A courier has arrived from Genoa, bringing letters which another courier from Spain handed over to him; the dates are Granada, 29th July, and Barcelona, 7th of August. All announce the immediate embarkation at Cartagena of the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] with 7,000 men, counting the

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Germans [of the Rousillon], a piece of intelligence which has caused no small uneasiness and fear among these people.

(*Cipher:*) His Imperial Majesty may be sure that if the Viceroy really comes here with such forces he will have his own way wherever he goes, for the Pope fears him greatly, believing that independently of the harm he may do him in execution of the Emperor's commands, he will try to inflict on him all possible injury on his own account, as he considers him his own personal enemy. That is the reason why the Pope fears him more than one can imagine.

(*Common writing:*) The news is that the Pope's legate (Cardinal Salviatis) is still at Valencia, and that afterwards he is to be appointed to France. Some go as far as to say that he has already been appointed to that post.

Don Ugo is at Subiaco with Cardinal Colonna, waiting for orders from Court; the troops are on the frontiers of Naples.

The last courier who came from Genoa brought news that a gentleman of the Emperor's bedchamber had landed there from Spain, bringing despatches and bills of exchange for the Archduke (Ferdinand), which intelligence, as may be supposed, has not been much to the taste of the Emperor's enemies. Up to the present we have no certain news of the German lansquenets having come down, though we hear from different quarters that they are already in Italy. On the other hand the enemy has publicly announced the immediate arrival at their camp of a considerable number of Switzers and of French men-at-arms, as well as the presence of 16 of their galleys at Genoa. Of this last fact there can be no doubt, as His Imperial Majesty must already have been informed, it being worthy of remark that since the presence of his fleet in these seas the King of France has completely thrown off the mask and declared against the Emperor, whereas heretofore he has sought to conceal his movements, though his real intentions were known to us all.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope appears to be in great want of money. Not only has he obliged his familiars to give him the net produce of their ecclesiastical benefices, but he has distributed several among them, to be sold immediately to other parties, and for him to touch the amount. He has borrowed from them all the money he could, and asked 20,000 ducats from the Chapter of Saint Peter, who, in order not to lose the whole, have already given him 5,000. The friars of Saint Paul have presented him with 10,000, besides which he has taken from them considerable landed property, which is to be sold. In this manner it is believed that if this war lasts he will go on little by little alienating the patrimony of the Church until nothing is left, and that he will put up for sale the whole of the ecclesiastical benefices, as he has recently done with the deanery of Cordova, lately vacated at Genoa.

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(*Common writing:*) Up to the present no one has gone from Sienna to negotiate with Don Ugo de Moncada, as agreed. The citizens mistrust the Pope, though they hold a brief from him promising security to their persons, free passage through his dominions, &c. Meanwhile the exiles (*foraxidos*) continue their ravages, doing all the injury they can to the subjects of that Signory, especially in the towns and villages of the coast. It is even reported that all the corn they can find in the villages and farmhouses (*cipher*) is by the command of the Pope handed over to the Florentines, to keep them in good humour, so that they may accommodate him with more money. The Florentines grumble and declare that they have no money left, and that they spent upwards of 200,000 ducats in the last unprofitable attempt on Sienna. This notwithstanding, there is a rumour that both infantry and cavalry are being enlisted at Florence for a second attack on that Signory.

(*Common writing:*) According to advices from Lombardy of the 26th inst., there is great dissension in the camp of the Pope and of the Venetians before Milan. The lieutenant-general of the Pope's army, Il Guicciardino, has sent in a protest to this effect, that unless the Duke of Urbino changes his plan of campaign he will not co-operate with the Papal forces, as he does not wish to spend more money. The Duke and the Venetians, on the other hand, pretend that the Pope's troops have not done, and are not doing, their duty.

The Cremonese do wonders in the defence of their city, and it is a very good sign that up to the 26th inst. the enemy, with all their boasting and fanfaronades, had achieved nothing. On the 23rd they had established their batteries and begun the attack with 12 large guns, besides other artillery.

(*Cipher:*) The Duke of Ferrara is still favourably disposed and sends us news from time to time. It was he who forwarded the said advices from Cremona of the 26th ult°.

(*Common writing:*) The news from Palermo is that on the 19th inst. eight ships left for Genoa, laden with corn. God grant that they reached their destination in time, uncaptured by the enemy! He (Perez) has heard that two vessels with a cargo of corn had lately been taken by the French, but hopes they are no part of the same.

Whilst writing the above, news has come from Genoa stating that the above eight ships had been signalled on the coast, and that the galleys of France were trying to prevent their entering that port, and to capture them if possible.

(*Cipher:*) Firmly believes that if the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) comes in force the Pope will not dare to remain at Rome, being, as he is, very much disliked by the people, not only on account of what he has already done, but of what he is likely to do if the war goes on, for they all think he will prove

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a greater destroyer of the Church than Pope Leo [the Tenth] himself.—Rome, the last day of August 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty." (*Triplicata ultimi Augusti.*)

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Secretary Perez. From Rome, last of August."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

1 Sept. **527.** ANTONIOTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 247.

Thanks the Emperor for the provision made for the defence of Genoa. Has charged his ambassador at the Imperial court to express his sentiments of gratitude and to ask for the captaincy of men-at-arms vacant by the death of the Duke of Seiessa (Sessa).—Genoa, 1st Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Antoniotto Adorno."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From the Doge of Genoa, 1st of September. Received at Granada."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

2 Sept. **528.** The EMPEROR'S answer to DR. EDWARD LEE, English resident Ambassador in Spain.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 6.

To the representations made by Dr. Lee in his master's name the following answer is made by the Emperor's commands:—

1stly. His Imperial Majesty has heard and fully values the good, honourable and very cordial representations and advice of the King of England, which emanating, as they clearly do, from the true love and perfect understanding always existing between the Emperor and the said King, his uncle, they cannot fail to meet with reciprocal sentiments on his part. The Emperor doubts not that the King's intentions and purposes have no other aim than the welfare and tranquillity of the Christian community at large, the repulse of the Turk, the constant enemy of our faith, and the extirpation of the Lutheran sect—all of which aspirations are well worthy of one who, like our most beloved uncle, bears the title of "Defender of the Faith." Nor is the Emperor himself less inclined than the King of England to uphold and maintain the Christian religion, a task imposed upon him by God Almighty, and for which he has from his most tender age shown a natural inclination, as appears from all the treaties concluded since the beginning of his reign.

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For the execution of the above purpose and holy enterprise, therefore, the Emperor is willing to give all the assistance in his power, employing therein all his forces and kingdoms, his own person and life, and whatever else God has given him. No private interest of any kind shall ever deter him from the path which he is in duty bound to follow; all his efforts shall be directed towards ensuring the peace and true union of the Christian world, as the King of England very properly and benevolently advises.

With regard to other representations of the said English ambassador on matters concerning the most Christian King of France and the affairs of Italy, the Emperor's answer is as follows: It is publicly admitted that the present Italian league has been concluded for no other purpose than to secure peace to the Christian world, and also that an honourable place has been reserved for him (the Emperor), provided he will agree to its conditions. The King of England, moreover, has been appointed protector of the said Italian league, but has not yet accepted the appointment, that he may more freely and effectually employ himself in the settlement of the questions now pending between the Emperor, the King of France and the Italian powers. The Emperor thanks the King of England for his intervention, and will be very much obliged if he will persevere in his good purpose, so as to bring about the said general peace. But since it would appear from the representations made by the English ambassador in this our court that the King, his master, has been strangely misinformed respecting the intentions of the French King and Italian Confederates, the Emperor takes this opportunity to forward copies of the excuses which the said King alleged at the time for not complying with the treaty [of Madrid], as well as of the new offers since made to the Viceroy of Naples, and the Emperor's answer to them, the Apostolic brief explaining the motives for the Pope's joining the League, the replies and justifications sent thereupon, &c., whereby the King of England, our uncle, will be convinced that the French and Italian question bear a very different aspect (*à rebours*) from that which has been represented to him.

As to the assertion of the Confederates that an honourable place in the League has been reserved for the Emperor if he will only subscribe to its conditions, it is quite plain that the whole thing is a pretence (*une monstre sans effect*) and mere empty words; for even supposing the stipulations to be such as the King of England represents, it is evident that the Confederates never intended him (the Emperor) to join the League. When the Papal nuncio (Castiglione) and the ambassadors of France and Venice (Jean de Calvimont and Navagero) called to know whether he (the Emperor) would or would not accept the terms of the League, they were naturally requested to produce their respective powers to that effect, when they plainly confessed they had none. Had the am-

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bassadors been sufficiently empowered to treat, had they shown the draft of the treaty drawn up in due form, the Emperor, however little disposed to accept terms from his enemies, might have joined the said confederation, made, as it is said, for the sole and exclusive purpose of a general peace. With a few and unimportant changes to be introduced in the said draft, the Emperor might easily have given his full approbation, and worked in common with the King, one of the contracting parties and protector of the said league, so as to bring about a general and lasting peace.

With regard to the exhortations and requests which the King of England has addressed to the Emperor on the subject of a new treaty to be made with France, and likewise of the payment of certain sums owing to him, the Emperor cannot but repeat here what he has already said to the French ambassador (Calvimont), namely, that so ardent is his wish for universal peace, for the repulse of the infidel Turk, and the extirpation of heresy, that in order to attain those objects he is willing to open negotiations for a new treaty and again discuss the settlement of their private affairs (*ses afferes particulieres*), provided the King of France sends also his full powers to that effect. Respecting his own debts to the King, the Emperor proposes that out of the sum to be paid by France on the ratification of the Madrid convention, or of any other treaty that may be concluded hereafter, the total amount of money owing to the King of England shall be at once deducted and handed over to him.

With respect to His Imperial Crown, the Emperor has so little ambition that he would not for the sake of it keep so large an army as he does at present [in Italy], or attempt anything likely to disturb the peace of Christendom. But at the same time his honour and reputation forbid his accepting the said Imperial Crown from the hands of a legate, or any other personage deputed to that effect, as it would be inconsistent with his dignity to receive it from any but the Pope himself, as his predecessors in the Empire have been in the habit of doing. Neither can the said coronation, on the grounds which lead the Emperor to wish for it, be intended to increase his authority or his rights to the Empire; and in fact were it not for the benefits likely to result to Christianity, and for the destruction of Turks and all sorts of infidels, lutherans and other heretics, which is to be the result of that coronation, the Emperor would not for that sole and exclusive act undertake a journey to Italy.

To the King's remarks on the blessings of peace, and the calamities and dangers attending war, the Emperor has nothing to add; both are so notorious as to require no commentary; and since the Emperor is now doing all he can to attain that desirable object by concluding general or particular treaties with all his enemies, there is no ground for the protest made by the King, his brother, when he declares that if his efforts

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prove unavailing it will be difficult for him to reject the pressing solicitations of the confederated powers, and refuse the title and office of Protector of the League, which has been offered to him. There is no occasion, We repeat, to make such protests, the Emperor being quite ready and disposed to act according to the King's wishes in this particular. Nor was there any need either for the King, our brother, to make his excuses, and pledge his word that though named in the treaty of League, as publicly announced and proclaimed, he has not actually joined the Confederates; the Emperor attaches more faith to the words of his brother of England than to any proclamations made in France or Italy.

On this and other points Don Iñigo is particularly instructed to offer the Emperor's most sincere thanks to the King of England.

Lastly, with regard to abstinence from war the King will see by the enclosed duplicate of answer to the Pope that the Emperor is quite ready to lay down his arms, provided the confederated powers do the same, and, therefore, that he can in no way be considered an obstacle to peace.—Faict à Grenade au Conseil del' Empereur ce 2me jour de Septembre de 1526.

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

2 Sept. **529.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 227.

Yesterday, the first of September, the enemy's fleet approached nearer and bombarded this port and town. We returned their fire. Their object was no doubt to create a disturbance among the people and induce the Fregoso faction to rise, but the Doge and his friends are on the alert.

Our naval forces consist of six galleys only; but as five more caracks and six galleons are ready, waiting only the artillery that is to come from Pavia, there is reason to expect that, by the time the Viceroy arrives, there will be a sufficient force in this port to put out to sea and meet him.

Has heard that the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) has made an agreement with the Pope. Cannot vouch for the truth of the report, but is rather inclined to believe in it.

To-day, the 2nd of September, the whole of the enemy's fleet, amounting to 37 galleys, is again in front of this port. Advices have come from Piedmont of the arrival there of the French forces, mustering 800 lances and 10,000 foot between Gascons, Piedmontese and Frenchmen. The Commander-in-Chief to be the Marquis of Saluzzo, whose brother is to take possession of Asti—not a difficult undertaking, considering that the place has no defences at all, and no garrison. Most probably the enemy intend to attack this city by land and sea at once.

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Count Pedro Navarro is the Grand Admiral (*Almirallo*) of the fleet.—Genoa, 2nd Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria. Genova, 2nd Sept."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

2 Sept. **530.** The SAME to the SAME.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 249.

The coming of the German reinforcements is for the present in abeyance (*se ha resfriado*), although all letters from Milan during the last month reported them in the Valtellina, ready to cross the passes with the consent of the Grisons. Now they write that the Grisons have gone over to the League, and intend to defend the passes against the Germans. If so, the Genoese will certainly lose courage, for having in sight of their port the whole of the confederated fleet to stop all supplies, and not having a sufficient naval force to drive off the enemy, they are beginning to despair. The only thing that keeps them up is the hope of the Viceroy's fleet coming soon to these waters. Should this hope also fail them they will at once begin to treat with the Confederates.

The Doge is now sending a light frigate to Barcelona to ascertain the truth of the Viceroy's movements, and whether he is soon coming this way or not. In his (Soria's) opinion this is the only hope of salvation for Genoa, surrounded as it is on every side by the forces of the enemy; for on the Viceroy's arrival our galleys may go out to meet those of the enemy, and defeat them at sea, or within the ports where they may take refuge, which will prove a decisive blow in the present campaign.

Count Guido Rangone has sent one of his secretaries to this Doge, assuring him of his friendship, and advising him very strongly to join the Italian league against the Emperor, whose cause, he says, is entirely lost in Italy. He, moreover, exhorts him to save himself whilst there is a chance, and makes him all manner of offers. The Doge has made a suitable answer to the Count's secretary, and of course rejected his offers.—Genoa, 2nd Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

* Duplicate of the same letter, containing some paragraphs more.

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3 Sept. **531.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 255.

Thinking that the messenger would leave yesterday, he closed his letter of the 2nd. Has heard since that on the same day the enemy's galleys captured a brigantine coming from Naples with several despatches for him (Soria), mostly written in cipher. Fancies that some were from Don Ugo de Moncada. The master of the brigantine reports that the Neapolitan galleys are already in the Piombino channel, which appears very probable from the fact of Andrea Doria having this very morning set sail in that direction with his eight galleys and three more of the Venetians.

The enemy has likewise announced that Don Ugo and the Colonnese had agreed with the Pope for a cessation of hostilities in that quarter, owing to his (Don Ugo) being unable to maintain his small army. The Pope had accordingly dismissed his forces, keeping only 500 men of his own body guard. Lastly, Don Ugo was suffering from illness.

This news of the truce has somewhat terrified the people of this city, who fancy the Pope will now be able to employ his forces wherever he sees fit. Intelligence has just been received of considerable armaments being got ready at Asti, and of certain men-at-arms and infantry about to be sent against Saona (Savona), whence, after joining those now upon Cremona, they are to undertake the siege of this city.

(*Cipher:*) Indeed the Genoese are so terrified at this and other movements of the enemy, that he (Soria) is very much afraid of disturbances; for if the enemy approaches Genoa by land, provisions coming into the city are sure to be stopped. —Genoa, 3rd of September 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Lope de Soria From Genoa, the 3rd of September. Received at Granada."

Spanish. Original. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

5 Sept. **532.** The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF SESSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Muñoz*, A. 83, ff. 311–3.

The King. Illustrious Duke, our cousin, &c. After writing to you on the 21st of August last, your letter of the 26th of June, written conjointly with Don Ugo de Moncada, came to hand. We fully approve of everything you and Don Ugo said to the Pope on the occasion, and of the measures you took subsequently.

Since our propositions for the establishment of a general and permanent peace have thus been rejected, it becomes imperative for us to adopt such measures as may effectually protect our Imperial interests. Thus after placing our cause in the hands of God, who knows our righteous in-

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tentions, we have written to Don Hugo commanding him to use every possible endeavour to bring the Duke of Ferrara to terms, and make such arrangements with him as may secure his co-operation [against the Pope].

Provision is being made for a fleet to take on board our Viceroy of Naples with the German troops now quartered in the Roussillon, besides 3,000 picked Spanish infantry. The whole of these forces to be ready to embark at Cartagena on the 20th inst., and to sail for whichever point of the Italian coast is most in need of them, so as to reinforce the Imperial army in Lombardy, assist Genoa, Sienna, or whatever city is most threatened by the enemy. Orders have also been sent to Naples for the galleys [of that kingdom] to return to Genoa as soon as possible, well provided with every necessary, such as money for the pay of the crews and provisions for three months. The galleys of Castille, similarly provided and victualled, are to join those of Sicily and Genoa at the latter port, where a second fleet of caracks and galleons is to be fitted out, so that all these forces united may be superior in number to any the enemy may have in those seas. Money has likewise been procured; we now send bills of exchange to the amount of 30,000 ducats, which, added to the sums offered by the Doge and Community of Genoa to Lope de Soria, will be sufficient to carry on the war for some time. Don Ugo, moreover, has been ordered to go to Genoa, either in the galleys of Naples, or as he best can, to take the command of the whole fleet there, and fall suddenly upon Andrea Doria, who is reported to be on the coast of Sienna, and prevent his joining the French or Venetians. As the fleet that is to collect at Genoa will be very superior in force to that of the enemy, Don Ugo has been instructed to strike a decisive blow at once, not forgetting at the same time to defend that city (Genoa) against invasion. We hope that the above military preparations will be sufficient to maintain things in their present state, and give time for the arrival of the Viceroy's fleet, as well as for the reinforcements of troops which the Archduke, our brother, has been instructed to raise for Lombardy.

We think that your presence in Rome or its immediate neighbourhood is now more wanted than ever, if the Colonnese are to be kept in order, and Sienna protected from the enemy; for should that Community be disturbed and induced to side with the Pope it might prove a serious check to our arms. You must, therefore, make every possible effort to protect Sienna and prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; since the Pope will be weakened by it, and it is not likely that, having the Siennese at his back, he can make any serious attempt upon Lombardy, or send thither the whole of his forces. There is still another potent reason for your remaining in the vicinity of Rome. The Pope might, seeing things did not turn out to his advantage, be inclined to

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change colours, in which case it is important that you should be near at hand to treat with him, as likewise to inform us or the Duke of Bourbon of any change you might observe in the Pope's sentiments. The present letter is sent by duplicate and through various routes for fear of miscarriage.—Granada, September 1526.*

Spanish. Original corrected draft. pp. 4.

7 Sept. **533.** THOMAS SANCHEZ DE BAEÇA, Governor of Cremona, to the MARQUIS DEL GUASTO and ANTONIO DE LEYVA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 261.

Last night, perceiving that the enemy was approaching us with trenches, two redoubts (*cavalieri*), and other works, we decided to make a night attack (*encamisada*). Accordingly, having with about 600 men, Spaniards and Germans, advanced as far as their trenches, in the direction of Piciguitone (Pizzighitone), we suddenly came upon three companies of the Duke of Urbino, whom we completely routed, killing their three captains and capturing two of their banners. The rest fled in the direction of the castle, the postern (*blanqueta*) of which happened to be open. Had the drawbridge been equally so, we should all have got in after them.

Near the bastion looking towards the Pò the enemy had dug another trench, guarded by two companies of Switzers, who, had our men obeyed orders, would have been put to the sword like the rest.

To-day, at noon, we sent 100 cavalry and 300 infantry by the gates Ogni Santi and Sant Michele, and numerous prisoners have been brought in. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 200 men at least, besides the three above-mentioned captains, and upwards of 50 peasants they had engaged as pioneers. They had four guns with them, and expect to receive 16 more soon. I cannot imagine what they mean by having so much artillery, unless they want to frighten us with the noise.

Our loss last night was two Germans and one Spaniard. The prisoners say that the Duke of Urbino, their general, swears he will take Cremona. We are all determined not to let him have it. Nevertheless, we beg you to think about us, and send us reinforcements as soon as possible.

Many of the fugitives threw themselves into the moats of the castle, and tried to approach the gates, saying *aprite per amor di Dio!* The warder used formerly to keep the

* The date of this minute was not filled, but from the place it occupies in the volume of the Muñoz Collection, chiefly composed of original drafts and minutes in the handwriting of one of the Emperor's secretaries, with occasional notes and corrections by Chancellor Gattinara, there can be no doubt that it must have been written between the 1st and 3rd of September. The Duke of Sessa died on the 18th of August, and therefore the news of his death had not yet reached Spain.

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gate half open, but lately, owing to our continual camisadoes, keeps it close shut, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that he was able to admit the fugitives inside. Some nights ago, as some of our men were as usual in pursuit of the enemy, two Spaniards passed the drawbridge, and believing they were followed by their comrades, penetrated into the castle, crying España! España! when being recognised they were taken prisoners.—Cremona, 7th of September, on the eve of our Lady's day, 1526.

Signed: "Thomas Sanchez de Baeza."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from Captain Baeça."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

8 Sept. **534.** The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224. No. 6.

De par l'Empereur. Cher et feal etc[a]. By Dr. Lee, the ambassador of the King of England, our good brother and uncle, We have received his gracious letter to us, as well as the copy of those he wrote to the said ambassador, charging him to communicate certain matters; the substance of which, as well as the answer made by us to the English ambassador, We here subjoin,* that you may confirm every one of the arguments and assertions therein contained in the manner most fitting, but without giving offence of any kind.

Respecting the representations which the said ambassador has made to us in writing, you will tell the King that We thank him for his opinion and good advice, and that he will always find us firmly attached to the good understanding and alliance existing of old between the houses of Spain and Burgundy and that of England; that besides the ancient and deeply-rooted friendship and consanguinity which unite both our royal families, We feel towards him great affection on account of the many services he has done us, and his kind reception when We last visited him,† assuring him that the kindness with which he treated us, whilst at his court, his hospitable and splendid entertainment, and the timely succour‡ he gave us to return to our Spanish dominions shall never be forgotten by us as long as We live, and that our only wish is to have an opportunity of doing the same towards him.

You will tell him that, as contained in our answer to his ambassador, We have not the least doubt but that he has been misinformed respecting our late dealings with the Pope,

* See above, No. 528.

† In May 1522.

‡ Various receipts for sums lent by Henry VIII. to the Emperor as early as 1517, for his voyage to Spain, are printed in Bergenroth's Calendar, Vol. II. pp. 287–9.

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with the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), and with the rest of the Italian Princes; that persevering, as We do, in our habit of openly declaring to him our most secret thoughts and deeds, and in order that he may fully estimate our exertions for the peace and quietness of the Christian world, as well as the ungrateful behaviour of some of our late allies, We now send for his perusal authentic copies of every paper that has passed between us and the King of France, as well as those drawn up in vindication of our conduct with the Pope. You will request and solicit the King, our good brother and uncle, and our excellent friend the Legate to peruse the said papers attentively, that both may see who is in the wrong in this business, and who is the cause of the troubles and wars now disturbing the Christian world. A marvellous and strange coincidence, indeed, that just at the time when the Turk, the sworn enemy of our faith, is preparing to invade our kingdom of Hungary, the principal and most advanced bulwark of Christendom on that side; when We and our beloved brother, the Archduke, are making every preparation to resist the said invasion, and crush the growing sect of the Lutherans, We should be obliged to desist from our good intentions and deeds, protect ourselves, and provide for our defence! For the blood of the Christians being thus stirred, and their passions excited, it will doubtless give the said Turks and Lutherans a fine opportunity to sap the foundations of our Christian religion, so cruelly persecuted, not only by its natural enemies, but by those who are most bound to protect it, and who, if not inclined to co-operate in its defence, ought not, at least, to impede our good designs. God knows the good offices and large offers made by us to our Holy Father, the Pope, and how willing We are to grant him more than he demands or even than is just or reasonable, in order to ensure the said universal peace, and enable us to turn our arms against the enemies of our faith, make war on the Turk, and extirpate the Lutheran sect, in which undertaking We hope the King of England, our old friend, good brother and uncle, will assist, so that with the help of God, who knows the sincerity of our professions, the goodness of our cause, and the malignity of our adversaries, their wicked plans may be utterly defeated.

True it is, as you will be able to judge from our answer to Dr. Lee—a copy of which is here enclosed—that we were earnestly requested by the ambassadors of the Pope and of Venice, then residing at this our court,* to join the league formed by their respective masters; but it is no less true that We rejected their offers, since the said confederacy having been made against our own interests and against the peace of Christianity, it was not to be expected that We should join it to our discredit and detriment, without first knowing

* Baldassar Castiglione and Andrea Navagero.

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the terms and conditions thereof, and ascertaining how far it was profitable to our interests or otherwise. The said ambassadors at once acknowledged the justness of our observations, but not having by them a copy of the articles, nor received instructions thereupon, they could not answer our objection, though We repeated the assurance of our constant wish for general peace, and promised that if such objectionable articles as might be contained in the said treaty should be replaced by others more reasonable, We would gladly join the League, as it might be easily converted into a good and lasting peace. Such being the case, people would find us as reasonable and accommodating on that score as our words and deeds have hitherto manifested. Upon which the said ambassadors of the Pope and the Venetians replied that they could answer for their master's reciprocity in the matter, and promised to write home for full powers to treat, to which We consented. We hope, however, that on the arrival of the said powers our wish for peace shall be made known, and that the dissensions of the Christian Princes being put an end to, We shall be enabled to turn our arms against the Infidels, for God's better service and the exaltation of our Catholic faith.

By the above declaration the said King, our good brother, will perceive our desire for universal peace. It will, indeed, be no fault of ours if it is not concluded. And whereas in the said letters the King advises us to look to the said peace, you will tell him that We thank him greatly for his good and prudent advice, which We know emanates from the great love and affection he bears us, and his desire of the advancement and prosperity of our affairs. You will also tell him that We concur in his advice, acknowledge its sincerity, and intend to follow it, begging him to persevere in his good intentions as hitherto. You will tell him likewise that We shall have great and singular pleasure if he will apply himself to the advancement of the said peace, as stated in his letter, and have regard to the ancient good understanding, and the sincere and deeply-rooted alliance existing between us.

That the said King of England, our brother, may be the more convinced of our ardent wish for peace, particularly with the King of France, you will remind him how the latter in compliance with the treaty of Madrid, and before returning to his kingdom, left with us as hostages his two eldest sons, viz., the Daulphin, Duke of Bretagne, and the Duke of Orleans; that he gave us, besides, his faith and word of honour, as a King and as a gentleman, that in case of his being unable to fulfil within the appointed time all the conditions of the said treaty he would come back to us and again constitute himself a prisoner in our hands, as he himself has often promised to do since his return, and could, if he chose, have done at any time. With regard to the keeping of his faith and word, a thing solely dependent on his own free will, he ought to follow the

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example of his predecessors, and especially of King Jean [Sans Terre], and yet this present King of France, not contented with having made and sworn such a damnable league against us and against the treaty of alliance and friendship so lately concluded between us two, has required and summoned us through his ambassador residing at this our court to give back to him the said hostages, his sons, for a consideration in money to be paid at certain intervals; just as if we had been bound to do this by treaty, when it is well known that the contrary is the case, and that himself failing in the execution of any of its clauses, he is obliged to constitute his person a prisoner in our hands, in which case, but not otherwise, We should return the said children to him. Such being the case, and the time and conditions of the delivery being clearly stated, We can hardly believe that the King will break his most solemn promise and word of honour in this respect.

You will likewise inform the King, our brother, that when our Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) joined the King in France, both the King and his mother the Queen Regent made him very substantial offers by deed of hand, and charged him to communicate the same to us, if We would consent to give up the children of France. Their own ambassador has since required us, as before stated, to accede to the said demand, offering the most ample concessions in his master's name, if We would only consent to a private and separate peace with him. Our answer to the said ambassador has been in substance, that he could easily perceive our desire for peace, to ensure which, We felt disposed to listen to any honest and reasonable overtures. You are, therefore, to tell the King in our name that it will be no fault of ours if the said peace is not firmly established in Christendom; and that with his help and assistance, and that which Monseigneur the Legate cannot fail to give, We have no doubt that our object will be attained. Should the King and Legate feel disposed to co-operate with us in the aforesaid object, as we have no doubt they will, you will take care to inform us thereof as soon as possible, and beg them in the meantime to continue in their good purpose, and contrive that the above-mentioned league between the Italian powers be forthwith converted into a general peace for the good of Christianity at large, since besides that the ends and purposes for which the said league was avowedly concluded are unjust and unreasonable they are no longer required. For, as regards Milan, it is notorious that the Duke Francesco by the capitulation (*appointement*) which he made for the surrender of his castle, submitted his person to the ways of justice; and We intend to have it administered to him in a proper and summary manner, that he may be at once either acquitted of the charges brought against him, or else convicted of his guilt. We have already announced this to the Pope, as it would not do for us to proceed in this case by force of arms, nor would it be right or reasonable to prevent us from doing justice

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on our vassal, and punishing him according to his deserts. Neither can We imagine that the King, our brother, or any other Prince in Christendom, would tolerate such interference in their affairs as would prevent them from administering justice to their vassals and subjects; and, therefore, We earnestly request him to persevere in his good purpose of thwarting and impeding the said Italian league, or else of having it converted into a universal peace between Christians.

We have been informed that the Duke Francesco Sforza has granted the Legate certain pensions on his estate at Milan, till he should be able to give him an equivalent in lands. You will tell him in our name that even in the event of the Duke Francesco being deprived of his duchy, and thereby prevented from fulfilling his engagement, he (the Legate) shall be no loser by it. We shall take care that Monsieur de Bourbon, to whom the said duchy of Milan is to be adjudicated, in compensation for his marriage [to our sister], which was promised, but not effected, pays not only the arrears of the said pension on his estate, but an increase of the same. You may likewise inform the Legate that if he succeeds in preserving the true union, friendship and good understanding between the said King, our uncle, and ourselves, and will undertake the general care of our affairs, as he has done at other times, and we hope will do again, not only shall We cause all arrears of his [Spanish] pensions to be paid to him, but shall make such arragements in future that they may never be wanting when due, and shall moreover augment them by 6,000 ducats every year, consigned upon our best and surest rentals in Spain. After carefully examining the answer which, in explanation of our conduct and in vindication of the charges contained in his brief, We have addressed to the Pope, and of which We enclose you a copy, the Legate will perhaps be pleased to let us know his opinion and advice in this matter. We also send you a letter for Madame, our aunt, which you will take care to forward, as well as all other papers and the copy of this our letter to you, that she may the better manage our affairs in Flanders. And as it is our intention to send the duplicate of this by a sea route, the same courier destined for that voyage may bring back your answer, together with a detailed account of your progress in the negotiation; but before despatching the courier you will inform Madame, that she may have time to write to us and tell us of the state of our affairs in Flanders, as she used to do during the last war.—Granada, 8th September 1526.

French. Original draft. pp. 11.

8 Sept. **535.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 262.

(*Cipher :*) Wrote on the 20th of August last by way of the Imperial ambassador in France, and sent the duplicate by way of Genoa. Wrote home, on the 1st inst., by a servant of the King of Portugal, a very trusty man, and

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purposes writing again by the bearer of this, a Dean of Placenzia [in Extemadura], who is returning home, and has promised on his arrival at Salses [in Catalonia] to take post-horses and ride to Court.

Has heard from the Archduke, who says that if Mons. de Bourbon wants Germans he must pay for them. Has forwarded his letter to Milan.

Richarte passed through here on the last day of August with a despatch of Mons. de Bourbon, which is a proof that the negotiations with the Grisons, mentioned in the Abbot of Najera's letter of the 25th ult°, have completely failed.

The said Abbot [of Najera] writes in cipher that the Duke of Ferrara was about to declare for His Imperial Majesty, and take up arms against the League, on condition of his being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies [in Italy], and of his eldest son marrying the Emperor's [natural] daughter, with the county of Calpi (Carpi) as a dower. Vespasiano (Colonna) approved of the arrangement, but neither the Duke [of Bourbon] nor the Marquis del Guasto were willing to give up the command of the army unless they had the Emperor's express orders, for which they were sending to Spain Spinar (Geronimo de Espinal), Don Ugo's secretary.

The enemy, according to the Abbot's news, were one mile from Milan in a strongly fortified camp. Cremona had been twice unsuccessfully attacked, and the Duke of Urbino had sent thither the Venetian Proveditor-General (Pesaro ?) with three guns and 20,000 men.

When Spinar (Geronimo de Espinal) left Rome on the 20th, Don Ugo and the Colonnese were at Gruta Ferrata [with 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot in great fear (*con mucho temor*); the Pope in the castle of St. Angelo, with 5,000 troops for his guard. The Duke of Sessa died on the 18th of August at Rome. Pedro Navarro and the Archbishop of Salerno (Fregoso) entered Savona on the 14th with 16 galleys and three brigantines, and subsequent letters of the 5th inst. from Turin announce that on the 2nd the entire fleet of the Confederates was in front of Genoa, 32 galleys in all—Papal, Venetian and French. The Marquis of Saluzzo was also fast advancing with his bands; he was at Asti, intending to march on Genoa; many captains of men-at-arms and infantry, belonging no doubt to the 500 spears and 4,000 foot sent by the French, have lately passed through this place (Chambery), but notwithstanding all this, Soria writes to say that the Genoese are quite prepared to receive the enemy both by sea and land.

Though the Abbot [of Najera] wrote to say that the Confederates had already secured the services of 5,000 Switzers and Valesians, the information we have here is that the former have sent to recall (*revocar*) the Cantons that went without their permission, as they do not wish to furnish more men (*mas gente*).

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In the state in which Genoa is at present, surrounded by the enemy, he (Hurtado) thinks the safest route for letters and despatches is by Barcelona and Niça. From the latter place they may be addressed either to the Archduke [in Germany], or to Mons. de Bourbon [at Milan]. The governor of Niça, Mons. de Salanova, is an excellent man and firmly attached to the Imperial cause. The Duke and the Infanta his wife have spoken to him on the subject, and he is willing to go and reside at the seat of his government that he may serve the Emperor more efficiently. If his idea is approved of Bartholomé Ferrer [at Barcelona] must be ordered to address all letters to the said governor (Salanova). Has written to the Infanta (Ferdinand) and to Mons. de Bourbon, informing them of the proposed change.

Yesterday this Duke (Carlo Emanuele) and the Infanta (Beatrix) his wife received the Imperial letters of the 25th of August, brought by Mons. de Liñana,* the Grand Chancellor's son-in-law, besides a safeguard (*salvaguardia*) which both prize very much.

The French had imprisoned Mons. de St. Vallier. Has been told since that they had released him, and that he is now at his own dwelling.

Has not visited the Lord Chief Steward, owing to the roads not being secure, but letters have been received from him stating that he himself will soon come and call on the Duke [of Savoy].

Were not the Portuguese who takes charge of this letter a stingy and covetous fellow (*ruin*), the Emperor would have received it by the 12th inst. As it is, God knows when it will reach His Majesty's hands.—Chamberi, 8th of Sept. 1526.

9th Sept. Has just received a letter from the Lord of Monego, of the 1st inst., advising that a gentleman of the Emperor's bedchamber had passed through that city, on his way to the Imperial camp at Milan, and that three days before Micer Leonardo de Grimaldo had arrived and taken the same route. The French fleet had gone eight days before to Portofine, to wait there for those of the Pope and Venetians.

Hears there are vacant bishoprics [in Spain]; begs to be remembered, for these are not times to forget those who, like him (Hurtado), deserve reward for their services.—Date *ut supra.*

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesareæ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope Hurtado, 8th Sept. Received at Granada. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 263). *pp.* 4.

* Liñana thus written is not an Italian name, and the two sons-in-law of Gattinara are said to have been of that nation. Perhaps *Lignani* was meant, in which case Alexandro, Count of Settimo, must be the person intended, the same called elsewhere Mons. de Lignan.

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9 Sept. **536.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 267.

Sends duplicate of his letter of the last day of August. Has nothing particular to advise, except that the enemy is not as confident of success as he was some time ago. Things in Lombardy are not so comfortable for them as they could wish, and as to Genoa all they have achieved up to the present time has been to take four or five vessels coming from Sicily laden with wheat.

The Pope is sending cavalry to the frontiers of his estate, because he says that on the arrival of the Viceroy, and of the reinforcements to be sent by the Archduke, he fears that something is to be undertaken against him. He has advices from Spain and from other quarters to that effect, and knows as a fact that a large sum of money has been remitted to the Archduke, who was expected at Innsbruck on the 3rd inst.

There is a report here (at Rome) that His Imperial Majesty has lately consulted his confessor, the Bishop of Osma,* whether in consequence of the Pope's present behaviour he would be justified in refusing him obedience, and that the confessor's answer has been that nothing could justify him (the Emperor) in so doing. That the Emperor had since consulted his Privy Council, but had not received an answer yet. Other accounts state that the confessor had given it as his opinion that the Emperor could lawfully make war on His Holiness and invade the estates of the Church, since the Pope had been the aggressor. This last intelligence, as may easily be conceived, is not much to the taste of the Pope's friends.

(*Cipher :*) Nor are they much pleased at hearing that the Collateral Council of Naples has received positive orders to prepare for an invasion of the Papal estates. Certainly if the news be true, and war on this side decided upon, the present moment is most opportune, for there is no infantry here, and what cavalry the Pope has is now out of Rome, small in number, and in poor condition.

He (the Secretary) hears that the Pope is in frequent communication with the Archbishop of Capua, as if His Holiness thought he might want him one of these days to be a mediator between him and His Imperial Majesty. Hears also that Il Guicciardino, who is his commissary-general in Lombardy, has written advising him to make his peace with the Emperor, which he says is a far preferable expedient to that of remaining entirely at the mercy (*disposicion*) of the French King, who in case of complete success—which is very doubtful—would dictate terms both to him and to the Venetians. The said Guicciardino added that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) was of opinion that Cremona could never be taken by force of arms.

* Fray Garcia de Loaysa.

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The Pope is sadly in want of funds. Has tried to borrow money in various quarters, but has been advised to sell ecclesiastical benefices, which expedient he (the Pope) knows to be unavailable under the present circumstances, as nobody will purchase unless the revenues are high, and the cost of the benefice itself very low.

(*Common writing:*) Don Ugo is still at Subiaco with the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna), waiting for orders; their men posted on the confines of Naples, where the Collateral Council has lately raised 3,000 infantry; 1,000 for Gaeta, and 2,000 for the capital.

(*Cipher:*) Intelligence has reached us that the Duke of Ferrara has publicly declared for the Emperor, a piece of intelligence by no means agreeable to the Pope's partisans. Cannot tell whether the report be correct or not; all he can say is that the Duke has hitherto secretely favoured the Imperial cause, made offers to Don Ugo, and even rendered some service.

His Holiness has refused the Duke of Camarino* permission to go and serve the Emperor.

Has been promised by the ambassador of Portugal that this letter shall be duly conveyed to its destination. The report is that the Pope is about to send a messenger to the King [of Portugal], begging him to mediate in his present quarrel with His Imperial Majesty.

The Pope's partisans still go on threatening us with an invasion of French lances and Switzers; but the truth is that with the exception of a few of the latter, who seem to have already joined the camp of the Confederates, not one soldier [of France] has yet set his foot in Italy. The gentleman, however, who came on behalf of the French King is still here; so is Alberto di Carpi, who has lately been unwell and has not yet recovered.

The Duke Francesco Sforza is still at Crema. He has lately sent a secretary of his here, to negotiate certain matters, though, as the report goes, and the secretary himself asserts, his master has very little hope of improving his case, even in the event of the League coming victorious out of the present contest.

(*Cipher:*) It is generally reported that His Holiness, in order to raise money, will create certain fresh cardinals, and it is added that three Florentines have offered 100,000 ducats for three hats. Several good servants of the Empire here think that, to prevent such an abuse, the Pope ought to be admonished and summoned to appear before a council of the Church; which summons, as the aforesaid good-intentioned people say, might be made by any cardinal not residing at Rome.

* This Duke of Camarino was a Farnese (Pietro Luigi), who became afterwards Duke of Parma and Piacenza. He was the son of Pope Alessandro Farnese, better known as Paul III., at this time Cardinal Farnese.

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(*Common writing :*) An equerry (*palafrenero*) of the Pope, named Medrano, who left Cartagena on the 16th of August and Barcelona on the 23rd, has just arrived from Naples. He travelled in company with another courier from Valladolid, and has told him (the Secretary) much happy news from Spain, and among the rest that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) was shortly to start on his voyage, and that His Imperial Majesty would soon follow him. (*Cipher :*) Nothing indeed could be so beneficial to the Emperor's interests [in Italy] as the confirmation of this last news; all the world would be his (*todo el mundo seria suyo*), and considering the almost general discontent which now prevails at Rome, the Pope could not, if he would, do harm. The Romans fear he will take their last penny from them for the expenses of this war, and such are their sufferings that they begin to doubt whether there is a God at all (*sienten duda de que falta Dios*).

(*Common writing :*) These two messengers from Spain relate that they saw and heard in various towns of Castille the proclamation of certain Imperial edicts imposing pain of death on whomsoever was convicted of saying that the Emperor and the King of France were not good friends. This intelligence, if true, takes every one of us by surprise, for certainly the warlike preparations now being made in France and elsewhere are a contradiction to that statement, unless it be that the said proclamation has been made only as an expedient for hastening the solution of the present difficulties.

An attendant of the Lord of Monaco has arrived with the intelligence that on the 3rd inst. a gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon touched at that port, bringing three packets of letters. An hour after his arrival he sent one of the packets to Milan, to his master; the second he intrusted to the Lord of Monaco until it should be called for, and the third he himself took in a brigantine that sailed for Genoa that very night. Although the enemy's fleet extended east and west before Genoa, he hoped to be able to reach his destination.—Rome, 9th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 9th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

9 Sept. **537.** Antonio de Leyva to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 281.

Refers the Emperor entirely to the Marquis' letter respecting the enemy's positions [before Milan]; the efforts that have been made to draw them out of their entrenched camp; the sickness prevailing in the Imperial army; the scarcity of money and ammunition, &c. All, to the last man, will, however, do their duty. The remittances in bills of exchange have come at a

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very good time, but Mons. de Bourbon, in his (Leyva's) opinion, is too parsimonious and sparing with the money (*pone demasiado recaudo*).

Things at Milan cannot long continue as they are unless speedy succour be sent here as well as to Genoa.

No news from the Archduke or from the Germans he was to send as a reinforcement. The Spaniards under his (Leyva's) immediate orders have not received a "quatrino" ever since the arrival of Mons. de Bourbon, and whenever a man is assailed by the prevalent disease, he has not a ducat at his disposal to get advice.

The Viceroy's fleet, when ready to sail, should by no means go to Naples or Sienna, where it is not wanted at all, but to Genoa or Monago.

The Marquis del Guasto is in bad health just now, though he does his duty and works like a common captain.

Thinks that the money to be spent in several months' warfare had better be spent at once, and feels sure that the campaign might thus be brought to an end; that is, supposing that an agreement with France cannot be made, for in his opinion and that of his colleagues this would be the most effectual means of terminating it.—Milan, 9th Sept. 1526.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas de Antonio de Leyva."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

9 Sept. **538.** NEWS FROM GERMANY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 343.

His Highness the Archduke is sure to provide for the affairs of Italy as time and present circumstances will permit. You need not be uneasy at the Venetians having subsidized as you say 10,000 Switzers, for you will soon receive such reinforcements as will enable you to take the offensive.

The Archduke went yesterday by water to Vienna. He will take up at Rosenau (in Hungary) the Duke of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Saltzburg, who are waiting for him. The Hungarians were defeated by the Turk; that is quite true; but we do not yet know for certain whether King Louis perished in the battle or escaped. The danger, nevertheless, is so great that the Archduke must immediately see to the defence of his own estates, "et propterea necesse est ut Serenissimus dominus noster in prefatis provisionem faciat cum terræ suæ, ut scitis, positæ sunt in maximo periculo." —Innsbruch, 9th Sept. 1526.*

Indorsed: "Ex litteris domini Cancelarii Serenissimi Domini Principis de data Inspruch, nona Septembris."

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

* This letter, as appears from the indorsement, was written by the Chancellor of the county of Tyrol, but to whom addressed it is not said; perhaps to Sanchez at Venice, or to the Abbot of Najera at Milan.

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10 Sept. **539.** The Marquis del Guasto to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 278.

States his reasons for fearing that Cremona will ultimately fall into the hands of the enemy. The garrison is in want of provisions, and if not relieved will be obliged to surrender. If Cremona falls, the enemy is sure to establish two camps before Milan; one on the ground which they occupy at present; the other on the road to Pavia, so as to stop all communication with that city. The Imperialists will then be so completely surrounded that in order to escape from starvation they will be obliged to cut their way through the enemy and abandon Milan. Hundreds of soldiers are on the sick list.

Genoa will certainly be attacked by sea and land. The Marquis of Saluzzo has already with him 500 men-at-arms, besides 500 foot raised in Piedmont. Very soon we shall not be able to receive either letters or money from Spain.

The Doge and Community of Genoa and Lope de Soria have applied for 1,000 infantry for the defence of the city. We have sent them three companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards that were at Alessandria, and 500 Germans from Pavia, but even these reinforcements may be insufficient to guard the place, attacked, as it is to be, by sea and land. Had it not been for the total want of resources, and the sickness prevailing among the men, we should already have attacked the enemy in their fortified camp; but everything in the Imperial army is out of order (*desbaratado*). The fortresses in the Estate are mostly without provisions or ammunition; the garrisons scanty and insufficient for the defence. The enemy, who knows this well, and is abundantly provided with every necessary of war, has an interest in protracting the war as long as he can.

Unless the Viceroy comes very soon in force, or the Archduke sends his lansquenets, he (Guasto) cannot but fear the worst; for the most the Imperialists can do is to defend themselves against the enemy.

Encloses copy of letters from Rome, as well as from Don Ugo and the Colonnese, whereby his Imperial Majesty will be able to judge how matters stand in that quarter and at Naples.

Regrets his bad health, just at the time when his exertions and those of his colleagues in command are most wanted.—Milan 9th Sept. 1526.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas del Marques del Gasto."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2½.

10 Sept. **540.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 281.

Wrote on the 27th of August last, and encloses duplicate Received on the 1st inst. the Imperial letter of the 14th of August, and read also what the Emperor wrote to Mons. de Bourbon, of the same date.

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(*Cipher:*) No time is being lost in attending to the fleet, and sending artillery [to Genoa]. Begs that the Viceroy's forces may land at Monego or Genoa, without touching at Naples first, for it is here in Lombardy and at Genoa that the expected reinforcements are most wanted. Seventy-seven (sic) galleys of the Pope, France and Venice are now in sight of that city, and the Confederates are only waiting for some of the troops now engaged under the Duke of Urbino in the siege of Cremona, and for the bands of the Marquis of Saluzzo and Federigo Boçano (da Bozzolo), to commence the attack. These last-named captains have already made levies in Piedmont and entered the territories of Asti and Alessandria, where Giovanni Birago is to join them. Our men had attacked the latter at Valença di Pò, but had achieved nothing, as Birago had with him 1,500 men, and, besides, the place was very well fortified.

All these armaments being destined against Genoa, the Imperial generals have sent thither, at the express desire of the Doge (Adorno) and of the Imperial ambassador (Soria), three companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry, and Fabricio Marramaldo has also received orders to expedite two more of Neapolitans, the best he has under his command. At Alessandria we have one company of Spaniards, besides 5,000 Germans, formerly at Pavia. If required, Fabricio Marramaldo will go thither with about 1,500 Italians he still has. But the necessity of providing for so many places diminishes considerably the numbers of this Imperial army, many of whom are so weakened by the prevailing disease, as to be unable to carry arms. Were he (the Abbot) to say that the city itself is heartily sick of them, it would not be far from the truth. Indeed it may be asserted that if the Imperialists maintain their ground here, it is more owing to their military reputation than to any display of force.*

(*Common writing:*) The Grisons have decided at last not to furnish us with troops against the Switzers, their confederates (*coligados*), now in the camp of the Pope and of the Venetians, and consequently will not grant the Germans passage through their territory, as the Swiss Cantons threaten them if they do. This notwithstanding, George Fransberg (Fruntsperg) writes to say that, if required, he is ready to force his way through the land of the said Grisons, or through any other pass.

Alonso Sanchez had letters of the 28th of July from Innsbruck, announcing that on the 3rd inst. the Archduke was to hold a diet. He had already collected at Trent 6,000 German infantry, and was only waiting for the deliberations of the said assembly, either to come down in person, or send a considerable reinforcement. The courier which His Imperial

* "Toda la gente nos enferma y si dijese que lo está la ciudad della no errára, de manera que nos mandamos aqui mas con la reputacion que con la fuerza."

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Majesty despatched to him arrived [at Genoa?] on the 1st with letters for him (the Archduke) of the 14th and 15th of August, and reached Piedmont in safety. There can be no doubt, therefore, that properly instructed by his brother, the Emperor, His Highness will turn his eyes towards us and send us the reinforcements we so much want.

Great difficulty exists in obtaining news from Rome owing to the vigilant watch kept by the enemy. The last letter received from Don Ugo is of the 16th of August last. At that time he (Don Ugo) and the Colonnese were not far from Rome with 1,000 horse and some infantry. Provisions were scarce in their camp, owing to which they were about to move to a district and town in the Roman territory called Narni.

Cremona makes a gallant defence. May God be praised for it! The garrison have taken from the Venetians no less than seven banners in different sallies. The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is still in command of the besieging forces. He ordered an assault, but was repulsed with great loss. Should the expected reinforcements arrive soon we shall be able to treat them as we treated the French at Pavia.

(*Cipher :*) The true help, however, on which we rely is from the Viceroy or from Germany, before the Confederates have time to secure more effectually the co-operation of the French King, or of the Turk himself, which they are very capable of doing, in case of their being worsted in the present campaign. But above all things let us have money to pay the men, for otherwise it is impossible to support them in this country.

Begs that the affair for which Spinar (Geronimo de Espinal) went to Court be speedily terminated, as the Emperor cannot fail to see its importance under the present circumstances.

The Marquis of Guasto has been working so hard of late, inspecting our defences and outposts, at times under a scorching sun, and at other times under the night dew, that he has caught a very bad tertian fever. Antonio de Leyva is suffering from the same cause.

There is a report that the Turk had penetrated into Hungary and seized upon an estate (tierra) in the interior of that kingdom. Both Hungarians and Bohemians had marched against the Infidel, and a battle was soon expected. The news, however, may be untrue, having been spread by the Venetians.—Milan, 10th Sept. 1526.

Signed : "El Abad de Nagera."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 10th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

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10 Sept. **541.** VESPASIANO COLONNA to the GRAND CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 374.

Has written to Bartholomé, his agent, on the state of affairs. Begs credence for him, and assures the Emperor that he only esteems life in as much as he can employ it in the Imperial service, as his deeds will show.

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de los Coluneses."

Spanish. Copy and abstracts made in the Imperial Chancery. p. 1.

12 Sept. **542.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 289.

After his two letters of the 31st of August and 9th inst., of which he sent triplicate copies, nothing particular has occurred. These late news from Naples brought by Medrano, the Pope's equerry, have thrown the Romans into a state of consternation. Cremona is still making a stout defence, and in one of the assaults made by the Duke [of Urbino] no less than 15 officers (*personas principales*) had remained dead on the field. At Milan a lieutenant of Giovannino de' Medici was killed the other day, and the Imperialists of Carpi surprised at a village called Crabacor (?) near Bologna, a whole company of horse under Hernando Maçote, taking their baggage, &c.

The gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon arrived at Monaco on the 28th of August, and left the day after for Genoa.

Has been told that Medrano remains at Naples by order of the Pope, who does not wish him to come [to Rome] for fear he should divulge the unpleasant news he brings from Spain.

The Portuguese ambassador, Don Martin de Portugal, deserves much praise for what he has done, and is still doing, for the Imperial service. When the question lately arose of a cessation of war between Naples and Rome, he did all he could to bring it about, having often visited Don Ugo at Marino. After which he says he wrote to the Emperor in January last, offering his services, but has had no answer. He ought to be encouraged, &c.—Rome, 12th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, Catolicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "Al Rey. 1526. Rome. Perez, 12th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Sept. **543.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 293.

Has not written since the 7th of August owing to his being in bed ill with fever. Received on the 25th the Imperial letters of the 21st July, in which, among other things, he

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(Sanchez) is desired to say when and where his despatches have been intercepted, that precautions may be taken for the future.

(*Cipher :*) All he can say is that his despatches up to the 18th of June last always used to go by way of Milan, directed to the Abbot of Najera. They were, as he hears, duly received, and sent on by way of France, and therefore if any are missing, it is quite evident that they have been seized in that country. Has been in the habit of forwarding the duplicates of his letters by way of Genoa, but as they may have miscarried also, the enemy occupying all passes, he now forwards the triplicate of all his despatches from the 4th to the 18th of June. No need for him to repeat those between the later date and the 7th of August, since he is sure of their having been received.

The Pope, he hears, sent the other day for the Venetian ambassador (Marco Foscari) and told him that he had engaged in this war thinking the Imperialists were few and would be easily overcome; he now perceived, however, that the contrary was the case. The Confederates had not been fortunate. The King of France had not sent the promised assistance [in men], and Don Ugo and the Colonnese were close upon Rome, increasing their forces daily. The time had come to enter into some sort of agreement with the Emperor. Upon which, and lest the Pope should feel inclined to propose terms himself, the Signory had promised to pay him 12,000 ducats every month, for the pay of the 4,000 foot he had at Rome, on condition that no mention should be made of peace. The King of England, it would appear, wishes to mediate between the belligerents, and put a stop to the war; at least, such is the general belief, for it has been remarked that the King [of England] is not named in the treaty; nor has the league been duly proclaimed in England, although the English ambassador residing here gives out that his master has formally joined it. Some time ago an ambassador* of this Signory left for England. The French gentleman mentioned in one of his (Sanchez's) despatches as having lately come to this city had no title or appointment whatever. He certainly called twice at the College Hall, accompanied by the Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux); went hence to Ferrara and afterwards to Rome; but as far as he (Sanchez) has been able to ascertain, he brought no particular mission; all he said and did was to utter some bravadoes (*bravear*) and say that his master was to do this and do that, send so many men, &c.

The Milanese ambassador (Taverna) went to Crema to see the Duke Francesco Sforza. Since his return he has called

* At the beginning of June Francesco Contarini was elected ambassador to replace Lorenzo Orio, who died in London on the 12th of May, but having resigned on account of ill health, Marco Antonio Venier was elected on the 25th. He left on the 29th of July. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 574.

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upon all the ambassadors of the League, one after another. He (Sanchez) has not seen him.

Hears that some of the captains of the German peasants have lately come to offer their services to this Signory, and that they have been accepted on account of their comrades' gallant behaviour at the siege of Cremona, where it is reported they were slain to a man. It is even said that not a few of the captains and chiefs of the Suabian league have offered to bring from four to five thousand men, and that their offers have been accepted. Hearing which he (Sanchez) wrote to the Archduke and to the Regents at Hispruch [Innsbruck] as well as to Castro, the Archduke's servant at Trent, to have the passes watched, so as to prevent the said peasants and other Germans from coming down [to Italy]. Castro writes that one of the said captains and four or five more officers (*cabos*) who were bringing men to the Venetians had been arrested at one of the passes, and their recruits obliged to go back.

The intelligence from Trent, however, is that 12,000 Switzers, half for the Pope, and the other half for the Venetians, were getting ready, besides 10,000 for the King of France. The destination of the latter was unknown, but it was believed that they were intended for Flanders. It is rumoured that the French King is to give a larger contingent than the one he has promised, and also to increase his monthly contribution to the expenses by 20,000 crowns (*escudos*); that the Pope and the Venetians are to subsidize 10,000 men more each, and that all these forces are to be sent against the kingdom of Naples. Although the rumour is hardly credible, if such preparations are truly being made, he (Sanchez) is afraid that the intentions of the Confederates are as described. Need scarcely point out the necessity of succour either from Spain or Germany. Had this letter come a month ago, as expected affairs might have taken a better turn and victory been ensured. As it is, success becomes now every day more difficult, as the enemy is getting stronger every day.

Has been told that the French King sent this Signory 25,000 cr. not six days ago. The Marquis of Mantua's contract for serving the Pope and the Florentines with a number of men (*condotta*) ended on the 15th of August last. It has since been renewed. What other bad services (*malos oficios*) the Marquis may have done since, he (Sanchez) cannot tell, but certainly those of his ambassador (Giovanni Battista de' Malatesti) residing at this city cannot be worse than they are.

Has written to the Archduke advising him to go to Innsbruck, as from thence he can at once either turn his attention to the Turk, or cross over to Italy, as need may be; also to have inquiries made at Augusta (Augsburgh) of the merchants there respecting the 200,000 ducats which, according to Soria's, letter of the 17th ult°, have been remitted by His Imperial

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Majesty, and above all, since the money has been provided and our danger is so great, to send us without delay a considerable body of Germans.

His Imperial Majesty must already have heard of the Duke of Sessa's demise. At the date of Don Ugo's last letter (26th of Aug.) he and the Colonnese had retired to the frontiers of Naples, owing to the Collateral Council of that kingdom being averse from an invasion of the Papal estates. Part of the Imperial troops were going back to Naples; the other remained for the protection of the towns and lands which the Colonnese own within the territory of the Church. Don Ugo and Cardinal Colonna were to start for Subiaco, and there wait for the Emperor's orders, unless something happened in the meantime to make them change their plans. The said D. Ugo had written to the Duke of Ferrara, making him offers more advantageous than at first, but the Duke's answer was not so satisfactory as had been expected. He (Don Ugo) thinks the Duke is waiting to see how things turn out before he decides. He (Sanchez) shares the same opinion.

The Pope (writes Don Ugo) had given out that some bills of exchange amounting to 150,000 ducats, which the Emperor was sending to Flanders and Germany to his brother the Archduke, as well as an Imperial despatch addressed to him (D. Ugo), had been intercepted in France.

The Papal galleys and those of Venice had joined at Civittà Vecchia, and were to sail for Genoa on the 27th of August, to meet the French fleet there.

About the Turk there are so many different reports that one knows not what to believe. This Signory, in order to improve their own case, exaggerate the resources of the Infidel. Most say that he is very powerful, whilst others assert that the King of Hungary has greater forces under him, and is soon to offer him battle. The Turk, however, seems to have gained possession of a castle called Petro Bernardi (Peterwaradin), the strongest in that country, though not without losing a great number of men in the various assaults, the garrison, which was chiefly composed of Bohemians, having made no less than fifteen successive sallies (*dieronle quince batallas*).

Nothing new from Cremona since the 21st. The siege of the place continued, and the Duke of Urbino had arrived. The Signory had issued orders for all provisions and cattle (*bestiames*) to be brought inside the fortified towns, either for their own security in case of invasion, or to prevent the Germans getting hold of them when they came into Italy. He (Sanchez) has written to Castro, informing him of this.

Has just received from the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) the letter that accompanies this. It is in date of the 28th August, but not in answer to his last. Heard from Castro on the 2nd inst.

At that date the Archduke had not yet received any orders

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or money from Spain. Neither had the merchants and bankers [of Augsburgh] received advice of any bills having been drawn upon them. He (Sanchez) cannot account for this, unless the despatches, as stated, have been intercepted in France.

Since the above was written the Imperial letter of the 14th of August has come to hand, ordering him (Sanchez) to quit Venice and repair either to the Archduke's court, or to the camp of Don Ugo, or to the army at Milan. Has written to Don Ugo, consulting him. Cannot but think he would be more useful at Naples in his office of Treasurer. Should he go to the Archduke's, begs to be invested with the character and title of ambassador. Is ready to obey orders, and is already preparing to go, though not yet recovered from his late illness. Will write three days before he leaves, that His Imperial Majesty may dismiss also the Venetian ambassador (Navagero). The Archduke's agent is also to leave at the same time as himself.

Has heard from Mons. de Bourbon, enclosing him letters for the Archduke and for the two captains of German infantry, Jorge and Marco Sitig. Will forward the letters to their destination by the same person he has hitherto employed, or through the Duke of Ferrara, which is another safe channel for his correspondence. His ambassador (Jacopo Theobaldo) who resides here told him (Sanchez) that the Signory offers to mediate between him and the Pope, so as to bring his master into the League. His (Sanchez's) impression is that the Duke will go on refusing without deciding either for the Emperor or the confederates until the Pope gives up Rezzo (Reggio), &c.

The ambassador (Marco Antonio Venier) whom these people were sending to England was taken prisoner by the Grisons. He is the same who was formerly at Milan, when the Duke Francesco Sforza was there.—Venice, 12th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Sanchez, 12th Sept."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

14 Sept. **544.** NEWS FROM GERMANY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 344.

The Provincial Diet of Innsbruck lasted three days. The Assembly had consented, on the Archduke's application, to raise and maintain at their cost, for a period of five months, a force of 5,000 infantry, to be employed wherever

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most wanted. Should, however, the county of Tyrol be invaded by the enemy, whoever he might be, they pledge themselves to defend it with all their might; also to raise funds to help the Archduke, who on the 11th of this month left Innsbruch for Lintz, on his way to Vienna, "ex causa quia Turcus obtinuit conflictum contra Regem Hungariæ, et etiam non scitur ut rex sit vivus aut mortuus."

The inhabitants of Austria are so frightened at the victorious march of the Turks, and the recent defeat of the Hungarians, that they desert their homes "quod fugiunt et ad fugam se disposuerunt, uti Hungari facere solent." This makes the Prince's presence in those parts necessary, that he may provide for the defence of his own estate.

The great Vayvod of Hungary (John Zapolski) and the Count of Transilvania (*Transilvanorum comes*) are collecting their forces,* which, added to the 10,000 men promised by the Empire to the Bohemians and ourselves, will, it is to be hoped, be sufficient to defend Germany against the Turkish invasion.

George Fransperg (Fruntsperg) is to go to Augusta (Augsburg) to make levies of foot destined for Italy.—Trent, 14th Sept. 1526.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

14 Sept. **545.** Don Ugo de Moncada to Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 319.

Need scarcely tell him how much he has laboured ever since his departure from Rome for the settlement of the Emperor's affairs, both in Lombardy and in that city; what efforts he has made, seeing the Pope's evil intentions (*dañada intencion*) and ingratitude, to procure money for the Imperial army, preserve Genoa and Sienna, negotiate with the Duke of Ferrara, &c. But as matters continue the same at Milan; as Genoa is threatened by the enemy; as he has reason to fear that when the reinforcements come it will be too late, and that neither Milan, nor Cremona, nor Genoa, nor Sienna will be much benefited by them, especially if Frenchmen and Switzers come down to Italy, as reported, he has come to the resolution, together with the most Reverend Cardinal (Pompeo) and the rest of the Colonnese, to help and assist the Imperial cause, all other means failing, with their own persons and acts. To that end a truce has been concluded between the Pope and the Colonnese, that he (the Pope), having laid down his arms, may be thereby taken unawares. For His Holiness, considering himself safe in that quarter, knowing that the governors of Naples do not wish to make war on him,

* I believe this to be a wrong statement, Zapolski, who caused himself to be elected King of Hungary, being Vayvod of Transylvania; perhaps the Ban of Croatia is meant.

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and imagining that therefore no serious invasion of the Roman territory need be apprehended, considers himself so far secure that he has only kept 200 foot and 100 horse at Rome, having sent the rest of his forces either to Sienna or to Genoa, with the exception of 200 horse he has posted on the frontiers of Naples, at Sora. For that purpose, and the better to accomplish his object, which is evidently to disperse the forces of the Colonnese on this frontier, he has been lately soliciting [from the Council of Naples] that Ascanio Colonna should march with his bands to the relief of Sienna, saying how discreditable it would be for them to allow the Emperor's dominions to be lost, and his authority to be impaired, whilst they were paying 800 horse and 2,000 foot. The Council of Naples, therefore, have decided that the said forces shall march to the assistance of Sienna under the command of Ascanio, who is to have the title of Governor-General of that Signory. He is now at Sora, collecting the troops stationed on that frontier. But although the Councillors of Naples believe—for we have told them so—that the forces under Ascanio Colonna are destined for Sienna, we mean them to go in quite a different direction. Our intention is to attack Rome, and we have accordingly made the following preparations. We have here 800 horse and 2,000 foot paid by Naples, besides 2,000 secretly levied in the Abruzzo many days ago, and 1,000 of Cardinal Colonna, amounting altogether to 5,000 infantry and 800 horse. The six galleys of Naples are now at Gaeta, and the very moment we start [for Rome] orders will be sent to Garci Manrique to go on board of them with 1,000 men, and proceed to the port of Ostia. Confident hopes are entertained that they shall be able to give His Holiness so much work by land and sea that he will be obliged to look to himself and bring back his army. The above plan is to be executed in six or seven days in conjunction with Ascanio. Your worship may be sure of this. Indeed, had the Councillors [of Naples] believed him (Don Ugo), and given him the help he required, the whole thing might have been done days ago.

Your worship had better communicate the contents of this letter to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand), to the Duke of Bourbon, Marquis [del Guasto], and Antonio de Leyva, &c.—Suviaco, 14th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "To Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

15 Sept. **546.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 323.

Wrote last on the 12th inst. For the last three days there has been a rumour in this city that the King of Hungary had been defeated by the Turk. The news at first was not credited, but is unfortunately too true. This morning a clergyman

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arrived from Augusta (Augsburgh), who left that city on the 9th, and is going to Rome. He says that, the day before he left, a courier had come from Lintz with the intelligence that the Hungarians had met the Turk five miles from Buda, but had been defeated with great loss (*con grandissima estrage*) on the 29th of August. It was not known what had become of the King. At night another post came announcing that the King's body had been found lying on the field of battle. The Queen was at a place called Bresburg (Pressbourg), and it was doubtful whether she could escape the enemy's fury, because the place was invested on all sides, and the garrison anything but numerous. The people of Lower Austria, however, were making every effort to extricate the Queen from her dangerous position and conduct her safely to Lintz.

The said clergyman adds that he passed through Innsbruck on the 10th. At that time the Tyrolese Diet had terminated its deliberations, and had resolved to supply the Archduke with 5,000 infantry for six months against the Turk, in consequence of which he had left immediately for Lintz.

Merchants' letters from Vienna of the 3rd, and from Augusta (Augsburgh) of the 8th inst., confirm the intelligence brought by this clergyman.

(*Cipher :*) Has already informed His Imperial Majesty that on the receipt of the Imperial letter of the 14th Aug. he (Sanchez) wrote to Don Ugo de Moncada, inquiring where he thought his services would be most acceptable, whether at the camp of the Colonnese, at Milan, or elsewhere. The letter, however, never reached its destination, for the post from this city was detained on the 10th about 20 miles from Venice, and sent back with the merchants' letters, when another postman was procured to take on their own correspondence and that of the ambassadors of the confederated powers only. This is the first time that the Signory has done anything of the kind. Has reasons to think that his letters, though cautiously placed under cover to a private individual, have been intercepted and deciphered, as he knows that the Signory possesses keys to all ciphers. Has since written to Don Ugo through another channel. Hopes to have an answer soon, and will then leave Venice. Had not the Emperor announced his intention to dismiss the Venetian ambassador [in Spain], he would certainly have remained, for he can still be of use, and this last news about the Turk is likely to render his presence in Venice necessary.

Whilst writing the above the Austrian ambassador has received news from Petonia (Possonia ?) of the 3rd confirming the above sad news from Hungary. Nothing certain was yet known about the King, whether he had been slain in the battle, was prisoner or fugitive. About the Queen no doubt was entertained that relief would reach her and that she would be taken to Vienna.

No news from Lombardy, except that the Duke of Urbino

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(Francesco Maria della Rovere) was preparing for another assault on Cremona to-day or to-morrow.—Venice, 15th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Sanchez 15th Sept."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

16 Sept. **547.** The Prior of Barletta to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 323.

Received at Lucca, on the 5th inst., a letter from the Doge (Antonioto Adorno) ordering him to repair as soon as possible to Genoa, and attend to the fortifications of the city. Though in indifferent health, has travelled post-haste, and reached his post on the 8th. Will work day and night until the city is placed in a state of defence.

Applied, in due time, to Count di Santa Severina,* and to the Collateral Council of Naples, for the possession of the priorate of Barletta, which the Emperor was pleased to confer on him last February; was told that they could not invest him with that dignity unless they had a previous order from the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] to that effect. Begs the Emperor to send his orders to the Viceroy, that he may be put in possession of the said priorate and receive the rentals thereof.—Genoa, 16th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "El Prior de Barletta."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. The Prior of Barletta,† 16th Sept. 1526. By duplicate."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

16 Sept. **548.** The Collateral Council of Naples to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 324.

Have received the copy of the Imperial letter of the 14th of August last, and are anxiously expecting the promised reinforcements (*los socorros de acá*).

The Imperial galleys cannot go to Genoa without some danger. Don Ugo has been consulted thereupon, and if he

* Andrea Caraffa, Conte di Santa Severina, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Naples, in the absence of the Viceroy, Charles de Lannoy, from October 1525 till June 1526, the time of his death. He was succeeded by another Caraffa, Conte di Policastro, who, as President of the Collateral Council of Naples' administered the affairs of that kingdom, and signed despatches until the arrival of Lannoy in December. *See* Parrino, *Teatro Eroico e Politico de' Governi de' Vicere di Napoli*, 1692, 8vo.

† Fr. Gabriele di Martinengo.

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decides that they are to sail in that direction they will do so, for they are quite ready.

Have ordered a large quantity of biscuit for the Viceroy's fleet, and that the three old galleys in the dock-yard (*taraçanal*) should be careened.

The Council had long before the receipt of the Imperial letters attended, as was their duty, to the protection of the Colonnese and of their estates, sending them occasionally both foot and horse, as well as provisions, according to instructions received from the Duke of Sessa and Don Ugo de Moncada.

The Duke of Bourbon has lately applied for the galleys, also for money to pay the men-at-arms, and for saltpetre to make gunpowder. With the former application the Council is ready to comply in the manner above specified, after receiving Don Ugo's advice. Money has also been provided for the men-at-arms, as far as the exhausted state of this treasury would allow. As to the saltpetre, it seems to them that if they were to send it under the present circumstances, and when all the land passes are occupied by the enemy, it would be tantamount to furnishing our adversaries with the elements of war. They will, however, do what they can.

Enclose the late advices of the march of the Turk upon Hungary.—Naples, 16th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

17 Sept. **549.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 331.

Wrote on the 3rd inst. by Espinal, Don Ugo's secretary, who left [for Spain] in a brigantine. The bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats* brought by Mons. de Bourbon have been duly accepted and paid for the most part. (*Cipher:*) But he (Soria) hears from the Treasury officials [at Milan] that the money is not applied in accordance with the Imperial commands. Mons. de Bourbon receives the whole from these bankers, and then hands over to the Imperial Treasurer at Milan whatever sums he considers proper. Neither does the Abbot of Najera concern himself, as he used to do formerly, in these payments, Mons. de Bourbon having deprived him of his office. So that, upon the whole, money affairs do not go on so regularly as before. Hears that the 200,000 paid to Mons. de Bourbon have been of little avail for the wants of the Imperial army.

(*Common writing:*) Has presented the bills of exchange for the 30,000 ducats exclusively destined for the fleet. They have been accepted and will be paid when due. Out of that sum Soria will remit to Mons. de Bourbon 10,000 cr. (*escudos*) which by his express command were laid out on certain

* The original has "cien mil ducados."

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provisions for the fleet, such as the freight of five caracks and six galleons, which are ready for sea and armed, the pay of the two companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry, lately sent for the defence of this city and port, &c. This last expense and others the Doge and Community declare they cannot at present defray, as their treasury is completely exhausted, and they dare not impose new taxes on the people. He (Soria) has therefore applied part of the said money to these various purposes, rather than compromise the Emperor's interests in these parts. For should war break out, Genoa is sure to be attacked by sea and land, and the Doge and Community have only 4,000 men for its defence, no money at all in their treasury, and scarcely any provisions in the city. Indeed the Genoese are in great fear of a famine; all supplies of wheat are cut off by the enemy's galleys, and there is not food enough left for three months. This last is no small cause of anxiety to the Imperial officers, as the Fregosi, who are very numerous in this city, will seize any opportunity that offers for creating disturbances. Even the Adorni, whose fidelity to the Empire has hitherto been very constant, complain of the heavy expenses they are put to, and show no confidence in the future. The Doge, however, is doing his utmost to place this city and port in a state of defence, but without the succour so often promised he (Soria) is afraid that all his efforts will prove vain. Should the Viceroy touch here, his galleys joined to those now in port might easily attack the enemy's fleet and drive it away from these shores. But if, as announced, the Viceroy goes straight to Naples without touching at this port, it is very much to be feared that the Genoese driven to despair, and seeing famine at their door, will be tempted to join this Italian league against the Emperor.

A good supply of German infantry is also much wanted to reinforce the Imperial camp, as it might give such occupation to the armies of the League as to impede their movements in this direction, Hears from Milan that George de Fransperg (Fruntsperg) was expected there on the 20th with 10,000 Germans, and that the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) had arrived at Inspruch, there to hold a diet, after which he was to come down (*calar*) with a considerable force.

Has written to Sardinia, in case the Viceroy should touch at that island, to acquaint him with the state of things, and say how easily he might come with his galleys to Monaco, and thence to Charno (Ciarno), where those now in this port might join him. He could then, knowing the enemy's positions both at sea and on land, join with his forces wherever they were most wanted. At any rate the Neapolitan fleet of galleys ought to come. They are doing nothing at Naples, and notwithstanding our repeated applications the Council of that kingdom does not decide on sending them.

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Frey* Martinengo, the prior of Barletta, has arrived, and is already working at the fortifications of this city. He was at a watering-place near Lucca, for his health, when the order reached him, and he immediately repaired to his post.

The Duke of Bourbon is at Milan with the army; the enemy close by. At the date of the late advices disease prevailed in both camps. The Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva were laid up with fever. The enemy had 10,000 Switzers in their pay, but there was a report that emissaries (*embajadores*) had come from the Cantons ordering them to return home; many had left already, and others were to follow.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), in command of the Venetian troops, was besieging Carmona (Cremona). He had erected several batteries, and made various assaults up to the 11th inst., but without success, as our people were making a most gallant defence, and had slain a good number of the enemy.

The Marquis of Saluzzo (Luigi II.), Federico de Vozol (Bozzolo),† and Renzo de Cheri (da Ceri), with other captains of the King of France, arrived the day before yesterday (15th Sept.) at a place called Castellaço, close to Alessandria, and twelve leagues from this city (Genoa). They had under them a force of 300 lances and about 5,000 infantry, mostly Piedmontese. It is reported that their intention is to attack this city in conjunction with some of the forces now besieging Cremona, but if the Germans come down as expected, or the Imperial fleet enters this port, it is to be presumed that they will change their purpose, and either collect somewhere else, or separate each to defend his own territory.

The Duke of Bourbon considered it expedient some time ago to grant an amnesty (*acordar*) to certain Milanese emigrants (*foraxidos*) who were in France. He thought they might thus become good servants of the Empire, and accordingly gave them leave to return. Hears that most of them have taken service under the Marquis of Saluzzo, and are now with him; among the rest one Antonio Guasco, to whom the castle and estate of Gavi once belonged. In obedience to the Duke's commands he (Soria) has surrendered that force to him without any sort of compensation. May he (Guasco) turn out as zealous a servant of the Empire as the Duke believes him to be!

Enclosed are copies of letters from Don Ugo [de Moncada]

* No doubt the same Chevalier of Rhodes mentioned in a letter of Gasparo Contarini to the Signory of Venice, dat. Vitoria, 1st Feb. 1524 (Rawdon Brown, *Venet. Pap.*, III., 354). His name seems to have been Gabriel. Soria prefixes to his name the word *Fray*, in Italian *Fra*; but it is a mistake, for knights of the military orders in Spain were always called *Frey* (from *freire* or *frère*), not *Fray*, which on every occasion signifies a "friar" or "monk."

† The same condottiero, called elsewhere Federigo di Bozano and di Bozzolo, whose real name was Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo. *See* above, p. 792, *note*.

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and Secretary Perez, by which His Imperial Majesty will be informed of the state of affairs at Rome. The Colonnese had agreed to a truce and suspension of hostilities on the lands of the Church. Thinks that such arrangement is for the best, as it must have been made with Don Ugo's consent and approval; but nevertheless the people of this city are very much astonished (*espantados*) at it, considering that now that the Pope is dismissing his troops, the men are likely to come here and enlist under the banners of the Marquis of Saluzzo and other captains on our frontier.

A letter from Alonso Sanchez, the Imperial ambassador in Venice, is also enclosed. He was laid up with fever and ague.

Whilst writing the above, intelligence has been received that the Marquis of Saluzzo had left Castellaço with all his forces, and gone to Tortona. A relative* of this Doge took four of his light horsemen prisoners, from whom it has been ascertained that the Marquis has orders to join the camp of the League, in front of Milan, and that a vigorous attack is in contemplation before the arrival of the Germans, or of the Viceroy's fleet. Being asked why they did not come this way as was anticipated, the prisoners replied that it was already settled between the confederates and the Doge, that if Genoa was not succoured within a certain time, he was to surrender the city and join the Italian league. But these and other similar reports are not to be trusted in, as they are purposely spread by the captains themselves to encourage and cheer the men under their orders. There is no reason to believe the Doge has made any such agreement; on the contrary, he is as firmly attached as ever to the Imperial cause.

The enemy's galleys have captured 14 ships coming from Sicily laden with wheat for this city; among them three caracks and other good vessels that may be useful for war purposes. (*Cipher:*) Great discontent has been created by this loss, not only because provisions are getting very scarce, as before stated, but because the enemy's sea forces are daily increased by such prizes, and will in the end become superior to the Viceroy's fleet. This notwithstanding, were the Imperial galleys soon to make their appearance, there can be no doubt that the enemy's fleet would be dispersed and the prizes and wheat recovered, &c.—Genoa, 17th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Lope de Soria, 17th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering appended. pp. 6.

* Most likely Count Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, mentioned elsewhere, and whose letter to Soria has been abstracted at p. 654.

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17 Sept. **550.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

M. B. N. *Mad.* E. 50, f. 44.

On the 17th of September 1526, at nine o'clock before noon, in the city of Granada, Mercurino di Gattinara, Great Chancellor of the Emperor, exhibited to the undersigned notary and witnesses a letter, written on 22 sheets of paper, which letter he (Gattinara) said was the Emperor's answer to the brief of His Holiness Pope Clement VII., dated the 23rd of June 1526, which Count Balthasar Castiglione, Apostolic Prothonotary and Nuncio, had delivered to the Emperor in the Pope's name; the tenor of which answer is as follows:

His Imperial Majesty was very sorry to hear that the Holy Father and Vicar of Christ was entertaining schemes likely to injure him and the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire. But his astonishment was boundless when a brief dated the 23rd of June, and delivered by his nuncio on the 20th of August last, was read to him.* The Pope therein condemns him and his policy in the severest terms; speaks of his wars, violences, threats, avarice, ambition, and unmeasured lust of dominion and conquest. Such language is by no means becoming the shepherd and guardian of the Christian flock, nor has he (the Emperor) ever deserved it, since his veneration for the Apostolic See has always been great. He is in duty bound to refute such false accusations.

Respect and veneration for the Vicar of Christ are innate in him. Though frequently warned that His Holiness intended to do things detrimental to his (the Emperor's) dignity and authority, he could never believe his informers. To wage war against Christians is not in his nature; he has never taken up arms but for his own protection and defence. France invaded his Italian dominions, and Pope Leo in consequence concluded a treaty of alliance with him, the object of which was to protect and defend the authority and the rights of the Holy See, as well as those of the Roman Empire. At the instigation and by the advice of the said Pope (Leo X.), he (the Emperor) took up arms in Lombardy and Liguria. The Papal forces joined his, and the present Holy Father (Clement VII.) was then Legate with the Pontifical army. Calls him to witness whether his instructions during the said war were not free from all suspicion, and whether he (the Emperor) ever evinced a wish save that of restoring peace and prosperity to Italy. However successful in his wars, he was always ready to conclude peace on honourable terms. His own letters to Rome in Pope Adrian's time, and since his (Clement VII.) accession to the Pontificate, bear ample testimony to his peaceful intentions. His offers were

* The substance of this Papal brief is in Sandoval, *lib.* XV., *cap.* XVII. He also inserts (*cap.* XVIII.) a translation of the Emperor's answer, which he says was printed at Alcala, with other papers relating thereto, and largely circulated: "Vastanos dezir que se imprimieron [estas cartas] en Alcala, y se derramaron por la Christiandad, y juzgauan dellas segun la passion que cada uno tenia."

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rejected, and he was compelled to prosecute war in his own defence.

His Holiness asserts that he has never neglected the duties of his office as supreme guardian of the Christian flock. The Emperor does not wish to impeach the veracity of such an assertion; leaves it for God to judge; but he cannot help remarking that the information he has received, and the Pope's own deeds, tend to prove the contrary. Indeed, how can the Vicar of Christ on Earth venture to say that he (the Emperor) has constantly rejected his offers of friendship and thought of nothing else but oppressing Italy? Where is the proof? As always, in case of doubt, the best must be presumed until the worst is proved, His Holiness ought not to have condemned him without sufficient proof. The Emperor leaves it to him to decide whether the Pope's behaviour in these last transactions is in accordance with his own honour and reputation, and the welfare of Italy, or whether it is not calculated rather to lessen his authority as Father of the Church. The enemies of Christianity, like so many hungry wolves, are only waiting for an opportunity to devour the flock of the Faithful, to sap the foundations of Christian religion, and spread far and wide their heinous errors and doctrines.

The Pope's intention (says the brief) has always been to defend himself, and to harm no one. Nothing would be more laudable had the deeds suited the words, but unluckily such is not the case. Why should the Pope put himself on his defence when nobody attacks him? Has the Emperor ever tried to impeach his authority or deprive him of his estates? Certainly not, for to be always ready to sacrifice his own life and estates in his (the Pope's) defence, as is the duty of a Christian Emperor, is the very reverse of that unjust accusation. Why then, if he only intended to defend himself, was Milan, a fief of the Empire, attacked before his (the Pope's) declaration of war had reached the Emperor? Why was Lodi surprised and taken by a most treacherous contrivance?

The Pope (in the words of the brief) always favoured the Emperor's cause whilst a Cardinal; but this is again a premise which the Emperor is not disposed to grant. For at the time when his grandfather (Maximilian) was negotiating with the Princes of Germany for the election of a successor, he (Charles) was on most intimate terms with the King of France, whose daughter (Charlotte) had been promised to him. Notwithstanding the intended alliance, the negotiations for which were so far advanced that the French King used to call him in public "his son," that monarch was so influenced by Rome and by his own personal ambition and lust of the Imperial crown, that he did not scruple to calumniate him and cast such blemishes on his character as would necessarily incapacitate him for the Empire. When, however, it became clear that the King of France could not carry out his own election, efforts were made to exclude both of them, the Em-

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peror as well as the King, from the Imperial dignity, and to start a new competitor* without power or reputation, who would have been more apt to obey than to command. The Elector's virtue triumphed in the midst of such intrigues. He (Charles) was unanimously elected, and yet would not accept the Imperial crown unless he first obtained the Pope's permission to retain the kingdom of Naples, and hold it as a fief of the Church. New difficulties were then raised and fresh attempts made to lessen his power and tarnish the glory and splendour of the Empire. Every effort was made to prevent, or at least to postpone, his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. Papal nuncios were sent for that purpose to different countries, papers and letters written, and a plan concocted to frustrate if possible the deliberations of the Diet of Worms.

Has been informed that the present Pope, then a cardinal, was no stranger to the treaty which Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, concluded in the King of France's name with Pope Leo X., his predecessor and uncle; the object of which treaty was no other than to wrest from him (the Emperor) Sicily and Naples, and so to divide his Italian dominions between France and Rome that the Pope and King Francis should become absolute masters in Italy. Intercepted letters which the Emperor has in his possession leave no doubt whatever as to the plans of his enemies at that time.

The King of France, moreover, instigated the rebel Robert de la Mark to invade Belgium, and in Italy Reggio was wrested from Pope Leo. When this was done, not before, it must be owned that Clement, then a cardinal, persuaded the Pope to conclude a defensive league with the Emperor, the object of which was to recover the possessions of the Church, and give back the Duchy of Milan to its rightful owner [Francesco Sforza], then a prisoner in France.

Forgetting all former injuries, the Emperor allied himself with Pope Leo X. for the defence of Italy, imagining that with the present Pope's intervention and help—which he is ready to admit—they might both resemble the two great luminaries of Heaven, and remaining for ever united, ensure the peace and welfare of the world.† In consequence of the said treaty of league the Papal forces were united to the Imperial army, to which the present Pope was appointed Legate; the French compelled to evacuate Italy; Parma and Piacenza restored to the Church, and Francesco Sforza reinstated at Milan; all which was accomplished by Prospero Colonna, the Marquis of Pescara, and other Imperial captains.

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* Frederic Duke of Saxony, one of the electors.

† "Ut nihil aliud putaremur quam duo magna orbis luminaria, vestræ Sanctitatis opera adeo inseparabiliter conjuncta censeri, ut in mutua horum correspondentia orbis universus illustrari posset, ad perpetuamque unionem et quietem reduci." Strange enough nearly the same expressions are to be found in a letter of Pope Leo. X. (14th Nov. 1520), congratulating Charles on his election to the Empire. *See* Bergenroth, *Spanish State Papers*, &c., vol. II., p. 326.

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In this manner the Church gained possession of two important estates [Parma and Piacenza], and yet a new tribute (*census*) was imposed on Naples and Sicily, notwithstanding the Emperor's very liberal donation to the present Pope, then a cardinal, of an annual pension of 10,000 gold crowns on the archbishopric of Toledo.

Reminds him how Cardinal Volterra,* favoured by Pope Adrian, became at one time his competitor, and tried to snatch from him (Clement) the government of Florence ; how he (the Emperor) took him and the whole of the Medici family under his protection ; and how, suspecting the Cardinal of conspiring with the French, he persuaded Pope Adrian to have him arrested and punished. On the death of that Pope, however, the College of Cardinals set Volterra at liberty.

Of his (the Emperor's) alliance with Pope Adrian no special mention need be made here. No sooner was he (Clement) elected to the Pontificate than he refused to ratify the said alliance, in which all the other parties wished to continue.

Did not and does not forget that he has occasionally done him (the Emperor) service in former times. When he decided to invade France he advised him not to do so, as in his opinion such an invasion of the French territory would be followed by more powerful attempts on Italy, and by the loss of the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor could not then follow his advice, as he was bound by treaty towards the Duke of Bourbon and the King of England to carry out the expedition [to Provence]. God was not pleased to grant him victory on that occasion, but his captains brought back his army safe to Italy.

Has been informed by trustworthy persons that the French King invaded Italy at his (Clement's) instigation. The results of that campaign are well known ; the Viceroy of Naples delivered Francis a captive into his (the Emperor's) hands.

He was compelled (the Pope says) to make a treaty with France ; could not help himself, as the Emperor knows. Is inclined to accept his explanation and excuses in this particular, although it is quite plain that he (Clement) was nowise compelled to accept the said treaties. The Emperor himself knew nothing about them, as they were kept secret. Besides, did he not favour as much as he could the French plan for the conquest of Naples ? And yet that kingdom is a fief of the Church, and just as the vassal has duties and obligations towards his lord, so has the lord towards his vassal, and if he does not fulfil them he can be deprived of his rights.

Since then the present Pope has virtually concluded a treaty with the Imperial agents in Italy, according to which, as he says, 100,000 ducats were handed over to the Imperial generals, on condition, however, that this money was to be paid back in case the Emperor did not ratify the treaty. Denies

* Francesco Soderini Cardinalis Volaterranus.

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that the treaty contains any such clause. The obligation to return the money in the event of the treaty not being ratified is mentioned in a separate article, not in the treaty itself. The Pope refused to exchange the ratifications except on condition of the two separate articles being included, but as those articles contained important innovations respecting Milan and the sale of salt in that duchy, the Emperor could not accede to it.

His (the Pope's) ambassadors proposed that he (the Emperor) should grant him the *dominium utile* of Parma and Piacenza, on the payment of 100,000 ducats and the recognition by him that the *dominium directum* of those two cities and their territory belonged to the Emperor. But this proposition in the form it was made could not be accepted. Nor can the Emperor persuade himself that the Vicar of Christ on Earth would shed a single drop of Christian blood for the acquisition of an estate.

The Marquis of Pescara is accused of having entertained treacherous plans to his detriment; but the truth is that the Marquis only feigned to do so, that he might the better unmask treacherous friends, and ascertain their intentions. The conspirators, accordingly, admitted him to their deliberations, and revealed to him their most secret designs. A Papal brief was issued promising the Marquis the investiture of Naples on condition of his assisting the confederates in their plans, which were nothing short of the annihilation of the Imperial army in Lombardy, and the conquest of that kingdom with the assistance of French and Swiss troops. In this manner did the Marquis acquire the conviction that His Holiness (Clement VII.) was at the head of the conspiracy, and that his intentions were not only to deprive the Emperor of his Italian possessions, but, if possible, to wrest from him the whole of his patrimonial dominions and Imperial crown also. The Marquis did still more. In order the better to ascertain the designs and resources of the confederates, and also gain time to write home, he feigned to have certain scruples as to whether he could conscientiously and without breach to his honour join the conspiracy. He asked for a delay of 15 days, that he might consult thereupon certain Roman doctors, whose answer was that he was perfectly justified in doing this, and could very well, without either breaking his allegiance, injuring his honour, or being otherwise guilty of high treason, go over to the Pope's side, and accept from him, as his suzerain lord, the investiture of Naples. This delay allowed the Marquis time to write home and inform the Emperor fully of what was going on. To the very day of his death the Marquis confirmed the truth of the above statement, which can, if necessary, be strengthened by collateral evidence. Now it may be asked, is this a proper behaviour for a Pope, the head of the Church and Vicar of Christ on the Earth? Great scandals and greater calamities

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still are likely to result from such conduct. Indeed, so unprecedented has it been on this occasion, that it seems to us a dream rather than a reality.

Upon the whole it is sufficiently demonstrated that it is not the Emperor who has rejected the Pope's offers of friendship, but the Pope who has done, and is doing, everything in his power to harm the Emperor. The Pope will no doubt allege that the reports of the Marquis were mere words, nothing but words; that there was no foundation for the charges brought against him (the Pope); no beginning to the execution of the plans attributed to His Holiness and to the rest of the confederates; but if so, why did he, the very moment he heard of his having been betrayed, write to Spain, proclaim his innocence, and accuse the Marquis himself?

The Emperor is inclined to judge the Pope leniently, but he must answer his most unjust accusations. It is stated in the Papal brief, that when the castle of Milan was besieged, the whole of Italy, nay, most of the Princes in Christendom, so urged him to interfere that he (the Pope) could not resist the pressure they put upon him; and yet when Knight Commander Herrera arrived in Rome, bearing proposals of peace, the Pope positively told him that he had abandoned all his schemes and rejected the offers made him by the Christian Princes, that he might make his peace with the Emperor, who in return for his affection and constant sacrifices had always treated him with contempt. Were such a grave accusation to remain unanswered, he (the Emperor) would be a most abominable wretch, well worthy of the fire of Hell, not a Christian Prince, as he professes to be. In order to refute this and similar accusations against his honour and reputation, it is necessary for him (the Emperor) to enter into details, and relate some of the events that took place before and after the siege of the castle of Milan.

Francesco Sforza I., grandfather of the present Duke (Francesco Sforza Visconti), made himself duke of Milan after the extinction of the male line of the Visconti of that Duchy. He had no right whatever to the ducal crown, as he was only related to the Visconti family in the female line;* but being a daring and successful soldier, as well as an able statesman, the Milanese acquiesced in his rule. Neither he nor his son Galeazzo Maria Sforza, nor his grandson (first-born of Galeazzo), Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, ever obtained the investiture of that duchy from the Emperors. Lodovico [Il Moro], the father of the present Duke Francesco, succeeded to the Duchy, and having married a kinswoman† of the Emperor Maximilian, obtained the investiture for himself and his descendants "ordine primogenito servato."

* Francesco, the first of the Sforza, married Maria Blanca Visconti, natural daughter of the last Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria.

† Beatrix d' Este, of the house of Ferrara.

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This Lodovico Sforza, who was first invested with the duchy of Milan, was still alive when Louis, duke of Orleans, afterwards King Louis XII. of France, declared that if the Duchy was to be transmitted in the female line he had the better right to it, as he was descended from Valentina, the legitimate daughter* of Philippo Maria, the last duke of Milan, whilst the Sforza were only related to the Visconti through an illegitimate connexion. King Louis, accordingly, made war upon Lodovico Sforza, seized the duchy of Milan, and took him prisoner to France, where he died. A treaty was subsequently concluded between Maximilian and Louis XII., according to which he (Charles) was to marry Madame Claude, daughter of the King of France, upon which the Emperor, having first cancelled the investiture in favour of the Sforza, invested King Louis and his daughter Madame Claude with it. It was, however, stipulated that in case of the marriage not taking place through a cause independent of his (Charles') will, the said investiture should be null and void, and the Duchy go direct to him (Charles). The marriage did not take place, and, therefore, he (Charles) received the investiture of Milan, his father Philip acting as proxy for him.

Again the Emperor Maximilian gave the investiture of Milan to King Louis, for his daughter Madame Claude and for her husband Francis, at that time duke of Angoulême. His reason for doing so was that he knew very well that the right of Charles to Milan was perfect, and could not be invalidated according to law, as he was at the time a minor under the guardianship of his grandfather.

The investiture was after this made over to Maximilian Sforza, the brother of the present Duke, who having made common cause with the enemies of the Empire, naturally forfeited all his rights, when the Duchy again devolved to the Empire.

When Francis I., the present King of France, in the name of his father-in-law and predecessor, King Louis XII., took possession of Milan, he never applied for, much less obtained, the investiture from the Emperor Maximilian or from him (Charles). Even if he had had any right to the Duchy, he would have forfeited it by his hostile acts, &c.

Francesco Sforza, therefore, had no right whatever to the Duchy, except what he (Charles), as a favour, would grant him. Neither could he transfer to his posterity what he did not himself possess. Even if the first investiture had been valid, he would not have been justified in granting it to him as long as his elder brother Maximilian was alive.

To the objection raised by the Pope, namely, that he (the Emperor) had concluded a treaty with Pope Leo X. in favour of Duke Francesco, the answer is that the Duke could not derive any right from a treaty to which he was no party.

† The *sister*, not daughter of the last Duke.

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The paragraph runs as follows: "Item quia Illustrissimus Franciscus Sfortia, Dux Bari, pretendit ducatum Mediolani sibi debere ex vi investituræ felicis memoriæ Maximiliani Cæsaris factæ, attenta renunciatione fratris sui primogeniti, per quam si primum successionis locum obtineret actum extitit et conventum quod si idem Franciscus Sfortia ducatum ipsum recuperaverit, præfati contrahendo eumdem in suis iuribus conservare curabunt et ab omni violentia tuerii nitentur." No new right was transferred to the Duke, besides which the condition "si ipse Dux recuperaverit" does not exist, since he (the Duke) did not recover his duchy by conquest.

The Emperor's titles to the possession of Milan are numerous; he need not specify them; considerable have been his trouble and expense to retain the same and protect it against the attacks of his enemies. If, notwithstanding all this, the Emperor readily gave up to Francesco Sforza so rich and coveted an estate, it is sheer insanity to accuse him of cupidity, ambition, and so forth on that score. Such accusations only give rise to the suspicion that those who proffer them have other secret aims in view, besides the peace of Italy and the weal of Christendom as asserted.

Has been magnanimous, not only in words, but also in deeds. Gave Francesco Sforza all the cities, towns, fortresses and castles in the Duchy; all the revenues, rights and authority in the land. Has always mentioned him in all his treaties with Pope Adrian, with the Venetians and others as the true and rightful Duke of Milan, and lastly has granted him the formal investiture, through Cavalier Bilia, his ambassador, without any other condition but that of repaying the Emperor about one quarter of the expense incurred in the recovery of his estate.

The Duke fell dangerously ill. The Pope, the Venetians and other Italian Princes began then to make their calculations, and try to ascertain who would be his successor in case of death, whether the Duchy would revert to the Empire, be retained by the Emperor himself, or given to his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand. Envy and fear were at the bottom of those inquiries. The Pope then exhorted the Emperor, through his legate in Spain (Salviatis), in case of such an event taking place, not to keep the Duchy to himself, nor give it to his brother Ferdinand, but to bestow the investiture on some Prince of whom the Italians might not be afraid. The Pope proposed either the Duke of Bourbon, or George of Austria, the natural son of Emperor Maximilian. To remove all cause for suspicion he (the Emperor) resolved to give it to Mons. de Bourbon. Was it an act of cupidity to deprive himself and his brother of so rich and valuable an estate in order to ensure, as he was told, the peace of the Christian world?

Whilst the Emperor was thus sacrificing his interests and those of his family, he was informed by the Marquis de

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Pescara that the Duke Francesco Sforza, ungrateful for so many favours, was plotting against him, and had finally entered into a secret league, the object of which was to wrest Milan from the Emperor, whilst his brother Massimiliano and the French attacked the Imperial army.

In order to fathom the Duke's purpose, the Marquis of Pescara held an interview with him, and the Duke had no scruple in owning that the conspiracy really existed, that he had been invited to join it, but since he had received the investiture of the Duchy, he would no further countenance the conspirators.

The generals of the Imperial army then asked to make sure of the Duchy, and applied for an increase of the forces under their command, instead of disbanding them almost entirely, as the Emperor had decided on their doing. They alleged that in view of the dangers threatening the Italian army, it was necessary to keep it intact, and perhaps also to increase it. The Emperor ordered them not to undertake anything against Milan, except, 1°, in the case of the Duke's death; 2°, of the French and Switzers invading Lombardy; 3°, of the confederates taking the field and attacking the dominions of the Empire in Italy. In either of the above cases he authorised them to take possession of the Duchy.

About this time Hieronymo Morone, the Duke's Prime Minister, and, as reported, the head and soul of the whole conspiracy, imagining that the Marquis de Pescara was at the bottom of it, kept urging him by letters to prepare everything for that event, since the intrigue was ripe, and within eight or ten days at the most the Imperialists were to be surprised in their quarters and put to the sword. Then it was that, with the advice of the generals expressly consulted thereupon, the Marquis had Morone arrested, and having hastily reinforced the garrisons of some fortresses, returned to Milan, concentrated the Imperial forces round that city, and demanded from the Duke the delivery to him of all the fortresses and castles on his estate. The Duke surrendered them all with the exception of the castles of Milan and Cremona, which he said he wished to keep until the Emperor's pleasure should be known; offering, however, to give hostages, and swearing not to attack or molest the Imperial army in the meantime. The generals perceiving the danger to which the Imperialists were exposed, as long as the two principal castles in the Duchy remained in the hands of Francesco Sforza, insisted on their demand, and summoned him under "pæna læsæ Majestatis" to give up the two castles. The Duke refused, shut himself up in his castle, and the generals asked the Emperor's permission to besiege him in it. The Emperor was sorry for what happened; he did not at the time approve the behaviour of his captains, for he had not altogether abandoned the hope of having the affair settled in a peaceable manner. Now that the whole treason has become manifest, he cannot but think that his captains

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were right in what they did. The Duke's crime against his suzerain lord was of such magnitude as perfectly to have justified his being committed to prison, like any other common criminal, put in chains, and tortured until he should confess his guilt and the names of the conspirators. This could not be done, as the Duke could hardly be expected to answer the accusation from the castle to which he had retired with all his attendants and friends. As the Duke, however, though duly summoned, did not appear before his judges to answer the charges brought against him, he was according to law declared "contumacious," and subject to have all his property confiscated, as is usual in such cases.

His Holiness and the rest of the Christian Princes ought not to bestow their pity on a rebellious subject guilty of such crimes against his suzerain lord, but rather on the Emperor himself, who very much against his will has been obliged to adopt such harsh and severe measures, calculated, as it would appear, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

Fully believes the Pope's assertion that all the Princes in Christendom were exceedingly sorry to see the Duke Francesco Sforza treated in this manner, as well as that not one of them was prepared to take up arms in his defence. Of the opinions and sentiments of the Kings of Hungary, Poland, Denmark and Portugal, the Emperor has certainly no reason to doubt; they are his friends and allies, and think as he does on this matter. "Anglus, autem, etsi ejus fœderis conservator et procurator nominatur, nobis tamen apertè suis litteris significavit se nequaquam in id fœdus consensisse, nec mandatum dedisse, nec talem protectionem acceptasse nec acceptare velle, licet ad id partibus Vestræ Sanctitatis interpellatus ac instanter requisitus stiterit, se pacis quam semper efflagitavimus mediatorem offerendo.

"Gallus, vero, etsi cum Vestra Sanctitate et aliis Italiæ Potentatibus fœdus percusserit, ut eo medio mitiores, si posset, quam iam ex nostro fœdere obtinuerit a nobis pacis conditiones exhauriat, liberosque obsides recuperet, retulit aperto ore quod Vestræ Sanctitatis impulso ac suasu, etiam priùs quam liber in regnum suum committeretur, de ipso novo fœdere ineundo sollicitabitur. Et sunt qui affirmant, ut ex quibusdam litteris percipimus, quod Vestra Sanctitas, ipso etiam Gallorum Regi non patenti eidem juramentum relaxaverit quod nobis præstiterat pro fœdere nobiscum prius inito (quod tamen credere nolumus quandoquidem res talis omnino a pastore Christi Vicario aliena esse deberet) ne ipsius jurisjurandi sine causa spreta religio ad deteriora innocentium præberit; merito tamen Vestra Sanctitas his verbis utitur, *dimmissis conciliis et conspirationibus*, si verbis adeatur effectus, si vero omnis conspiratio dimittatur quam secundum certam intelligentiam crimen denotat."

Another of the assertions contained in the Papal brief is that the draft of the treaty, which Knight Commander Herrera took to Rome by his (the Emperor's) order, was but

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slightly modified and altered by him (the Pope). This assertion the Emperor completely denies, as the alterations introduced were so many, especially in articles 12, 13, 14, and 15, as entirely to change the nature and object of the treaty. Thus for instance art. 12th, *respecting Reggio and Rubiera.* The original draft stipulated that the Pope was to take possession of those estates within a certain time, and hold them as before. The Emperor added that, once in the Pope's possession, he should give them back to the Duke of Ferrara to hold as a fief of the Church, since it could not be expected that the Duke would consent to such a spoliation except by sheer force, whereby the peace of Christendom would again be disturbed. When His Holiness returned the draft, this article was so altered that, in compliance with the stipulations of the defensive league, he (the Emperor) would have been compelled to declare war against the Duke of Ferrara and wrest those territories from him, to give them back to the Pope.

Art. 13. *The sale of salt in Milan.* In this article the Pope erased the words "ad eius vitæ decursum," thus trying to make the obligation perpetual. But it was neither just nor wise for the Emperor to grant such a "servitus" on a fief of the Empire, and exclude for ever his own brother, the Archduke, from the Milan market, where the salt of his own estates ought to be sold as well.

Art. 14. At the end of this article, which refers entirely to the duchy of Milan and the Duke Francesco Sforza, the Pope has added the following paragraph:—

"Et quia ipso Francisco Mariæ Duci* nonulla imputantur [quæ] contra Cæsarem aut a sua Majestati sibi concessam investituram et feudum perpetraverit, eadem Majestas, quantum in se est fovere Italiæ quietem, quæ servari non posse creditur cum ejusdem Ducis a statu et Ducatu remotione, ideò conventum est quod ipse Dux in statu ipso emaneat, et quatenus opus sit in eo per Cæsarem de novo confirmetur, non obstantibus quibuscunque per eum contra Maiestatem suam, ut supra dictum est, attentatis, etiam si caperent crimen læsæ Majestatis. Cæsar, enim, Ducem ipsum pro innocentem habere vult, et ex nova liberalitate sua ac totuis Italiæ intuitu talem sibi remittit et indulget, si etiam plus quam dicitur et creditur errasset."

A very slight alteration indeed, and one likely in future times to encourage treacherous subjects and vassals against their natural lords! "Quum egregiam præberet formam augendi et conservandi Sacrum Romanum Imperium a Deo institutum, a Prophetis predictum, ab Apostolis predicatum, et ab ipso domino nascente, vivente et moriente approbatum."

* The Duke of Milan is sometimes called Francesco [Maria] Sforza by Sandoval and other writers, as in this document, contrary to Guicciardini and most of the Italian historians, who simply name him *Francesco Sforza de' Visconti, duca di Milano e di Bari.*

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The above article had, for his Holiness' satisfaction, been altered as follows :—" Ut autem nihil dubitationis nec suspicationis in hoc fœdus relinquatur, sed omnis scrupulus de medio tollatur, cum in priori fœdere potius sub nomine proprio quam appellativo includi videatur Illustris Franciscus Sfortiæ Dux Mediolani, qui aliquibus jam mensibus grave vexatur ægritudine, et in summo vitæ discrimine constitutus fuit, etiam de felonia, ac læsæ Maiestatis crimine accusatus seu inculpatus, etsi hunc aut naturali morte aut civile (iustitia previa) ab ipso Ducatu Mediolani excidere contiger it hæsitari posset an feudum ipsum ad aliud in eodem Ducatu ex Cæsaris concessione vel dispositione succedentem pretenderetur. Ideò, ad ampliorem ipsius fœderis declarationem actum extitit quod sive ipse Illustris Franciscus Sfortia vitam obierit, et ab hoc sæculo migraverit, seu per viam iustitiæ dicto Ducatu fuerit privatus, in eum casum Cæsarea Majestas pro Italiæ quiete, et contemplatione Sanctissimi Domini nostri ipsius ducatus Mediolani investituram concedit illustri Domino Carolo Duci Borbonii et Aurelianæ,* ita ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster ac cæteri confœderati qui in hoc fœdere voluerint comprehendi, sint et teneantur adstricti ad defensionem ipsius stati Mediolani, etiam ad opus dicti Illustris Ducis Borbonii, dum de ipso ducatu Mediolani fuerit investitus; quo casu quantum ad omnia in fœdere contenta, tamquam suffectus in locum dicti Francisci Sfortia fungatur omnibus honoribus quibus ille vivens, et in tale statu permanens fungi debuisset."

The above addition is quite as equitable as the one proposed by His Holiness. He (the Emperor) cannot be expected to forgive and forget such heinous offences as Francesco Sforza has committed.

Art. 15. *Pretended attempts against the liberty of the Church.* The Pope suppressed the whole of this article and substituted another. The Emperor, nevertheless, accepted the alteration and added only the following words :—" His modis et formis quibus per Ferdinandum Regem Catholicum eius antecessorem observatæ fuere, et juxta ipsius Regis privilegia ac jura." Certainly this addition can hardly be called an innovation; it is only a manner of preserving the Emperor's right to the kingdom of Naples.

Has in nowise changed his conduct towards the Pope since the conclusion of his treaty with King Francis, as implied in the Papal brief. Has, on the contrary, frequently asked his advice and consulted him thereupon, sending Commander Herrera long before the treaty was concluded. Would much sooner have despatched an ambassador to Rome had he not been informed that His Holiness was sending a Nuncio to him with ample powers to treat. When the Nuncio (Baldassar Castiglione) arrived in Spain, and the negotiations had nearly been brought to an end, a delay was asked that the Nuncio might consult with his Court.

* Alverniæ ? (Auvergne), for Aurelianæ is Orleans, and Charles de Bourbon had never that title.

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The Pope complains of the answer made to his holograph letter. He says, among other things, that whilst he implored mercy for the Duke, the Emperor declared that strict justice should be done. The Emperor does not even now retract his words, for certainly without retributive justice an estate cannot be maintained, nor the peace of the World ensured.

The Emperor is further accused of having charged the Holy Father with crime. That is a mistake. He wrote the answer in his own hand, and can assure the Pope that he used no expression in his letter implying such a thing.

The Pope further complains of the Emperor having extorted from him the concession of the crusade, the tithes, &c., and applied the money of the Church, not to make war on the Infidel, but on Christians. The answer is that the Emperor considered himself fully entitled to such concessions, since he was then waging war in Africa. He did not spend the proceeds in the African war, which was over at the time the grant was made, but he employed it against the Turk in Hungary. He, however, addressed no reproaches to His Holiness on this head; but only pointed out the danger to Christianity and the evils likely to ensue were he (the Pope) to refuse to grant his request.

With regard to the cap (*pileus*) he merely observed that it was the first favour he had ever asked the Pope since his accession to the Pontificate, and yet it had not been granted. When offered, he thankfully accepted it, and took that opportunity of proffering his services and his person in defence of the Holy Father and of the Church.

The Pope further complains of having been ill-treated by the Imperial agents. If that charge be proved, the guilty parties shall be punished as they deserve.

Sienna. That Community is one of the oldest fiefs of the Empire. The Emperor, therefore, was bound to look to its welfare, and see that it was well governed. The city had long been in the power of tyrants, first of Pandolfo Petrucci, then of his son Borgherino, who was expelled therefrom by Pope Leo. X., and lastly of Cardinal Petrucci, who, having promised to pay 10,000 "aureorum" every year, succeeded in the command. After the death of Cardinal Francesco Borgherino, Petrucci was his heir, but the Pope having entered into close relationship with his kinsman, Julio Petrucci, the latter was assisted in assuming the command of the place. Julio, however, sided with the Duke of Albany, and attempted to make Sienna a republic under French protection. The people revolted and proclaimed it a free republic under the Empire. The Emperor ordered Commander Herrera to go thither, institute an inquiry, and report on the state of affairs. Would have settled all matters to the Pope's satisfaction and advantage had he not been prevented by circumstances.

Then a faction corrupted by money resolved on the ruin of the republic, and introduced a number of emigrants and

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malefactors through certain subterraneous passages into the heart of the city. The conspirators were caught "in flagranti," condemned, and executed. The Pope cannot make himself "particeps criminis" of such traitors and malefactors, whose intention was to murder all the nobility of the place.

Cruelties and ravages perpetrated by the Imperial soldiers in the lands of the Church is another of the charges made in the Papal brief. The Emperor can only say that if such crimes can be individually proved the perpetrators shall not escape without punishment, but it must also be said that the Pope's duplicity greatly exasperated both captains and soldiers.

Parma and Piacenza. The Pope has no claim whatever on these two cities. When his legate (Cardinal Salviati) came to the Imperial Court he declared that he had no special commands to treat with the French King, but only to be a mediator between him (Charles) and Francis. His services were not wanted. That legate could in nowise interfere in the settlement of a peace between the Emperor and the French King, since he had not, as he said, express powers for that purpose. He was, however, treated with due respect, and duly informed of the progress of the negotiation. Whilst the King of France was still a prisoner [in Italy] he (the Emperor) not only informed the legate what his terms were, but communicated to him the proposals which the King of France himself had made, and of which Don Ugo de Moncada was the bearer, one of them being to rekindle the war in Italy for the Emperor's sole interest and advantage, and regardless of his own. These offers he (the Emperor) rejected for the sake of peace. Informed the legate in due time of the counter-proposals which he was about to forward to the King, which became more moderate when King Francis was brought to Spain, and his sister, the Duchess of Alençon, conducted the negotiations. The answer made by Francis to his counter-proposals the Emperor failed not to communicate also to the legate, that he might in his turn inform His Holiness. The same was done respecting the articles touching Burgundy and other matters. The negotiations were then suspended, owing to the sudden departure of Madame d' Alençon for France, and not resumed until the 13th January of the present year. Never refused to show the original treaty [of Madrid] to the legate, and give him copy of it. Even now he is still ready to do so if required. There is nothing in that treaty or in the negotiations that preceded it to make him ashamed of his acts. All the stipulations in it tend to ensure general peace among Christians, and make war against the Infidel possible, as well as to exalt religion and promote the Pope's personal welfare.

The Pope's legate and nuncios were at perfect liberty to write to Rome whenever they pleased; nobody ever thought of preventing them.

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If there were at any time Imperial councillors or other people advising him (the Emperor) to do the Pope wrong, or otherwise act against him, he was not influenced by their counsels. His edicts and proclamations in Spain are a testimony of his reverence for the Holy See, and for the Pope in particular. In one of them he goes so far as to propose the appointment of umpires to decide on the questions now at issue. Never dreamt of doing the Pope any harm, but nevertheless he cannot waive the rights and privileges of his Spanish subjects.

The Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) went to France not to negotiate any new treaty secret or public, but to insist on the fulfilment of that which was already made and signed.

He (the Viceroy) could not visit the Pope at Rome for want of a safe-conduct through France, which was refused. Indeed the French themselves maintain that it was owing to the repeated applications of the Pope and the Venetians that the said safe-conduct was denied.

Don Ugo's stay at Milan was indispensable for the settlement of certain business there; it did not exceed five days. It was the more needful because on his arrival at that city Don Ugo found letters from the Duke of Sessa, informing him that His Holiness had already joined the league against the Emperor, and that when asked to grant a delay of one month he had resolutely answered "Not one day, not even one hour." Don Ugo was also informed that all the roads and passes leading to Rome were already occupied, the Imperial couriers detained, and all letters from Milan intercepted. Don Ugo, himself, was obliged to wait for a safe-conduct from the Papal captains.

Neither has the Pope any reason to complain of Don Ugo's interview with the Duke of Milan, since it had no other object than that of persuading him to give up the castle of Milan, and surrender himself to the Emperor's justice and mercy. Had his negotiations with the Duke been successful, the principal obstacle to the league between His Holiness and the Emperor would have been removed.

Another accusation is that he (the Emperor) has attempted to get possession of Parma by treason. This must be a calumny invented and propagated by their common enemies. Parma and Piacenza are both fiefs of the Empire. Had the Emperor wished to unite them to his other dominions he would have done so openly and legally, not clandestinely and treacherously. Prefers, however, the peace of Christendom to the acquisition of territory.

The above will be sufficient to prove that the Pope has no reason whatever to suspect and mistrust him (the Emperor) and seek for protection among such mighty Kings as he alludes to in his brief, excite their hatred, and make them take up arms in his defence. Even if he continues to foster the actual league against his person and estates, the Emperor

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sincerely hopes that the Pope will not cease to be the shepherd of the Christian flock. "Sicque merito cum Psalmista dicere possumus: Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt Reges terræ, et Principes convenerunt in unum adversus, non inquam Dominum et Christum, sed adversus ministrum et agnum divinitus institutum ab ipsomet Christo, a quo omnis pendet nostra auctoritas et potestas, qui propterea disrumpit vincula et ligam eorum et projicit a nobis jugum ipsorum, prout in sua divina benignitate et clementia recta nostra intentione et conscientia fieri plenè confidimus."

Two things, however, have particularly attracted the Emperor's attention, and indeed filled the whole Christian world with amazement. One is that he did not wait for the arrival of Don Ugo, whom he knew to be already on the road to Rome, but whilst accusing him of delay, precipitated the conclusion of his mischievous and scandalous league (*damnosi et scandalosi fœderis*). The other, that he pretended not to be able, even for the sake of the peace of Christendom, to accept Don Ugo's offers, even if they had come sooner, as he was already bound by other treaties to make war and shed blood. "Dura quidem hac difformitas in ipso Pastore et communi Patre qui omnibus æqualis esse debuisset!"

It is not correct to say, as asserted in the Papal brief, that the warlike preparations the Pope is making are only intended for the defence of Italy and the protection of the Roman See. Nobody thinks of attacking them. The present war is carried on, not for the protection of the Church, but for her utter ruin, as it is calculated to exhaust her treasures, to offend Christ, and bring on the destruction of the whole Christian community. Public scandal and danger to the Church are the only probable results of it.

If the Pope stops to consider without prejudice or passion who the Emperor is, and what his acts have been ever since the commencement of his reign, he will find there is no prince in Christendom to whom the Apostolic See is more indebted than to him; no more obedient son of the Church, or who desires more the increase of Papal authority. From the Emperor's dominions the Pope has greater returns than from all the Christian Princes put together. "Si enim ad ea rectè advertat Vestra Sanctitas, comperiet quod ex imperio regnisque de dominiis nostris Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliæ, Germaniæ, Galliæ, Belgicæ ac Superioris Burgundiæ plus quam ex cæterorum omnium regnis ac dominiis simul iunctis, lucri ac commodi Sedis Apostolicæ ac Romanæ Curiæ, accedit. Qualia autem sint ea lucra ex centum illis gravaminibus nationis Germaniæ colligi poterit, quibus tamen ex ea devotione et observantia qua semper Vestræ Sanctitati ac Apostolicæ sedi affecti fuimus nusquam aures præstare curavimus, nec his animum adjicere, quod si justa aliqua ratione vel causa Apostolica Sedes lucris careret non essent claves aureæ quæ

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bellorum archivia pro libero aperire ac claudere solent," nor would he (the Pope) be able to raise an army against him.

The Pope will, he says, even now conclude peace on equitable terms if he (the Emperor) will only abandon his ambitious ideas, and his plans of cupidity and conquest suggested to him by some of his advisers. The Emperor harbours no such thoughts: he is quite ready to lay down his arms. The Pope is right in saying that the Emperor and he are in duty bound to preserve the peace of Christendom. "At hæc duo magna luminaria a Deo instituta ita sibi invicem debito ordine correspondent et ministrant ut inde orbis universus rectam illustrationem recipiat, nec pro ipsorum luminarium eclipsis in christiana religione et doctrina causari et generari, seu diutius sustineri valeat in maximum christianæ reipublicæ detrimentum."

Speaks from the bottom of his heart. Desires to see Italy free, and the World in general at peace. Has never uttered an untruth. If peace is to be preserved, *all* must consent; if one dissents war can again be rekindled. That is the reason why his (the Emperor's) peaceful policy has never prevailed.

Begs the Pope to disarm. If he does, his allies will do so also, and there will be an end to the war.

The Turk will be conquered. The Lutheran and other sects, either suppressed or reunited with the Roman Church, will be the most loving and dutiful sons to the Holy Father. Is ready to sacrifice his kingdom and his blood in defence of the Church.

If "quidquid sinistri" should happen to the Christian religion it will not be his fault.

Promises to forget all that has passed.

If, however, the Pope does not admit these his vindications; if he is not disposed to give peace to Christendom; if he exercises not the functions of a father, but those of a partisan (*patris sed partis*), not of a shepherd, but of a wolf (*non pastoris sed incursoris*), then the Emperor intends to appeal to the judgment of a general council of the whole of Christendom, which he begs the Pope at once to convoke "in loco securo," to heal the wounds of afflicted Christianity.

Has decided to communicate this letter to the Apostolic nuncio (Castiglione).—Datum civitate Granatæ die decima septima mensis Septembris anni 1526.

After which, the above Grand Chancellor, Mercurino di Gattinara, handed the letter to him (the undersigned notary) and to Alphonso Valdés, who read it aloud to the Nuncio, then sealed it with the Imperial seal in presence of the said Nuncio, and delivered it to him, begging he would forward it as soon as possible to Rome.

The Nuncio received the letter and promised to forward the same to His Holiness. He declared at the same time that although it was quite true that he had received a letter from

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His Holiness ordering him at once to put into the Emperor's hands the brief which the Chancellor had just mentioned, yet that he had since received another letter from the Pope commading him not to deliver the brief, if he had not already done so, and enclosing a new brief dated the 24th of June, a day later than the former, which he was to give to the Emperor instead of the first. In this second brief the Pope declares he is ready to disarm. The Nuncio, nevertheless, promised to forward the above answer and declaration of the Emperor to the Holy Father.

Actum in civ. Gran. in the lodgings of Estevan Centurion of Jaen, at whose house Chancellor Gattinara is staying.

Witnesses:—Bartholome de Gattinara, Chancellor for the Crown of Aragon; Juan Aleman, Lord of Bouclan, first secretary, and Alphonsus Valesius.

Latin. Copy. pp. 27.

18 Sept. **551.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. B. N. *Madrid*, E. 50, f. 48.

Is sorry that his answer to the Papal brief of the 23rd of June last went on the 17th inst. The Nuncio has since delivered into his (the Emperor's) hands another brief written ten days later, in which His Holiness seems to entertain a better opinion of him as regards his sentiments and intentions towards the Christian republic generally and the Apostolic See in particular. Was, nevertheless, very glad to hear that the Holy Father wished for peace, was more equitable and just in his appreciations, and acted more leniently (*blandius*) towards him. Wishes it were as much in his power to foster the affairs of decaying Christianity (*labentis christianæ reipublicæ rebus consulere*) and ensure universal peace, as it is in the power of others to create war and disturb the Christian world.

To tell the truth the Emperor never thought the Pope could have been capable of judging him so unfavourably, as he did in his brief, had not those whose interest it is to keep Christianity in a continual state of agitation frightened him by false representations. Hopes that God will work a change in the Pope's mind, and that he will consult the peace and tranquillity of his people, "potius quam privatis quorumdam affectibus atque dolis." Will always do everything in his power to further the interests of the Holy See. Begs and implores him, for the sake of the blood which our Saviour shed on the cross, to put an end to the many calamities from which Christianity is suffering at present.

Though the Pope seems to believe that he does not care for God, the Emperor is ready to prove by his deeds that he has been, and will be, an obedient son of the Church, and will promote with all his might his cause and that of Christianity.

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"Quæ omnia Sanctitas vestra facilè experiri poterit, si non privatis sed publicis rebus consulere, nostrumque animum (qui a Sanctitatis vestræ observantia dum eam Christi vices gerere recolimus minimè abesse potest) tamquam communis pater amplecti, christianisque rebus in deterius prolabentibus, prout latius in aliis litteris nostris ad Sanctitatem Vestram scripsimus, pio studio abesse (*sic*) voluerit. Quod ut faciat Sanctitat Vestram etiam atque etiam rogamus ulloque rerum Deo optimo Maximo felicitatem ex animo optamus. Datum in civitate nostra Granatæ die XVIII. mensis Septembris anno domini MDXXVI, regnorum vero omnium undecimo. Carolus Divina favente clementia electus Romanus Imperator semper Augustus ac Germaniæ Hispaniarum, &c. Rex. Yo el Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

Latin. Copy.

18 Sept. **552.** The Emperor to Pope Clement VII.

Lanz *Correspondenz*, &c., Vol. 1, p. 219.

Whilst enumerating the favours he has done the Emperor, the Holy Father singularly forgets to mention those which We have rendered him, for certainly the Pope must be aware that it was through our intercession and help that he (Clement) was raised to the Pontificate. When We ourselves were elected to the Empire we did not accept it until Pope Leo had approved our election and granted us the investiture of Naples. And yet His Holiness knows full well how much Count Alberti di Carpi and he himself (the Pope) laboured to snatch from us that very kingdom of Naples.

When Reggio (*Reghium Lepidi*), which is a fief of the Church, was attacked by the French We took up arms for its defence. The Pope must recollect the circumstance, for he was Leo's legate at the time, and he received an annual pension of 10,000 gold cr. upon the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. The French having been defeated and expelled from Italy by Bourbon, We caused France to be invaded, that we might thereby recover that which the French King had taken from us. The expedition was unfortunate; the siege of Marseilles was raised, and King Francis renewed the war in Italy, very much at the present Pope's instigation, as generally asserted.

Owns that the kingdom of Naples is a fief of the Church, and yet had the Pope made war on his vassal he would have forfeited all his rights to it. Cannot deny either that previous to the French King's capture [at Pavia] certain overtures for peace were made at his suggestion; but the object of those overtures was no other than to take possession, under cover of a deposit placed in his hands, of the whole duchy of Milan, the Venetians and Florentines having failed in their engagements on that occasion and withdrawn their forces, solely at his (Clement's) instigation.

It was also at his solicitation that the French King, even

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before his return from Spain, entered into a new league [with the Italian powers], and, as we believe, was released from the oath he made us.

Lastly, hostilities were commenced by the Pope long before the declaration of war reached us in Spain, his avowed purpose being not only to drive our army out of Italy, but to deprive us of the Imperial dignity, as the letters of the Marquis of Pescara [Fernando Davalos], to whom the crown of Naples was promised, sufficiently demonstrate.

We might have kept for ourselves the duchy of Milan, as it had been recovered by our arms and was a fief of the Empire, but we preferred the peace of Italy and gave it away to Francesco Sforza. When the latter, however, fell dangerously ill, and was not expected to live, the Duke of Bourbon, as is well known, was selected by us to succeed him. He (Sforza) was afterwards besieged in his castle of Milan for no other reason than because he had, with the Pope's assistance and connivance, made himself guilty of the crime "læsæ Majestatis," had refused to surrender the castles of Milan and Cremona, which our generals after having detected the conspiracy, asked for their security, and, moreover, would not purge himself from the charges from treason brought against him. True we were at the time requested to pardon and forgive the Duke's guilt, but this we could not do, as it might have been henceforth a bad example to vassals against their liege lords (sed neque possui nec debui ne pessimo exemplo beneficiariis in patronos delinquendi fenestram tram aperirem).

If our soldiers took provisions and other necessaries of life at Parma and Piacenza no blame is to be attached to them, for certainly those cities and their territories do not form part of the Church estates, but belong notoriously to the duchy of Milan.

The conditions of our peace with France were known to the Pope's legates. There was no reason for keeping them secret, since our object was merely to ensure the welfare of Christianity and make war on the Infidel. The laws published in our Spanish dominions were exclusively intended for the protection of our right of patronage on certain churches, rights and privileges granted to us by Pope Adrian, and to suppress which, several attempts have since been made at Rome.

"Sed vide quanta sit rei indignitas." Greater emoluments and profits accrue yearly to Rome from our dominions than from the rest of the Christian kingdoms put together; "id demostrari potest ex illis Germaniæ principum postulatis quando de curia Romana graviter conquesti, remedium adhiberi volebant. Ego autem pro mea in ecclesiam Romanam observantia quærimoniam illorum tunc posthabui."

Requests him to lay down his arms; the Emperor on his side will do the same, "et cum a Deo simus ambo constituti veluti

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luminaria duo magna, demus operam ut per nos illustretur orbis terrarum, neque per nostrum dissidium oriatur eclypsis, et cogitemus de universa republica, de profligandis barbaris, de sectis et erroribus comprimendis."*—Granatæ, 18th Sept. 1526.

Latin. Copy.

18 Sept. **553.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 321.

Since his letter of the 15th a courier has come from Posuania (Possonia) with advices from Buda of the 31st August, and Vienna of the 5th inst. Both confirm the disaster of Mohatz. The former state that the King of Hungary had saved himself; the latter that he got into a boat with others and was drowned. Which of the two accounts is the true one he (Sanchez) cannot tell. The Papal nuncio in this city received the courier, and immediately sent him on to Rome. Has not heard either from the Archduke or from Castro, but the Austrian ambassador in Venice has had letters from Innspruch and Trent, of which the enclosed are copies.

(*Cipher:*) No letter has come from Don Ugo. That which he wrote on the 10th inst. was probably intercepted. Has written since through a surer, though much slower channel. As soon as he hears from Rome he will quit Venice and go wherever he can be of most use to His Imperial Majesty.—Venice, 18th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Alonso Sanchez. Venice 18th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

18 Sept. **554.** COMMANDER LUIS YCART to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 378.

Refers to the report (*consulta*) of the Council. The Viceroy is anxiously expected there [at Naples], not only on account of the fleet he is to bring, but also for the better administration of justice and other government affairs, which suffer much from his absence.—Naples, 18th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

* The original minute of this letter, published by Lanz (vol. I., p. 219), from a copy in the Archives of Bourgogne, at Brussels is not at Vienna among the papers I have examined. If the date be correctly given (18th Sept. 1526), it may be inquired whether it was written before or after the two letters of the Emperor, immediately preceding, and addressed also to the Pope. I am inclined to believe that it was intended as an answer to the Pope's letter of the 30th of June (*see* above, No. 474), and therefore written after the receipt in Granada of the Papal brief of the 23rd that roused the Emperor's anger and prompted so warm a reply from him.

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18 Sept.? **555.** [Francesco Guicciardini] to Proveditor Pesaro.

S. E. L. 2010, f. 9.

Your Lordship is no doubt aware that His Holiness perceiving the danger of his position in the event of the Viceroy's fleet touching at Gaeta or at the coast of Sienna, earnestly requested his allies to raise the siege of Cremona, and send a strong detachment of Switzers with some thousands of Italians to Genoa, where, besides creating a diversion, there might be a chance of the inhabitants declaring in favour of the League. I recollect very well that your Lordship, not wishing at the time to desist from the siege [of Cremona], disapproved of this project, but promised that immediately after the arrival of the Marquis of Saluzzo with his [French] bands at the camp, 4,000 Switzers and as many Italian foot, newly raised at the expense of the League, should be detached against Genoa for the express purpose of carrying out His Holiness' plans. I have this day received a letter from Rome, in date of the 14th inst., implying that His Holiness is willing to wait for the arrival of the Marquis, who is expected very shortly, provided Genoa be attacked in the manner above described, without waiting for the issue of affairs at Cremona.* As there is no certainty as to the time when the Spanish fleet is to sail, nor how long it will be at sea; as it might also happen that the Switzers came too late, His Holiness thinks that the Genoese expedition ought first to be attended to, as sooner or later it must be attempted. We are so situated here that we cannot think of parting with any of our Switzers, unless the Marquis [of Saluzzo] arrives with his bands. Without him it is quite impossible for us to retain our positions here [before Milan]. His arrival, however, may soon be expected unless he delays at Cremona,† in which event he might remain so long there that it would be too late for relief here. Your Lordship is well acquainted with the condition of these countries (*paesi*), and knows that if the Viceroy were to come now he would find the Pope weakened‡ and would ultimately cause his ruin and that of the undertaking; and although there is no positive certainty of the Spanish fleet soon coming to these coasts, yet there is no ground to assert the contrary, and in things of such importance it is always prudent to secure oneself, rather than be exposed to danger and placed at the enemy's mercy. It is better to err on the side of too much than too little.

Immediately on the receipt of the above said letters from Rome I communicated their contents to the Magnifico Pisani, in the presence of Count Guido [Rangone], of Signor Giovanni [de' Medici], and Signor Vitello [Vitelli]. After a good deal of discussion it was resolved to make every possible effort for the Marquis to continue his march, so that on his arrival we

* Cremona surrendered on the 1st of October.
† "La venuta sua era facile ad aspettare se non se divertisse à Cremona."
‡ "Si erri piu presto nello havere tenuto piu del bisogno che manco."

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may be able to spare 2,500 or 3,000 Switzers. Before they reach Piacenza, there is every probability of our knowing the issue of the siege of Cremona, and if matters are then in such a state that a sufficient force can be detached for the Genoa enterprise, well and good; if not, the Switzers may go by way of Rome, where, joined to other forces in that territory, they will have nothing to fear from the Imperialists. At any rate before the said Switzers reach Piacenza, perhaps even before they have left this camp, I am sure to have an answer from Rome to the despatch which I intend sending this evening, perhaps too the news from Spain may throw light on the question. The only danger I see in this resolution is from the Marquis' dilatoriness* which has been exceedingly annoying to me, and the consequent delay in the plans to be made at Rome, which plans cannot possibly be carried out unless the Marquis is here. I therefore beg the Illustrious Duke of Urbino and your Lordship, not only to allow the Marquis [of Saluzzo] to come here, but to send him a message, as we will also do on our side, to the effect that the siege of Cremona has been commenced without the assistance of his bands, and that you (the Venetians) intend to carry it out.—Casaneto, 18th November.†

Addressed: "Al Provedditore Pesero."‡

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

21 Sept. **556.** ARTICLES of the TRUCE between POPE CLEMENT VII. and DON UGO DE MONCADA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 39.

It has been agreed between His Holiness Pope Clement VII. on one side, and the Illustrious Don Ugo de Moncada, captain-general of the Imperial fleet, the Emperor's ambassador, on the other:

1st. There will be a suspension of hostilities by land as well as by sea, and a truce of four months, beginning from the present day, in all the lands and districts of the duchy of Milan, Genoa, Florence, Ferrara and Sienna, in all which countries commercial intercourse is to be carried on as before, His Holiness promising to withdraw from thence his armies and fleets, and bring the same within the estates of the Church.

* "Che il devirtire di corto il Marchese."

† The date of this letter, which appears to have been written between the sack of Rome by the Colonnese, in August, and the taking of Cremona by the army of the League, is evidently mistaken, for that city capitulated in the last days of September, and ultimately surrendered on the 1st of October. As the siege of Cremona is therein mentioned as being actually conducted by the Venetians, it is evident that Guicciardini, who is no other than the celebrated historian of those times, and the Pope's Lieutenant-General, must have written to Pesaro about the 18th of September, on the same day that he received the instructions from Rome, dated the 14th. It is probable therefore that his letter, with others, was intercepted by the Imperialists, and a copy forwarded to Spain. Whoever made the transcript may easily have mistaken 7^{bris}. (Septembris) for 9^{bris}. (Novembris).

‡ Piero de Cà da Pesaro, called Pesero in this copy.

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2nd. A term of two months to be granted to the friends and allies of both contracting parties to approve of the said suspension of hostilities.

3rd. That the good-will of our Holy Father and his readiness to observe the present truce may become more manifest, the Pope consents that the Magnificent Philipus à Strozzis (Filippo Strozzi) from this very moment, and within two months one of the sons of the Magnificent Jacopo de Salviatis, Prior of Rome, or of Don Lorenzo (his brother?), constitute themselves prisoners and remain as hostages with Don Ugo. The said Salviatis, however, being allowed, if he chooses, to redeem his son for a sum of 30,000 ducats within the said period of time.

4th. Full indulgence and absolution to be granted to the Colonnese, their vassals and adherents, and generally to all others concerned in the last invasion (*in hoc insultu*).

5th. Immediately after signing the present truce Don Ugo will give orders for all his troops and those of the Colonnese who came to Rome with him to withdraw to the kingdom of Naples under the guidance of commissaries appointed by His Holiness.

6th. His Holiness in his own name, and Don Ugo in that of the Emperor, promise to observe the above, &c., which the College of Cardinals assembled has also approved and ratified.

Done in the castle of Sanct Angelo "in cameris mediæ residentiæ Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, coram Sanctitate sua et Sacro Collegio Cardinalium," and in the presence of the same Don Ugo de Moncada and of the witnesses called for the purpose, namely, the Illustrious and Reverend Don Martin of Portugal, ambassador of the King of Portugal, and the Reverend Dom. Bernardo, Bishop of Treviso (Episcopus Tarvisinus), Governor of Rome, in the year 1526, the 21st of September.

Latin. Contemporary Copy. pp. 2.

22 Sept. **557.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 355.

The Emperor must have heard the news from Hungary and the danger in which Austria, and indeed the whole of Germany is, through the Turkish invasion. This is the time for bringing about a lasting peace between the Christian Princes, for which it is above all things requisite to furnish such supplies of men and money to this Imperial army as to make it at least equal in number to that of the enemy. In this manner His Imperial Majesty will be enabled to invite the Princes of Christendom to march against the Infidel, and if they refuse, will not be responsible before God for the calamities that may afflict Christianity.

The news from this place are that the enemy continue still in their fortified camp; the Venetians in front of Cremona. According to our reports they were to make another assault

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to-day. The garrison is making a most gallant defence. The army of the Pope has been reinforced with Switzers (*Elveci*).* The French have advanced as far as Piacenza, intending to join the troops in front of Milan (*questi altri*).

(*Cipher:*) No news yet of the arrival of the Germans or of those who are to come with the fleet. The Imperial army is without money. The soldiers foraging at will. If the succours come in time for us to go out and try our fortune, well and good; otherwise nobody can say what will become of us, though we will fight to the last extremity. If, however, peace could be made, that would by far be the best means of overcoming the present difficulty. Every one [of the belligerents] should give up something of his own to help on such an arrangement (*et ogni uno per tal efecto se debe taglidre un pezzo del mantello*).

(*Common writing:*) Il Morone has been brought here [to Milan] to be examined. He (Caracciolo) has consulted with the Duke of Bourbon, whose advice is to postpone (*temporigiare*) the examination for a few days, till it is seen what turn affairs take.—Milan, 22nd Sept. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Catholicæ, Cesareæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 23rd (*sic*) Sept. Answered."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

22 Sept. **558.** Francesco Guicciardini to Proveditor Pesero.

S. E. L. 201, f. 11.

Does not send the news (*avvisi*) from Rome, because he (Guicciardini) is sure that the Magnifico Pisani has done that already. He (the Proveditor) will see that there was plenty of reason for the speedy arrival of the Marquis [of Saluzzo] being so urgently called for, and that our position is a dangerous one. Certainly there was reason to expect such a resolution as that which has been taken in a case of this importance.

Notwithstanding his orders from Rome, which are explicit enough on this point, he (Guicciardini) has taken upon himself the responsibility of sending for the Marquis [of Saluzzo] who otherwise would perhaps not have come at all, as he is naturally very irresolute.

Hopes to God that without disorder on the part of these bands the late accident† will be remedied, and that if the

* "Li Suizi (*sic*) di Germania et de la armata de V. M^{ta} non sono ancora comparsi." The Prothonotary often calls the Switzers *Elveci*, i.e., Helvetii, and the Germans *Swici*.

† The same remarks made elsewhere apply to this letter of Guicciardini, the historian; there must be an error in the date, and *September* substituted for November. The accident (*accidente*) alluded to must be the sack of Rome by the Colonnese, which, as already stated, preceded by nearly one month the capitulation and surrender of Cremona.

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Marquis join us, as there can be no doubt he will, we shall be enabled to carry out our undertaking. The Proveditor knows quite well how much has been done on our part before proceeding to this extremity, and that if we have not been listened to, the fault does not lie with those who have freely spoken out their minds, but with those who have refused to hear (*non e già la colpa di chi ha havuto bona lingua, ma di chi a mala orechia*).—Casaneto, 22nd Nov. (sic) 1526.

Indorsed: " Al Provedditor Pesero, delli XXII. di Novembre 1526. Di Casaneto."

Italian. Contemporary copy.

23 Sept. **559.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 372.

Encloses duplicates of his two letters of the 9th and 12th inst., though the events which have since taken place render perhaps such a precaution unnecessary.

As Don Ugo de Moncada has written informing the Emperor of his arrival at Rome, and what has been done there, he (Perez) need not dwell on the subject further than to say that but for the sacking of St. Peter and of the Papal palace His Holiness might not for a thousand years have been induced to come to terms,* as His Imperial Majesty will judge by the articles of the treaty of which a copy is enclosed. The truth is that the Pope has felt this more than anything else, and that he utters such lamentations and wailings, that to hear him, moves one to pity. So do his people [and the cardinals of his party], who have lost a good deal by the sack. It is to be hoped, however, that with the holy peace, which is likely to be the consequence of Don Ugo's successful enterprise, the damage done will soon be repaired, and things resume their old course, for certainly the Emperor has had no hand in it. It would be advisable for His Imperial Majesty to write a letter to the Pope, in his own hand, expressing his regret for what has happened, and assuring him of the filial love and affection he has always borne him. This is the most that can be done in the present state of affairs; (*cipher:*) and if the Emperor return a gracious answer to the Pope's proposal, about which he is now writing to his nuncio (Castiglione), of going over to Spain and holding an interview with him, he (Perez) has no doubt that His Holiness will be pleased, and matters satisfactorily arranged. Has been told so by the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), who is a staunch friend to the Imperial cause. But the Emperor must not on this

* " Si el saco que se hizo en san Pedro y Palacio no se hubiera hecho, habia mil años que tal cosa no se habia asi acertado para hacer venir al Papa en lo que vino."

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occasion use over-much courtesy (*cortesias*) and say that he himself will come and see him here, for in the said Archbishop's opinion the Pope will much prefer going to Spain himself, as he thinks that he may there settle his affairs to greater advantage.

(*Common writing:*) His Holiness complains bitterly of the Colonnese, who, he says, deceived him at the time the truce was made. He appears determined to take his revenge on them when the opportunity shall occur (*muestra voluntad à satisfacerse cuando tubiere tiempo*). He also complains of the Romans, none of whom stirred in his defence or tried to arrest the fury of the Imperial troops, but the truth is that the people were afraid of having their houses sacked, and each attended to his own affairs.

Begs for an increase of salary and payment of his arrears, that he may the better do the Imperial service.—Rome, 23rd Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ, Catolicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 23rd Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

23 Sept. **560.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 365.

Wrote last on the 20th, advising how the Hungarians had again surprised and defeated the Turks, who, elated by their last victory, had imprudently scattered their forces throughout the invaded country. The news, however, has not been confirmed, and there is every reason to fear that it is not true. However, the Archduke's ambassador residing here has had letters from Trent and Innspruck of the 16th and 17th, informing him that the Vayvod of Transylvania, Jean Zapolsky, and another great baron of that kingdom would soon take the offensive, and were only waiting for reinforcements from Bohemia and Germany.

(*Cipher:*) He (Sanchez) has already informed the Emperor that his letter of the 10th consulting Don Ugo de Moncada as to his future destination, and asking whether, according to orders, he had better go to Naples or Milan, was intercepted by the Signory. Has written again through another channel, but has had no answer yet. As it is, were Don Ugo's answer to come he (Sanchez) would not be able to quit Venice for ten days at least, as he is still very weak and unable to undertake a journey. Is moreover in great per-

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plexity, for now that the Archduke is gone to Austria, to prepare for meeting the Turk and to see to the defence of Hungary and Bohemia, he (Sanchez) cannot conceive of what use he can be there, and thinks he had better remain in Italy.

Joan de Castro writes from Innsbruck on the 12th and 14th inst. that when the Archduke, his master, heard of the defeat and death of King Louis [at Mohatz] he left immediately for Vienna at the head of his army, in order to defend the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which now belong to him.* He had left that city (Innsbruck) on the 11th, but before his departure had given order to raise certain moneys on his family jewels, with which to raise 10,000 effective infantry (*no en pagas, sino en numero*) to send to Italy. Micer George Fransperg (Fruntsperg) and one of the municipal officers (*regentes*) of Innsbruch had already started for Augusta (Augsburgh) on that errand, and there was every probability of their being successful, so that before the end of this month such a reinforcement of Germans would arrive in Italy as to be able by themselves to give the enemy battle.

The same Castro writes to say he has had letters from Cremona of the 6th assuring him that the garrison is strong and full of spirit. He had answered them that they might rely upon speedy succour.

At the Diet of Innsbruck the resolution was taken of giving the Archduke 5,000 men, armed and paid at the expense of the county of Tyrol for five months. The citizens had besides offered their own sons, and the villages implicated in last year's rebellion had sent him deputies, who, with tears in their eyes, had asked for pardon. The Imperial Diet had also resolved to assist the Archduke with 10,000 men, and all other German Princes had individually made similar offers.

Has received from Don Ugo de Moncada a letter dated the 14th, of which a copy is enclosed. Its contents will sufficiently inform the Emperor of the plans and intentions of that captain. Has also heard from Secretary Perez, in date of the 19th, that the Pope showed in gesture and manner that he much feared the arrival of the Viceroy and of the Archduke with the German reinforcements, and felt apprehensive about Naples, owing to the Collateral Council of that kingdom having expelled (*licenciado*) his Nuncio. His Holiness in consequence had again begun to enlist troops, and had sent Capin (Chiapino) for 4,000 Switzers, although others said that he had gone to France on a mission to the King to request that he would make some agreement with His

* In consequence of Archduke Ferdinand having married Maria Anna, sister of the King of Hungary, he claimed and finally obtained her brother's inheritance.

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Imperial Majesty, in which he (the Pope) might be included. —Venice, 23rd Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 23rd Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

24 Sept. **561.** The COLLATERAL COUNCIL OF NAPLES to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 374.

Send copies of Don Ugo's letters up to this day, but not of his treaty with the Pope, because it has not been received up to the time of the courier's departure.—Naples, 24th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty at his Court in Spain."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

24 Sept. **562.** The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 280.

Advises the return of the messenger sent to the Archduke, and the answer he has brought. Owing to the defeat and death of the King of Hungary [Louis] by the Turk, and the march of the latter on Vienna, the Infante (Ferdinand) finds it difficult to send the promised reinforcements. Begs and prays for the quick arrival of the Viceroy's fleet, because if Cremona be lost the Imperialists will not be able to remain one day more at Milan, but will be obliged to fall back on Pavia and Alessandria.

The Duke of Bourbon has sent 30,000 ducats for the Germans to come down.

His Imperial Majesty must not be too confident respecting the castle of Milan. It is by no means as well provisioned as it ought to be.

Things, indeed, are in such a state that the loss of their own lives is nothing in proportion to the damage likely to result to the Emperor's honour and reputation.

Knows for certain that the Marquis of Mantua (Frederigo Gonçaga) has entered into some sort of compact with the confederates, and promised to be neutral for a period of three years. This he (the Marquis of Mantua) has done, on the ground that his ambassador (Soardino) at the Imperial court had never been able to obtain a satisfactory answer to his applications.

Expresses fears for the loss of Cremona, whose garrison cannot possibly hold out much longer.

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Reports the death of Captain Bustamante, Commander Corvera, and a brother of Juan de Mercado, all of them excellent officers, and begs that their brothers and relatives may be taken care of.

Refers for other particulars to his letter (of the 28th of Aug.) to Juan Bautista [Gastaldo y] Gutierrez. Does not sign the present letter owing to his weak state, his strength having been lately much reduced by illness.—Milan, 24th Sept. 1526.

Post data.—Hears that the enemy [before Milan] have been rejoicing at the taking of Cremona, which they say has surrendered. The Marquis of Saluzzo and Federigo Bozano (di Bozzolo) have not joined the Duke of Urbino at Cremona, as was anticipated, but are coming here to swell the enemy's camp.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las Cartas del Marques del Gasto."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 3.

24 Sept. **563.** JOAN DE CASTRO to [ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice].

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 384 vo.

Has this moment received a letter from Micer Jorge Fransberg (Fruntsperg) at Augusta (Augsburgh) informing him that although he had taken with him the Archduke's jewels to the value of 60,000 ducats, besides the pledge of the Ducal Chamber at Innsbruck, &c., he had been unable to obtain money from the bankers in that city. This being the time of year when, in expectation of the Francfort fair, the merchants have less money at their disposal, they could not supply the sum required. Besides which, the treasury [of the city] was exhausted by the late wars, and they had to provide for the expense of their contingent for the projected expedition against the Turks, which is to consist of 10,000 men. The said Fruntsperg had then returned home, and sent for three merchants to contract a loan in three different cities. One had gone to Nuremberg; another to Verona, and the third to Argentina (Strasburgh). He had, besides, sent a captain of his to Madame Marguerite [in the Low Countries], begging her to send him forthwith part of the 200,000 ducats said to have been remitted by the Emperor in bills of exchange, unless she wished to see the estates of her two nephews totally destroyed and lost. Lastly, the said Fruntsperg has written to Mons. de Bourbon, representing the Archduke's wants, and that the men were ready to start at a moment's notice, provided the money were sent. Hears that 200,000 ducats have lately been received in Genoa, and yet no portion, however small, of that sum has been sent to the Archduke. Fruntsperg,

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however, is very active, and omits nothing that may be conducive to the Emperor's service.—Innspruck, 24th September 1526.

Signed: "Joan de Castro."

Addressed: "To the most magnificent [Alonso Sanchez], Imperial Ambassador in Venice."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter of Joan de Castro of the 24th of September, at Innspruck."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

25 Sept. **564.** MASTER SALAMANCA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 392.

The very moment His Holiness (the Pope) heard the sad and afflicting news from Hungary he called for a Consistory, whereto he summoned all the cardinals, and the ambassadors and agents (*hazedores*) of the Christian Princes in this city, among whom he [Salamanca] was one, as servant and vassal of His Highness [the Archduke], whose dominions in Austria and the adjoining provinces border upon Hungary. Many a plan was there proposed for the remedy of so great and imminent a danger, but none was considered so expedient as that of making a truce and agreeing to a cessation of war between His Imperial Majesty and all the Christian Princes, that they might thereby be enabled to help and assist the said kingdom of Hungary, for so many years the bulwark of Christendom. Accordingly His Holiness resolved that all Christian Princes should be written to and requested to use their common and individual influence upon His Imperial Majesty in order to have the said truce and cessation of war quickly negotiated and concluded. The meetings of the Consistory, however, ended much sooner than was anticipated, for three days after Don Ugo de Moncada with the Colonnese entered this city, after having performed the signal and remarkable feat of arms of taking Rome.

Thinks it advisable to inform His Majesty of all this, that the good and righteous intentions of His Holiness may be fully appreciated, with the help of which, and the Emperor's well-known and constant love of peace, it is hoped that the Turk will be humiliated and conquered, and the Christian religion spread and exalted.

Letters have been received here from Hispruque (Innsbruck) purporting that His Highness, with part of his army, had gone to Vienna, to wait there for the forces which the German Princes and the Innspruck Diet had promised to send him.—Rome, 25th of September 1526.

Signed: "El Maestro Salamanca."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Rome. From Master Salamanca, 25th September."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

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25 Sept. **565.** BERENGUER DE REQUESENS to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 377.

Were the galleys of Naples at Genoa, as they ought to be, the French fleet would not dare go there and capture, as they have done of late, several vessels laden with wheat and biscuit coming from Sicily. Nor would the Papal galleys go about unmolested, for certainly if we were ordered out of this port, they would not escape without a compliment and salute on our part.

The two Sicilian galleys under his orders are badly provided, wanting the four elements that can alone make them fit for service. Begs for orders to Lope de Soria to borrow at Genoa the money required for fitting them up properly. He himself cannot do it; he has no credit, owing to the last bills on the treasury of Naples having been dishonoured on presentation, though they were ultimately paid. Requests that the ordinary pay of his galleys be issued every month in advance from the Sicilian treasury.

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty, &c."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

25 Sept. **566.** JAYME DE REQUESENS to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 379.

Repeats the same statements, and adds that had not Don Berenguer [his brother?] and he (Jayme) pawned their own silver plate to pay the crews, the galleys would have been disarmed. Not one has its proper contingent of men; that which he commands has 18 galley slaves below the right number, many are leaving as their time of service is up, and among those who remain there are about 15 who are too old for the handling of the oars. Begs that orders be sent to Sicily to provide him with men and money.

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty, &c."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 1½.

25 Sept. **567.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 386.

A rumour was spread this morning that the garrison of Cremona being without powder and ammunition had agreed to surrender within the present month of September unless succoured by an army strong enough to cause the besieging forces to retire from before its walls. All lives and property to be safe; the Spaniards to go to Naples, the Germans back to their own country. The moment he (Sanchez) heard the news he despatched a messenger to one of the Archduke's servants* at Innspruch, begging that the Germans might come down immediately. Fears they will not arrive in

* Juan de Castro?

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time, and as it is not likely that the Imperial army at Milan is in a position to relieve the city, considers Cremona as lost, and, which is worse, in the hands of the Venetians, from whom it will not be easy to recover it.

His Imperial Majesty has no doubt heard from Don Ugo, as well as from Milan and Genoa, how that captain and the Colonnese entered Rome on the 20th, and on the 21st made a convention with the Pope. Does not know for certain what the conditions are, as the Signory intercepts all letters addressed to him, but as far as he can guess the Papal troops are to evacuate Lombardy, and his galleys are also to return to Civittà Vecchia ; there is to be a truce of four months. Some add that Venice is also comprised in the convention, and that in case of refusal the Papal forces by land as well as by sea are to join the Imperialists and compel the Signory to abide by it. Others say that the Venetians are allowed one month's time for subscribing to the conditions. However this may be, it is not likely that the Venetians will ratify the agreement made by the Pope, as they would have to restore Lodi, Cremona, and the whole of the Geradada (Ghiera d' Adda). God grant that His Holiness keep his word, and that the expected reinforcements from Germany and Spain come soon!

Is anxiously waiting for letters from Don Ugo. As soon as he hears from him, will take his leave of the Signory and depart. His presence, however, can be of very little use at the Archduke's court, if it be true, as generally asserted, that the King of Hungary was killed in the battle [of Mohatz], and that the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) has made himself King of Hungary.—Venice, 25th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 25th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

26 Sept. **568.** The Emperor to Charles de la Noy,* Viceroy of Naples.

S. E. Leg. 1454, f. 63.

Appoints him his ambassador, procurator, &c. for the conclusion of peace, and for removing all causes of discord between him (the Emperor) on one side, the Pope and the rest of the Italian Princes on the other.—Granada, 26th Sept. 1526.

Addressed: "Carolo de la Noy, Viceregi Neapolis."

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

* Thus in the original, which, as well as many other letters in the collection, is in the handwriting of Alfonso Valdes, Latin Secretary to the Emperor. I need scarcely observe that the Viceroy's name is generally written *Lanoy* and *Lannoy*, whilst he himself often signed his name La Noy.

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26 Sept. **569.** ARCHDUKE FERDINAND to ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 384.

We have received letters of the 18th August last, of the 9th and 12th inst., and also a despatch from Spain, of which the enclosed is a copy. Although the Emperor, our brother, replies at length to our letters of admonition and warning respecting Italy, and the necessity there is of speedy succour there, he does not say a word about money, without which nothing can be effected. Nevertheless, hearing from you and from the Duke of Bourbon that remittances were soon expected from Spain, We sent trusty persons to the city of Augusta (Augsburg), for the purpose of inquiring from the merchants there whether it was not possible to have the money before the arrival of the expected bills. Our people having obtained an answer in the negative you may easily imagine the disappointment this caused us; for besides the great exhaustion of our family dominions, We happened to receive about that time the painful intelligence of the King of Hungary's death, and of the advance of the Turks upon Buda, which naturally imposed upon us the paramount duty of looking to the defence of Christianity, threatened by the Turk's formidable power.

And yet, bearing, as we ought, in mind the Emperor's wishes and instructions respecting our family interests in Italy, We resolved to apply to this object part of the provision made by us against the Infidel. We, therefore, sent Jorge Fransperch (Fruntsperg) to Augusta (Augsburg) with our own family jewels, amounting in value to upwards of 60,000 ducats, with full powers to raise money on the same, besides pledging with the consent of the three estates the revenues of our Ducal Chamber at Innsbruck. On such securities Fransperch (Fruntsperg) is to borrow from the said merchants the sum required for a month's pay of the 12,000 men now being raised, to be led without delay to Italy, as we have already informed Mons. de Bourbon by our letter of the 8th inst., which Micer Benedetto took. We hope that by George's speedy arrival in those parts the Imperial army may obtain an easy victory over the enemy.

The Turk is advancing, and We are informed from various quarters that he will soon be at Buda, as there is nobody there to oppose him. We are, however, doing our utmost here to defend our patrimonial estates.—Lintz, 20th of September 1526.*

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the Infante (Archduke) of the 20th of September, at Lintz."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1¼.

* The original letter is said to have been written wholly in the cipher usually employed by Sanchez.

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28 Sept. **570.** ANTONIOTTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 396.

The news he has to advise is of such importance that he has not hesitated to fit out a brigantine to convey the messenger to Spain. His ambassador at Court will communicate the intelligence, or the secretary in his absence.

His Imperial Majesty has no doubt heard of the Pope having been besieged in St. Angelo; of the Turks having been defeated by the Hungarians, and perhaps also of the surrender of Cremona, which is said to have capitulated; all which events make him (Adorno) more anxious than ever for the arrival of the Viceroy with the fleet.

The Community are doing all they can for the Emperor's service, but money is very scarce and the expense is great. He himself is so poor that since he resumed the office of Doge he has sold six castles, and mortgaged an estate of his yielding 500 ducats in the kingdom of Naples.—Genoa, 28th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Antoniotto Adorno."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesaræ Catholicæ, Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. From the Doge, 28th Sept. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

28 Sept. **571.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 398.

Wrote on the 17th by Leonardo Grimaldo, who went by land to Monego, to avoid these galleys of the League cruising in front of Genoa. Grimaldo was to embark there for Barcelona. Sends the duplicate of his letter, as well as others from Venice.

The last news received is that on the 29th of August last the King of Hungary (Louis) was routed and slain [at Mohatz]. A servant of the Duke of Bourbon, who left Innspruck on the 17th inst., relates that the Archduke had been obliged to send to Vienna, under Marco Siti,* part of the German infantry that was to have come down into Lombardy; that owing to that the expected reinforcements would not reach Milan so soon, but that 10,000 men under George Fransperg (Fruntsperg) would be in Italy before the end of this month. May God forgive the Pope and his confederates for having caused all this damage to Christianity. For if no proper remedy be applied, such as an alliance with the King of France and other Christian Princes, and the conclusion of a solid and durable peace permitting them to march against the common enemy of our faith, the harm likely to result will be incalculable. The Turk, after possessing himself of the

* Elsewhere called Citi, Setig, and Sitig.

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whole of Hungary, is sure to cross the county of Friolo (Friuli), and once in Italy it will be difficult to expel him.

With the above sad news a more consoling one has been received here, which is that on the 20th inst. at night the Colonnese entered Rome, and took possession of the Papal Palace, which they sacked, together with some cardinals' houses. The Pope retired to the castle of St. Angelo, and on the following day an agreement was entered into, in virtue of which His Holiness was to recall his troops from Lombardy, and his galleys from these seas. The order has since been transmitted, and is now being executed, for Andrea Doria sailed yesterday for Liorna (Livorno) and Civittà Vecchia with his eight galleys, leaving here the 16 galleys of France under Count Pedro Navarro, and the 13 of the Venetians, with whom Archbishop Fregoso now is. Were His Holiness to send similar orders to his captains before Milan, as it is rumoured that he has done already, both Lombardy and Genoa would be secure from the enemy, as it is not to be presumed that Venice and the Marquis of Saluzzo with his bands could hold out against the Imperial forces.

(*Cipher :*) Active preparations are now being made at Genoa to fit out such a force as may go out [of port] and drive off the enemy's galleys. This, however, ought not to be attempted without great probability of success, for it would not do to compromise thereby the safety of Genoa before the arrival of the Viceroy's fleet.

(*Common writing:*) This Doge and Community declare they are quite unable, owing to their extreme poverty, to contribute their share towards the expenses of the fleet now being armed. It is in fact so great that he (Sanchez) has been obliged to advance the monthly pay of two companies of Spanish infantry brought here for their defence, and which the Community offered to take in their pay. (*Cipher :*) Has been obliged to wink at this and other similar irregularities arising from the damage and losses which this city has lately sustained from the enemy, through the capture of vessels laden with corn, &c. The inhabitants are generally discontented. It is a very bad sign that whenever he (Soria) proposes any measure which the Community dislike, they immediately begin threatening to make terms with the enemy, &c., and the truth is that many in this city, principally the Fregosi, are no friends to the Emperor.

(*Common writing :*) Owing to the above reasons, and others no less weighty, the ambassador has taken upon himself to pay the Spanish infantry out of the Imperial treasury, applying to that purpose part of the 30,000 ducats lately remitted for the expense of the fleet, inasmuch as they (the Genoese) will not be able to arm so many vessels as they thought at first, from want of sufficient artillery.

At Milan matters continued the same at the date of the last advices. The Papal troops and the Switzers were close

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by, at half a league from the city, skirmishing daily with our soldiers. In one of these skirmishes, on the 16th ult., Captain Corbera was killed.* The Switzers had deserted and were deserting in great numbers. Hieronymo Moron had been transferred to the castle of Milan.

At Cremona there had been lately many assaults and encounters. The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) was doing all he could, as the Venetians had set their minds upon taking the city. The Marquis of Saluzzo had arrived [in Italy], but it was doubtful whether he would join the Venetian camp before Cremona, or the Papal forces in front of Milan. It was added that the Marquis' bands received their pay from the Papal treasury and from the Venetians, so as to make it appear that they were not in the service of France.

Has received letters from the governor of Rezzo (Reggio) stating that on the 14th inst. Count Lodovico di Lodron arrived at Mantua and intimated to its Marquis (Federigo Gonzaga) the following orders from the Emperor:—

1°. He was to grant passage through his estate and procure provisions for any German bands, or any other troops or persons coming into Lombardy for the Imperial service.

2°. He was to furnish timber and other materials for the construction of a pontoon wherever it might be required for the crossing of the said troops.

3°. Not to league himself with any of the Emperor's enemies, but to be in open hostility against them.

4°. To declare himself as shortly as possible either the friend or the enemy of the Empire.

5°. To allow levies to be made in his estate for the Emperor's service, and give all due securities to the recruiting captains, &c.

The same governor (of Reggio) writes in date of the 21st that the garrison of Cremona was on the point of capitulating to the enemy. Hopes the intelligence is not true, as the news has not been otherwise confirmed.

The last occurrences at Rome must have been exclusively the work of Don Ugo de Moncada and Ascanio Colonna, supported by the rest of the Colonnese, because he (Soria) has been informed that Ascanio refused to sign the truce, that he might not have his hands tied by the engagement.

Is about to send to the Duke of Bourbon, at Milan, the remainder of the last 100,000 ducats. Fancies that it will not go far towards paying the debts of the Imperial army.—Genoa, 27th Sept. 1526.

Postscriptum.—Intelligence has this moment been received confirming the news about Cremona. The garrison capitulated on the 14th on the following conditions:—Safety to persons and property (*personas y ropa*); the Germans to go freely home,

* "A los 16 del pasado." But this is a mistake. Corbera was killed on the 18th of September, as will be seen in a subsequent letter of the Abbot of Najera.

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and the Spaniards to Naples. There has been in consequence great rejoicing on board the Venetian galleys in sight of this port. If the news turn out true, and the German reinforcements do not arrive soon, the enemy is sure to march on Genoa. They will find us prepared to receive them; we are not to be easily reduced by forces, however numerous.

Has delayed until this day the departure of the brigantine, in the hope of hearing from the Duke [of Bourbon], but there are no despatches from him, and the Doge says he cannot wait any longer, and that he must needs inform the Emperor of the late news, as well as of his inability to carry out his orders without money. Encloses also a letter received from Alonso Sanchez in date of the 20th.

The surrender of Cremona is still spoken of. They say now that the garrison has stipulated that if they are relieved before the expiration of this month, things will remain as they are. Others assert that the city has surrendered to the French. However this may be, he (Soria) thinks that Cremona will prove a bone of contention between the Venetians and the rest of the confederates.

Letters from Ferrara add some details to the above account of Don Ugo's entry into Rome. He arrived before that city on the 20th with 4,000 foot and 1,000 cavalry, besides two guns; took possession of the Sacred Palace (*Sacro Palacio*) and of some houses belonging to cardinals, and routed and killed most of the horsemen the Pope had collected for his defence; the whole of Rome was out in the streets crying "Impero! Impero!" Don Ugo and the Colonnese were expecting reinforcements, 3,000 infantry and four more guns. On the 21st the agreement was signed. Bologna had revolted in consequence, and was about to give admittance to the Bentivoglio (*los Bentivollas*). Bitelo (Vitello) and other Papal captains had left the army and started in the direction of Sienna, giving out that their bands would soon follow them; but it might be after all that they only went away in execution of some such orders as those received by Andrea Doria.

(*Cipher:*) Begs to observe that the present Pope is a Florentine, and owes his election to the Emperor; that the King of France, once a prisoner, recovered his liberty through the Imperial mercy, and that neither the one nor the other has acknowledged with gratitude the favours bestowed upon them. He (Soria) makes bold to mention this in order that when the time shall come for making an agreement with His Holiness, the clauses of such agreement may be so binding that he (the Pope) cannot, if he will, do mischief; otherwise he is sure to break his promises and engagements.—Genoa, 28th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 28th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 406). pp. 7.

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29 Sept. **572.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 410.

Wrote last on the 25th.* Has not yet heard from Don Ugo. Knows, however, from a credible source that he (Don Ugo) and the Colonnese are exceedingly sorry for what has happened at Rome. They could not avoid it. Are now doing all they can to restore to the Pope whatever is found among the men [of the spoil]. The agreement made with His Holiness includes also Ferrara, Genoa, Sienna, and Florencia (Firenze). The truce to last four months, and the confederated powers to be comprised in the convention within two months' time, if they desire it. It is not likely that the Venetians will approve of this, as they are almost sure of getting Cremona, and have already in their possession Lodi and the whole of the Geradada (Ghiera d' Adda). Cannot find out whether the Pope's troops have already begun to evacuate Lombardy. Fancies they have not, or that the operation will be a very slow one, that they may give the Venetians time to take Cremona.

(*Cipher:*) It is generally asserted here (at Venice) that the Pope will not observe the treaty. He (Sanchez) is of the same opinion. Thinks that His Holiness will go on dissembling and gaining time until he is fully armed and prepared for another invasion of his territory. Is the more inclined to believe this, that he hears that 2,000 of the Switzers in the Pope's pay are marching on Piacenza on their way to Rome. It is, moreover, stated that although his own troops, as agreed, may retire from the field of battle, he (the Pope) will have at his disposal the French bands under the Marquis of Saluzzo. His Holiness is exceedingly hurt (*sentido*) at what has happened, and is about to send legates to the various Christian Princes, and to the Emperor also, to complain, as he says, of the manner in which he has been treated, intending henceforwards to fix his residence at Bologna, and not return to Rome. This last, however, is only a rumour.

Has heard from various sources that the Venetian Secretary in France (Andrea Rosso) writes in date of the 19th that it was generally believed at that court that the Emperor would shortly come to Italy. The French King had said that, such being the case, he would come also at the head of a powerful army.† One of the parties to whom he (Sanchez) is indebted for the above information relates that Andrea Rosso had received letters from the Venetian ambassador in Spain (Navagero) purporting that the Emperor had signified to him

* *See* No. 567, p. 936.

† "Y se creia ó decia que V. Mag^{d}. personalmente quiere venir á Italia, y que el Rey de Francia dice que viniendo V. Mag^{d}. verná él tambien, y que será tan presto como V. Mag^{d}. en ella, y que bravea de venir con poderosisimo exercito."

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that he was not to write any more to the Signory. The letter said nothing about the Venetian ambassador being sent away (*despedido*), but nevertheless he (Sanchez) intends leaving as soon as he hears from Don Ugo. It is reported here that the enemy intercepted the other day a letter of the Archduke to Mons. de Bourbon announcing the speedy arrival of George Fransperch (Fruntsperg) with the Germans. The Austrian ambassador has advices from Trent of the 24th confirming that intelligence.

The Signory is apparently making naval preparations although the works have not yet commenced. The season moreover, is too far advanced for their galleys, when ready, to take to the sea. Neither is the destination of the said armament known; but as some of their bands are bordering on Pulla (Apulia), as the Pope is generally supposed not to be disposed to observe the treaty, and might perhaps be tempted to invade Naples, the Venetians may perhaps be called upon to help by sea. Perhaps it is only a feint to call off the attention of Don Ugo, who is reported as about to join the Imperialists at Milan with the forces under his command. At any rate the coast of Apulia ought to be provided for, were it for no other purpose than that of defence against the Infidel.

(*Common writing:*) The news of the Turk and of Hungary are contradictory. Some say that King (Louis) is still alive, and that the Vayvod of Transylvania wants to make himself King of Hungary; that the Archduke (Ferdinand) wishes for the same, as the kingdom belongs to him by right of his wife and that owing to that there was discord between the two pretenders. It is even surmised that the Vayvod will make some sort of agreement with the Turk and be King of Hungary. With regard to the Turk some say that he is marching triumphantly on Vienna; others that the Vayvod with the Germans and Bohemians are pressing upon him on all sides, so that he cannot escape without being defeated. The Hungarians had sacked the German and Italian merchants of Buda, after which the Turk had taken possession of that city and slaughtered all the inhabitants from 13 years upwards, those under that age having been sent as captives to Turkey.

(*Cipher:*) There is a rumour afloat that this Signory is trying to take in its pay part of the Germans last in Cremona, and that their captains are not disinclined to accept the offer. It was not Captain Coradino, however, but a friend of Gasinar, the chief of the peasants (*villanos*), who was likely to go over to the enemy.

Whilst writing the above he (Sanchez) has received the enclosed letters from the Archduke and from Joan de Castro.

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An ambassador from the Turk* is expected here, who comes, as usual, to announce his last victory over the King of Hungary. The Signory will send him another to congratulate him.—Venice, 29th Sept. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To his most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 29th Sept. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. $5\frac{1}{2}$.

30 Sept. **573.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 1.

Wrote on the 10th inst., and now encloses the duplicate.† Since then a gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon, who was at the court of the Archduke, has returned from Yspruque (Innspruck), bringing very sad intelligence from those parts. (*Cipher:*) The King of Hungary (Louis) had been defeated and slain by the Turk. On the 11th inst. the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) had embarked at Yspruque (Innsbruck) for Leuca, where the Archduchess was. He had despatched Captain Marco Çite (Sitig?) to Vienna with a good band of Germans.

(*Common writing:*) The Pope and the rest of the confederates may now consider what harm they have done to Christianity by their unruly passions and injustice. This was the moment for their coming to their senses and concluding a lasting peace with His Imperial Majesty, instead of which some of them, as is suspected, have brought down the Turk upon us.

(*Cipher:*) This last news has by no means improved our situation in Italy, as the enemy is likely to take courage and carry on the war with greater vigour. Begs for speedy succour in men and money. 24,000 ducats in bills have been remitted to George Fransbergue (Fruntsperg) that he may bring us 8,000 or 10,000 Germans, now more than ever wanted for the defence of this place and Cremona.

(*Common writing:*) The Papal army, entirely composed of Switzers, is still in a strongly fortified camp. It musters 7,000, though lately about 2,000 of them have left the service. The Marquis of Saluzzo and Frederico Bozano (da Bozzolo) were expected at the camp, having arrived at Placenzia (Piacenza) with 4,000 infantry levied in Piedmont, 250 lances

* His arrival is recorded in a despatch of the Doge and College to Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian secretary in England, dated the 13th of October. Marco Minio was the nobleman elected by the Signory to congratulate the Turk upon his victory. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 612–3.

† *See* above, No. 540, p. 889.

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and 300 light cavalry. The Duke of Urbino has done nothing yet against Cremona; he was thinking of mining a portion of the walls so as to blow them up with gunpowder.* Our men were making a stout defence. On the 7th the garrison sallied out and slew a good number of the enemy, and again on the 13th they took three banners from them, as appears from the letters of Thomas Sanchez de Baeça and other captains in command of that garrison.

(*Cipher:*) The better to defend Cremona the Duke of Bourbon has sent to request the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) to send thither 8,000 or 10,000 pounds of gunpowder, escorted by 200 or 300 musketeers (*escopeteros*). It is presumed that they will have no difficulty in reaching the place by night and delivering the ammunition.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis del Guasto has completely recovered his health. Leyva is still suffering from fever and ague, but not so intensely as at first.

On the 18th, as Juan de Urbina and Captain Corvera were reconnoitring certain trenches and parapets of the enemy, the latter received a hackbut shot in the head, and died instantly. On the following day Captain Çucaro attacked and routed a squadron of light cavalry, 150 strong, consisting entirely of Romans and Venetians, slew many of them, and brought back [to the camp] 40 prisoners. At about the same time a very brave officer of this Imperial army, Sancho de Frias by name, ensign (*alferez*) to Antonio de Leyva, attacked with only 15 men-at-arms of his company a body of musketeers (*escopeteros*) and hackbutiers (*arcabuceros*), 150 strong, and slew or captured most of them.

On the 19th the Duke of Bourbon sent for Hieronimo Moron, who was at Treço, to have him kept under close guard in this castle [of Milan], and also to ask his advice and assistance (*pedirle ayuda y consejo*) under the present circumstances. The Duke [of Bourbon] has already begun to sound him concerning the help (*ayuda*) in money which he (Moron) is willing to give. He answers in general terms that he is ready to serve His Imperial Majesty to the utmost of his power, meaning no doubt that he will pay a considerable sum of money to obtain his liberty. Prothonotary Carachiolo (Caracciolo), who is now here for the purpose of prosecuting, would willingly have submitted him to another interrogatory, but the Duke of Bourbon has told him to suspend all proceedings for the present. As Moron, who is undoubtedly the most valuable witness who can be brought against the Duke and his accomplices, is in bad health, and might not improbably die, instructions should at once be sent to the Prothonotary to have him re-examined.

No news from France or from Switzerland. At Rome the Colonnese and Don Ugo de Moncada, perceiving that the

* "Y atiende de presente a cortar la muralla por hazerla caer con poluora."

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Collateral Council of Naples refused, without the Emperor's express order, to send them money for the invasion of the lands of the Church, had decided to sign a truce.

The enemy's galleys were until lately in front of Genoa, but contrary winds and stress of weather had obliged them to put out to sea. They had captured some vessels laden with corn [from Sicily] and bound for that city.

(*Cipher :*) On the 24th news came to this camp that Cremona had surrendered to the enemy. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence a council of war was summoned, when by Moron's advice (*con el parecer de Moron*) it was decided to wait within Milan for the reinforcements coming from Spain and Germany, and to watch for the approach of the Venetians, who were reported to be on the road [to Milan], in order to cut off our supplies from the country.*

(*Common writing :*) On the 26th, six Germans, three Italians, and three Spaniards arrived at this camp with a safe-conduct of the Duke of Urbino, captain-general of the League. They came from Cremona and were the bearers of certain articles of capitulation under which the place had offered to surrender. Unless relieved by the end of this month the garrison had agreed to give up the place. The Duke of Urbino], moreover, had consented to wait till the 6th of October, and promised safe-conducts to the Germans to return home, to the Spaniards and Italians to go to Naples.

(*Cipher :*) It is suspected that Colonel Corradin and the other German captains have been bribed by the enemy, for the garrison was not in want of supplies, except perhaps ammunition, and yet as before stated, without waiting for the promised succour, they suddenly determined to capitulate, and asked the Spaniards to do the same. On the 29th the emissaries returned to Cremona with a message from the Duke to the garrison, commanding them to hold out at least until the 6th of October. This the Germans would not promise in the name of their comrades, though the Duke has offered them one month's pay for the six days of this present month and all their arrears, besides Cremona should be succoured within the said period of time, or otherwise retaken from the enemy. Spaniards and Italians make no objection to this, and if the Germans only do their duty, thus giving time for the gunpowder and musketeers to arrive, the city may still be saved.

On the 25th the Marquis of Saluzzo and Frederigo Bozano (da Bozzolo) arrived at the Pope's camp with 4,500 men,

* He paid 20,000 ducats down. "Girolamo Morone (says Guicciardini) condannatto alla morte compose la notte precedente alla mattina destinata al supplizio di pagare ventemila ducati, al qualle effetto era stata fatta la simulazione di decapitarlo, con i quale uscito di carcere diventò subito col vigore del suo ingegno di prigione del Duca di Borbone suo Consigliere." — *Dell' Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVII.

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between Frantopines* and Piedmontese, 250 lances and 300 light horse.

On the 27th letters came from the Doge of Genoa and others announcing that on the 20th Don Ugo [de Moncada] and the Colonnese with 5,000 or 6,000 men had entered Rome, at three hours of the night, defeated and put to the sword the Pope's guard, to the number of 1,500 men. The Pope with some of his cardinals and servants had fled to the castle [of St. Angelo], when his palace and those of the cardinals and others attached to his person were completely sacked. On the 21st an agreement between the Pope and Don Ugo had been signed, the former consenting to withdraw his land and sea forces. Consequently on the 26th Andrea Doria with his eight galleys raised the siege of Genoa. Similar orders had been forwarded to the Pope's army, but it is believed that these will not be obeyed immediately, thus giving time for Cremona to surrender, as otherwise the French [and Venetians] would remain alone in the field.

Juan (Giovannino) de Medicis is so ill with fever that he cannot ride.

On the 28th news came from the Doge of Genoa of the arrival of the Imperial galleys at a port of the island of Sardinia, called Bechon. The same intelligence was communicated by Pedro Navarro to the Marquis of Saluzzo on the 29th, with the addition that the Venetian and French galleys were three miles off Genoa.

We are anxiously expecting to hear of the arrival of the Imperial fleet in that port (Genoa) in order to succour Cremona, if it has not surrendered to the enemy, as there is every reason to fear that it has.—Milan, the last day of September 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najara, 30th Sept."

Spanish. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 4–5) pp. 5.

30 Sept. **574.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, ff. 418–21.

As Don Ugo de Moncada wrote on the 24th inst., giving the news of the 20th and enclosing copy of the articles agreed to with the Pope, as Don Francisco de Mendoza, the bearer of those despatches, left this for Milan, and was to embark at

* Also called Fantopines (from the Italian *fanti?*); they were originally from Gascony, and the neighbouring provinces of France.

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Genoa [for Spain], and as Don Ugo himself has since forwarded a duplicate of his letters by Commander Sanct Anton, also going to Genoa, he (Perez) has nothing to advise, except that His Holiness sent the other day to France one of his chamberlains, named Paulo di Rezzo (Reggio), who is afterwards to go as ambassador to His Imperial Majesty. Another personage is shortly to be sent to England, viz., the auditor of the Apostolic chamber (Ghinucci), once King Henry's ambassador at this court. This latter goes to Marseilles by sea. His Holiness goes on levying troops. Very close guard is kept at the gates of the city, which are shut one hour before night, and not opened until daylight the next day. What all these precautions mean he (Perez) cannot guess, for certainly during the four months of the truce agreed to on the 21st of September they have nothing to fear from us. Some people think that the Pope will not abide by the convention, owing to which the subjects of the Empire now living at Rome feel some anxiety about their persons and property, knowing, as they do, that some of the Pope's courtiers are urging him to this breach of faith.

Cardinals Farnese and Monti have lately returned to Rome. Hears that their lamentations at what occurred on the 20th inst. are very great, and that they magnify the event beyond measure. Cardinal Sanctiquatro has also returned [to Rome], but hitherto has not communicated with him (Perez).

Ten of the Imperial galleys that were at Naples came the other day close to Ostia, landed part of their crews, and did some damage in the interior. The Pope is exceedingly angry, and has complained bitterly to Perez about it, and also about certain reprisals (*represarias*) which some of the Imperial light cavalry have made, as it is asserted, upon vassals of the Church. No sooner did the Secretary hear of this than he wrote to Don Ugo who gave immediate orders for the property to be returned to its owners, and for Commander Ycart to go back to Gaeta with the galleys. None of the messages Don Ugo sent could be conveyed to him at sea, which was the reason of his landing at Ostia and causing the damage complained of by His Holiness. But the Papal troops on their side have made similar ravages, and it has been mutually agreed that a compensation shall be given on either side.

Notwithstanding the above securities the Imperialists at Rome are much alarmed, principally since the news has come that the city of Cremona capitulated on the 24th. The intelligence has been received with joy by these people, whose spirits had been rather depressed since the events of the 20th. Don Ugo is now at Subiaco, accompanied by Cardinal Colonna, and the report is that Ascanio (Colonna) is going to Aquila with most of the forces under his command.

(*Cipher :*) Hears that Count Petillano (Pitigliano) is about to offer his services to the Emperor. The Countess writes to say that if her husband's offer is accepted he will give as

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hostage a daughter of theirs with a competent dowry to be married in the kingdom [of Naples] to whomsoever the Emperor pleases. The Count is a person of quality, and greatly esteemed among the Orsini. If his services are accepted he cannot have less than a *condotta* of 100 light horse. Wants to know what answer he shall return to his application. Has written on the subject to Don Ugo, who without the Emperor's express command dares not appoint the Count to that post.

(*Common writing:*) Some people here think that His Holiness will go to Pisa, and thence to Spain, that is, in case of his intended visit being agreeable to the Emperor.

The departure of the Archduke for Hungary is also considered as certain. He is to go thither, to the assistance of the Queen widow, at the head of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. Great preparations are being made in Austria for the coming campaign against the Turks.

(*Cipher:*) On the 29th a consistory was held, whereat the Pope's journey to France and Spain was fully discussed. His Holiness announced his project of visiting both the Emperor and the King at their respective courts in order to bring about universal peace, adding that if any of the cardinals wished to accompany him he should be welcome. Some people, however, are of opinion that if the Pope really starts on this journey he will not go beyond France, but will stay at Aviñon (Avignon). The Secretary considers it his duty to inform His Imperial Majesty of this rumour that he may be on his guard.

(*Common writing:*) After the above was written, has had a letter from Alonso Sanchez, the ambassador at Venice, directed to Don Ugo. Encloses copy of it.* If the news contained in the said letter be true, many thanks must be given to God for what has been hitherto done. The Venetians, however, seem to think otherwise.

The news about Cremona has turned out to be true. The town capitulated on the 24th.

Active preparations for war are still being made in this city; men are daily being enlisted, and the report is that the Pope is afraid of the Viceroy (when he comes) not choosing to accept the convention made with Don Ugo.

As before stated, the Pope's journey is very much talked of. Monti, it is said, will remain as legate in Rome. Other cardinals are to accompany the Pope, though most would prefer remaining at Rome if they had the choice, there being great difference of opinion as to whether His Holiness ought to visit the Emperor or the King of France first.

Meanwhile this city is being fortified. Bulwarks and redoubts are being erected at almost every gate and across the

* Not in the volume.

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bridges; men enlisted for the army, and all owing, as before stated, to their fears of the Viceroy.

The galleys of Andrea Doria have arrived at Livorno, and it is believed that the army before Cremona has also raised their camp, although the news of the capitulation of that city has not yet been thoroughly confirmed. His Imperial Majesty will no doubt know the truth of the matter either from Milan or from Genoa, for here at Rome we only know what our enemies choose to publish.

The wife of Vespasiano Colonna, a daughter of Luigi Gonzaga, has arrived at Genençano.*

Don Ugo has gone to Puzzuolo [in Naples] to put the Imperial fleet in order. He had previously sent to Milan and to Genoa one of his captains, Commander Sanct Anton, to collect information about the state of affairs and let him know the result of his inquiries. The commander is to pass through Sienna and request the inhabitants of that place to restore any property or goods they may have taken from the Florentines since the signature of the convention. And it is well needed that they should do so, for complaints are continually arriving of depredations and raids made by the Siennese, at which the Pope, as might naturally be expected, is daily more and more incensed.

(*Cipher:*) His Imperial Majesty may, however, be sure of one thing, namely, that the Pope is undecided, and that his going first to Spain or to France will very much depend upon the sort of answer he receives to his request, for there are many people about his person who are trying to persuade him to visit the French King first, and His Holiness, from fear of being left in the lurch, dares not give up the chance he thinks he has with France and Venice.—Rome, 30th of September 1526.

P.S.—The above was closed and sealed, when this morning, the 1st of October, the sad intelligence was received at Rome of great disasters in Hungary. He (Perez) was at the Palace when the Venetian ambassador came in, and, before obtaining admission to the Pope, announced with sorrowful countenance that the Turks had got possession of Buda, put to the sword all men above the age of thirteen, and sent the rest of the population to Turkey as captives. The Queen was wandering from place to place; in some of them she had even been refused admittance, and the enemy was triumphantly marching

* "Ya es venida á Gen[en]çano su muger de Vespasiano Colonna ques hyja de Luis Gonzaga."

There were about this time no less than three Gonzagas of the name of *Luigi* or Lodovico, as may be seen in Affo: *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte*, Parma 1780, 4to. This last, who was the son of another *Lodovico Gonzaga*, and born in 1500, must be the personage here alluded to; but, whilst Affo (*loco laudato*, fol. 75) makes him marry in 1528 Isabella Colonna, another writer, Salazar (*Glorias de la Casa Farnese*, p. 44), says that Luis Gonzaga, Prince of Sabionetta, married Isabel Colonna, daughter of Vespasiano, Duke of Trajetto, and Count of Fondi.

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upon Vienna. When the awful news was communicated to the Pope he burst into tears There is to be another consistory to-day, wherein most likely the question of his journey will be discussed. It will then be known whether he decides to go first to His Imperial Majesty or to the King of France. Whatever his resolution may be, there can be no doubt that the danger now threatening Christendom will hasten his journey.

Doria's galleys already at Civittà Vecchia.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholi Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Secretary Perez, Rome, 1st of October."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

3 Oct. **575.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 2 vo.

Since his letter of the 30th Don Francisco de Mendoça has arrived at this camp on the 2nd inst., bearing the articles of the agreement between the Pope and Don Ugo. As the said Mendoça is soon leaving [for Spain], and will explain verbally all that has happened at Rome, he (the Abbot) need not confirm or rectify his former advices.

On the 1st inst. seven companies of Switzers left the enemy's camp to go to Rome. The Pope appears disposed to observe the agreement entered into with Don Ugo. The Abbot believes the Pope has no need of such force there. The Duke of Bourbon is by no means pleased with this arrangement (*concierto*), and says that he will give neither approval nor disapproval to it. Neither are the rest of the generals of this Imperial Majesty very well satisfied, believing that Don Ugo after his success might have obtained more advantageous terms.

The news of the King of Hungary having been routed and slain by the Turk turns out not to be true, as His Imperial Majesty will hear by a letter from Alonso Sanchez to Lope de Soria, a copy of which is enclosed.*

Advices from Como state that a German (*tudesco*) had arrived there, announcing that on the last day of September the Duke Ludovico (Louis) of Bavaria with 1,500 horse, and George Fransperghe (Fruntsperg) with 10,000 German infantry and a good park (*escolta*) of artillery, had left [for Italy].

The Duke of Urbino, as the shrewd (*sabio*) man that he is, deceived the garrison of Cremona. Before the arrival of the

* The copy here alluded to is not in the volume. The words are: "La nueva quel Turco huviesse roto y muerto al Rey de Ungria no es verdadera como se dixo;" but there is no need to observe that in this instance Alonso Sanchez, generally so careful and exact in his information, was sadly mistaken.

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Spaniards, Germans and Italians, who left this place on the 29th ult°, to succour that city, he managed matters so well that on the 1st inst., according to the terms of capitulation, his men took possession of the city without waiting till the 6th inst., as he had formally promised to do. The Germans, it is presumed, will take service with the League; Spaniards and Italians will save themselves (*se salvaran*) if they can.

Intelligence has been received from Genoa that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) had sailed for Naples with the Imperial fleet, a sort of movement which under present circumstances does not seem to us very profitable.—Milan, 3rd Oct. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 3rd Oct."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 Oct. **576.** KNIGHT COMMANDER AGUILERA to the EMPEROR.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, ff. 10–2.

Don Francisco de Mendoça, brother of Diego Hurtado [de Mendoça ?], took the other day to Spain, by Don Ugo's orders, the detailed account of the occurrences here, as well as a copy of the agreement (*concordia*) made with the Pope. Since then Don Ugo himself has departed [for Naples], leaving him (Aguilera) behind that he might report. Has done so whenever there was occasion for it.

In consequence of the late afflicting news from Hungary he (Aguilera) waited upon the Pope, and asked him whether it was true, as reported, that the Turk had taken Buda and was marching upon Vienna. The Pope answered, with tears in his eyes, that it was but too true, adding, "This is the time for the Emperor to show his greatness and his good intentions (*santa intencion*). As for me, I am determined to forget everything that has passed and be a mediator of peace between him and the King of France. If necessary I am ready to undertake personally the journey to Spain and France, and work there for the conclusion of a general and lasting peace, of which Christendom has now more need than ever."

Has no doubt His Holiness is in earnest and means what he says, out of fear of the Turk and the dangers to which the Christian religion may be exposed. All in this city, friends or enemies, are anxiously waiting to see what sort of demonstration the Emperor will make after these two great events, namely, the invasion of Germany by the Turk, and

* Ramiro Nuñez de Aguilera was his full name.

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the sack [of Rome] by Don Ugo's troops, which last must be considered as important as the other, considering the desecration (*disfamia*) and offence done to the Church of St. Peter. Humbly requests His Imperial Majesty to ponder well these two things and the consequences likely to ensue for Christianity, and decide upon that which is best for God's service and his own, putting aside any private resentments, and forgetting the past.

The Pope is determined to go to Barcelona. He is already making preparations for his journey, though there are not wanting cardinals, ambassadors, and others who would dissuade him if they could. Says he has hitherto faithfully observed, and is disposed to observe in future, his agreement (*concordia*) with Don Ugo, only that from fear, as he says, of the Viceroy not ratifying the said agreement he is arming here [at Rome] that he may not be taken unawares a second time, as in the case of the Colonnese.

Has heard that the King of France is not at all displeased at the progress of the Turk, considering that whatever is done that way helps him in his affairs.

The Pope has told him (Aguilera) to write to Don Ugo respecting this journey he meditates [to Spain]. He wants the Spanish galleys that are at Naples, besides some ship or carack from Genoa. He wishes also that some arrangement should be made to maintain the tranquillity of Italy during his absence, for although he has concluded a truce of four months, neither the Venetians nor France are comprised in it. Has written to Don Ugo accordingly.—Rome, 3rd Oct. 1526.

Signed: "El Comendador Agylera."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Commander Aguilera, 3rd Oct."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

3 Oct. **577.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 6.

After his letters of the 22nd and 27th ult°.* Don Francisco de Mendoça arrived with the news of the late occurrences at Rome and Don Ugo's agreement. The generals of this Imperial army and he (Caracciolo) are of one opinion; viz., that Don Ugo might have got much better terms; but since that could not be, and Cremona has fallen into the hands of the enemy, something has been gained by Doria's galleys going away (from Genoa), and the Pope's army being disbanded; otherwise this city [Milan] might have been in danger, especially as it is not known at what time the promised succour in men and money is likely to arrive.

* *See* above, No. 557. That of the 27th is not in the volume.

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(*Cipher:*) In reality the Duke [of Bourbon] is very vexed about this late agreement of Don Ugo's, and at the little regard he has shown for his honour and reputation, by coming to terms with the enemy without his consent or approval. Besides which by the articles of the truce he (the Duke) will not be able, as long as it lasts, to strike a blow on Piacenza or the land of the Florentines, as it was his intention to have done if the promised reinforcements arrived in time.

It is rumoured that the Imperial fleet now at Corsica is to go to Naples, which in his opinion is not a prudent measure. Don Francisco [de Mendoça], who is shortly to embark at Genoa, will acquaint the Emperor with the rest, and also with the impoverished state of this army. The citizens are daily deserting their homes, and leaving them to the mercy of the soldiers, who, notwithstanding the Duke's proclamations and edicts, are committing all manner of excesses to procure food, which is not to be had anywhere.—Milan, 3rd Oct. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. From Protonotary Caracciolo, 3rd Oct. Duplicate."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines, and also on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

4 Oct. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, ff. 13–5.

578. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Wrote last on the 29th of September. At the expiration of the time granted by the terms of the capitulation the garrison of Cremona refused to surrender that place, on the plea that the league being virtually dissolved by the Pope's agreement with Don Ugo, they were not bound to execute it. This notwithstanding, it is asserted that the city surrendered, some say on Monday, others on Tuesday last.

(*Cipher:*) Has been told that between the Duke Francesco Sforcia (*sic*) and the Venetians there is at present some difference of opinion respecting Cremona. The Duke wanted to enter it immediately, whilst the Signory proposed to put a governor (*capitan*) there in the city's name, as it were, but with the avowed intention of reserving the place to themselves. How the difference has ended he (Sanchez) has not heard.

Has heard from Secretary Perez in date of the 25th ult., enclosing a letter from Don Ugo, as well as a copy of the agreement (*concordia*) made with His Holiness. He (Sanchez) has been ordered to have the same duly notified to this Signory, that they may not afterwards plead ignorance. Has consulted an eminent lawyer of this city about the affair, and

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he thinks there is no need for him (Sanchez) to make such an intimation in the Emperor's name; it was for the Pope to do it, and invite them to subscribe the truce, for which two months' time had been allowed. Besides, the articles of the agreement (*concordia*) were known at Venice ever since the 24th, and the resident ambassadors had cognizance of them.

It is reported that the Signory's plan, after taking Cremona, is to send 6,000 of their infantry against Genoa. He (Sanchez) has written to Milan and Genoa about it.

Don Ugo's answer has come. His opinion is that he (Sanchez) ought to remain at Venice as long as the Venetian ambassador (Navagero) is not dismissed from the Imperial court.—Venice, 4th Oct. 1526.

Since the above was written the Provost of Buda has come to him (Sanchez) with a message from the Queen of Hungary (Doña Maria). He says that he has come from Potonia (Posonia), a village two German miles from the frontiers of Austria. The Queen was there, and had sent him on for the purpose of informing the Emperor of her position and affairs. The kingdom of Hungary, after the death of her husband (Louis), belonged to the Emperor. His authority and name were great in those parts, and there could be no difficulty in obtaining the same; but the negotiations ought not to be conducted by Germans, who are generally jealous* of the Hungarians. The Provost is a native of Dalmatia, and one of the late King's councillors, and apparently a wise and courteous man. He says that the King was drowned whilst attempting to cross a morass (*unas paludes*) with many of his nobility. The King's army mustered only 30,000, whilst the Turks were 200,000. The battle was fought at two German miles from the river Sdrava (Drave). Out of 12 bishops seven died in the encounter; but with all that the Hungarians did not lose many men on the occasion. The Turks were burning and wasting everything on their passage, the inhabitants deserting their villages and flying before them. The whole of Hungary on the farther side of the Danube was in the hands of the enemy, but this side had not yet been invaded. 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot might easily be raised for the defence, if there was a chief or king to command them. On the other side of the Danube the limits of Hungary are Bohemia, Poland and Transylvania. As the whole of those countries have taken up arms, and might attack the common enemy in Hungary, there is the danger of his approaching Austria and other of the Archduke's dominions before the Danube is frozen up.

(*Cipher:*) The Queen begs that a person of influence and learning be appointed by the Emperor, provided he be not a

* "Pues no trate las negociaciones por medio de alemanes que son muy celosos? á los ungaros."

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German, or Micer Andrea del Burgo, who (she says) is well known and much disliked in those parts.—Date *ut supra.*

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 4th Oct."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 16). pp. 4.

6 Oct. **579.** The Emperor to the College of Cardinals.*

B. N. *Madrid*, E. 50. f. 139.

Tanto profecto animi dolore mens nostra discruciatur, dum ea quæ Romanorum Pontificum, vel Pontificiæ dignitatis debitum, non contra nos tantum (id enim equiori animo patiamur) verum in maximum Christiani nominis dedecus, contraque totius Reipublicæ (quam induceramus) pacem et tranquillitatem moliri audimus. Has decided to explain to them "moderatis tamen verbis" his line of conduct, and to beg redress from them in the name of the Empire and of the whole Christian world.

Upon his elevation to the Imperial dignity it was his firm purpose not to extend the limits of the Empire, and yet the fear of his aggrandisement soon plunged the whole of Christendom in war. It was high time that peace should be restored. With this intention he went to Germany and tried to reconcile princes who were quarrelling with one another. Whilst engaged in this work, well worthy of an Emperor, the King of France, *quem uti patrem colebamus,* seized every opportunity to do him harm, forcing him at last to have recourse to arms. Both the King of England and Pope Leo X., whom he (the Emperor) had often consulted on this subject, admitted to him the injustice of the French King. "Divina Justitia" was also in his favour, for though forsaken by all mortals, he still obtained a most signal victory over his enemy and made him his prisoner; summoned him, as it was his duty to do, to restore what his predecessors had robbed from his father and grandfather; concluded at last a treaty in which there was no clause inserted which did not benefit the cause of Christianity at large, and that of the Apostolic See in particular, Having received hostages, he released the King of France, and sent him back to his own country with due honour. Wrote then to the Pope and to all the Christian Princes, asking them to ratify and approve the treaty of

* Sandoval, *lib.* XV., *cap.* 18, published in abstract the Papal brief of the 23rd June, as well as the Emperor's answer and the letter which the Nuncio (Balthasar Castiglione) placed subsequently in his hands. He also gives the substance of this one addressed to the cardinals, which for greater security was directed by express to Juan Perez in Rome, to be delivered at the College.

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peace concluded between himself and France, if they wished to establish the peace of the world on a solid foundation.

Soon after, however, to his great astonishment he (the Emperor) found that fresh causes of disturbance were in store; heard that the Pope, who was dissatisfied with him, was the cause of those disturbances; sent Don Ugo de Moncada to him with full powers to meet all demands and satisfy him; but was not successful.

Meanwhile the Nuncio, on the 20th of August, placed before him a Papal brief dated the 23rd of June.* The more he examined it the stronger was his conviction that the document was of such importance that it could not possibly have been issued without previous consultation with the cardinals on its contents. Felt it very deeply, "quis enim non miraretur stupetque," that the Vicar of Christ and so many dignitaries of the Church should have so inconsiderately addressed a letter of this kind to a Roman Emperor, the natural protector of the Holy See and the guardian of its honour. They have calumniated him, the best of the Christian Princes; him who has always been an obedient son of the Church, severed Parma and Piacenza from the Empire to give it to the Holy See, and completely disregarded the prayers of Germany, and of the whole Roman Empire, when its princes, assembled together at Worms, complained of so many grievances against, and oppressions from, the Papal See. And yet our natural affection and obedience to the Apostolic Chair made us shut our ears to such complaints. "Subactæ sunt ex ea de causa variæ rerum difficultates et incommoda; pullentat in dies magis Lutheranorum insania; gravamina ubique divulgantur; omnes unanimes remedium implorant; putant fieri generale Concilium, et quod et Lutheranorum impietati et Romanæ curiæ, ut justum est, oppressionibus obviam iri possit, in Civitate Spirense conciliabulum indicunt, ut in seditionibus ortis usque ad generalis Concilii decisionem ordo aliquis statueretur. Vidimus Germanorum animos in Sedem Romanam graviter commotos, verumque ne hujusmodi conciliabulum Germaniam à Romani Pontificis obedientia diverteret, Spirensem congregationem gravissimis pœnis prohibimus; eis tamen pollicemus, quanto citius fieri posset, generalis concilii indictionem fieri eventurum."

Begged the Pope to convoke a general council. The Pope thanked him for his measures against the Conventicle (Conciliabulum) at Spires, but answered that the general council must be delayed till a fitter time. The Emperor's devotion for the Pope was stronger than the claims of Germany. And yet the Pope does not hesitate without any plausible reason to denounce him as the disturber of peace and the enemy of Christendom.

* The answer is under No. 550; the brief itself has not been found in the Spanish Archives, though it existed in Sandoval's time.

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Begs the cardinals to judge whether it is the Pope's interest and that of the Holy See to excite against him, who has always proved the advocate and protector of the Church, the passions of his enemies and induce them to take up arms. The Pope cannot prevent the Emperor from punishing one of his subjects guilty of the greatest crimes. To take up his cause will only increase the dangers of the Church and trouble the peace of Christendom.

Sent an answer to the Pope vindicating himself from the charges brought against him. Begged him to convoke a general council. Tells the cardinals all this in order that they may know the truth of the case, and not allow themselves to be persuaded that the Emperor entertains dark designs against the Holy See.

Begs them to use their influence with the Pope and to dissuade him from his "impious designs."

"Quam per Christianæ religionis salutem in generali Concilii indictione annuere negavit tunc iuxta juris ordinem, Reverendissimas Paternitates vestras et sacrum vester Collegium hactenus requirimus atque monemus ut de indictione Concilii a Paulo fieri petimus, eo negante, aut plus æquo differente, vos debito ordine procedentes præstari non differatis. Protestantes apud Omnipotentem Deum, si quid indè incommodi ac detrimenti Romanæ ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ Christianæ accesserit, id non nostra sed eorum culpa futurum, qui suis affectibus potius quam Christi gloria ejusque populi saluti inservire maluissent."

Should the cardinals refuse to do what he asks from them, "Nos pro nostra erga Deum gratitudine, proque dignitate nostra Imperiali, qua eius gratuita benignitate fungimus, quibuslibet remediis ita in his pro virili providere procurabimus, ut nec Christi gloriæ, nec justitiæ nostræ, nec Republicæ Christianæ saluti paci et tranquillitati quovis modo defuisse videamur."—Dat. in civitate nostra Granata, 6 mens. Oct. 1526.

Yo el Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

Addressed: "Sacro Collegio Cardinalium in urbe Roma."

Latin. Original draft in the hand of Alphonso Valdes, Latin Secretary to Chancellor Gattinara. pp. 5.

9 Oct. S. E. L. 2010, f. 14.

580. [The Switzers of Piaçenza] to the Captains of the Switzers at ——.

This letter* from the elders has been written at the instigation of the captains of your own nation, who have remained behind. Envious at your being here [in Italy], and at their

* It was probably intercepted by the Imperialists, and a copy of it sent to Spain. It appears to have been addressed by the Swiss captains of Piacenza to some of their comrades who deserted the Pope's banners about this time. *See* above, p. 945.

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not having been able to come also, they give out that you left them in danger; that the league is broken; that our Lord [the Pope ?] is no longer united with the most Christian King of France. All this, as you know, is a complete falsehood, and I can assure you that in a day or two the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) will join you with as large a force as he had before Cremona.

The most Christian King and the Pope are one and the same (*una medesima cosa*).

It would be a shame if the Switzers were to abandon the enterprise (*ritornassero adietro*).

You may be sure that the war you are now about to make will be honourable and profitable to all of us.—Piacenza, 9th Oct. 1526.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

9 Oct. **581.** JUAN DE CASTRO to ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 37, f. 1.

Wrote last on the 6th inst.,* and sent his letter through Rome. Yesterday (the 8th) a gentleman of Mons. de Bourbon arrived with a message for Micer George (Fruntsperg) and left immediately by post. He brought with him letters of credit to the amount of 6,000 gold cr. It would have been better if 30,000 had been remitted; but, nevertheless, the supply, though insufficient, will be of some help. Fruntsperg writes to say he had tried Flanders, but there was no money to be had there; he was waiting for an answer from Nuremberg.

The Archduke is to leave for Vienna on the 7th. Hopes soon to have good tidings from Bohemia. The Turk is still at Buda, where he seems to have received greater injury from the Jews than from the Christian natives themselves.

Since the above was written, he (Castro) has heard that the Hungarian nobles in Croatia and in other countries have elected the Archduke for their King, and that the Bohemians have done the same, although the election has not yet been proclaimed. The Vayvod [of Transylvania] has not yet answered "yes" or "no." The Turk on the 1st inst. threw a bridge over the Danube, and crossed it with his army. The operation lasted three days, and he (Soliman) with his guard (*escuadron*) was the last to pass, that none of his men should remain behind.

Addressed: "To Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice."

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

* The letter here alluded to not being in the collection of the Royal Academy or at Simancas, it is to be presumed that it fell into the hands of the Confederates, Indeed, Guicciardini mentions two or three instances of letters being intercepted. *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. XVII.

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11 Oct. **582.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 20.

In November of last year, upon the application of the Marquis of Pescara, he (Sanchez) procured 6,000 ducats for the Imperial army, which he advanced out of his own property and that of his friends and relatives; for the liquidating of which the Marquis sent him (Sanchez) certain bills on the treasury of Naples, which a merchant of this city discounted, He had already begun to pay him (Sanchez) when the present war broke out, and the Signory issued an order forbidding, under pain of death, the payment of any sum whatever to His Majesty's ministers and ambassadors, and others suspected of being Imperialists. The merchant of course refuses to pay. In vain has Sanchez represented that the debt was contracted long before the present war broke out; that the money is his own, and that the Signory has no right to seize on the property of an ambassador; the order has not been revoked. Begs His Imperial Majesty to command his treasurers at Naples to pay him his disbursements, principal and interest. —Venice, 16th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesᵉ. et Cathᶜᵉ. Mᵗⁱ."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 21st Oct."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

11 Oct. **583.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 24.

(*Cipher:*) The enclosed copy of a letter from Joan de Castro dated Hispruc (Innsbruck), will inform his Imperial Majesty much better than he can how the matter of the German reinforcements stands, and what are the last news of the Turk. The Queen of Hungary (Mary) had gone to Vienna, there to hold an interview with her brother the Archduke.

At the date of the last advices from Cremona the garrison had left: the Germans for their native country; the Spaniards, as is generally believed, for the kingdom of Naples, though many doubt of their being allowed to reach their destination. The Venetians, who at first were supposed to have designs on Genoa, are now thinking of joining the camp of the Confederates at Milan, there to consult with the generals, and decide on the best plan of campaign. Cremona was still held in the name of the League, and the ambassador of the Duke Francesco Sforcia (Sforza), who has resided here so long, is to go to France very shortly.*

* Francesco Taverna, appointed by the Duke to be his representative in France.

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He (Sanchez) has had a letter from Prothonotary Caracciolo, of Milan, in date of the 8th, requesting him, in the Duke of Bourbon's name, not to move from Venice, as his presence in this city might soon be required. As Don Ugo's orders coincide with these, he (Sanchez) will remain until he hears from the Emperor.

The Turkish ambassador has arrived. He says that his master, the Sultan, is returning to Andrinopoli for winter quarters, and that certain arrangements have been made with the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) to leave him as tributary King of Hungary. Such at least is the interpreter's report, as communicated by the Signory to the Provost of Buda, now residing in this city.

The Signory have had letters from their ambassador in Spain (Andrea Navagero) of the 1st inst., stating that the Emperor had given him notice to quit his court without waiting for an answer from home. Meanwhile news came—some say from Italy, about the progress of the league, others from Germany and Hungary, about the Turkish invasion—and the Emperor in consequence had sent him (the ambassador) a message to suspend his departure. Hears from the same source that the ambassadors of the confederated powers, and the French ambassador (Mons. de Calvimont) among them, had been received in private audience by the Emperor; that the French ambassador spoke more imperiously (*mas alto*) than the occasion warranted; but that the ambassadors of the Pope and Venice spoke in courteous terms, at which the French King was much displeased when he heard of it, as he would have preferred their using haughtier language.

Letters from Rome of the 5th inst. mention that the Pope had found the means of raising by loan 300,000 ducats, one third immediately, and the two remaining at very short dates. With this money he (the Pope) purposes secretly to help the League.

Encloses another letter from Joan de Castro, just received.

Hears that the Duke Francesco Sforcia is already established at Cremona, and that everything is being done there in his name.—Venice, 11th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 11th Oct."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (p. 27). pp. 5.

14 Oct. **584.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 29.

Wrote on the 28th of Sept. last by a courier of the Doge, who went by sea. Has not heard from home since the 14th

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Aug., and consequently has no news of the Viceroy's fleet, the arrival of which is anxiously expected by the Genoese. (*Cipher :*) The enemy's galleys are still cruising before this port, and capturing all vessels coming with provisions. Wheat comes occasionally from Lombardy, though not in sufficient quantity to calm the apprehensions of these inhabitants. who from fear of a famine begin to throw out hints that they had better make their peace with the League than suffer such discomfort. It will be no fault of his (Soria) or of the Doge if wheat should fail altogether for the support of the population. Has written about it to the Duke of Bourbon, to Don Ugo, and to Naples. Has also sent messengers to Corsica and Sardinia to induce the Viceroy, on his arrival, to come immediately to this coast, since his presence can no longer be required at Naples, now that a four months' truce has been made with His Holiness, as the Emperor must know already, and will be more particularly informed by Don Francisco de Mendoza, present bearer.

(*Common writing :*) On board the enemy's galleys are the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), whom the Pope is now sending to the Kings of France and England, to notify his agreement with Don Ugo, and one Paulo de Rezo (Paolo di Reggio), who also goes to the Emperor for the same purpose.

The Pope's legate at the Imperial Court* had arrived at Lyons ; but no sooner did he hear of the entry of Don Ugo and the Colonnese at Rome than he started post-haste for the King's court [at Cognac ?] to ask favour and help for the Pope.

(*Cipher :*) This Doge and Community having insisted upon their former protests, viz., that they cannot in any way support the cost of the present armament, he (Soria), after consulting Mons. de Bourbon on this particular, and obtaining his permission, has decided to pay out of the funds destined to the armament of the fleet the 500 Spanish infantry who came for the defence of this city. From want of sufficient artillery only four caracks and one bark (*barcha*) and three galleons have been armed up to the present time, but the Doge and Community think—and he (Soria) shares their opinion—that it is far preferable to have a few vessels well manned and armed with powerful artillery, than many indifferently armed.

Pestilence has broken out in this city, which, coupled with war and famine, is not an agreeable prospect for the Genoese. This and the intrigues of the Fregosi, by no means well disposed towards the Emperor, are sufficient reasons for him (Soria) to avoid as much as possible giving any cause for discontent. He has, therefore, helped them as much as he could out of the funds of the Imperial treasury, and also out

* Giovanni Cardinal Salviati returning from his residence as Legate in Spain. He arrived at Lyons on the 24th of September. *See* a letter of Marco Antonio Venire in Rawdon Brown, *Ven. State Papers*, vol. II., p. 609, III.

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of his own property. Some time ago he lent the Community a good sum of money to buy wheat, and only the other day had his own plate made into coin, as there is none in the market just now, the people in anticipation of a war hiding whatever valuables they possess.

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Bourbon has sent for the Spanish infantry that was at Alessandria, and is concentrating the Imperial troops round Milan, no doubt with the intention of taking the offensive and attacking the enemy's camp, now that the Papal troops have left. Fabricio Marramao, with 1,500 Italians, has replaced the Spaniards at Alessandria.

Intelligence has been received here that the French were arming some galleys in Provence, and trying also to get Andrea Doria into their service; (*cipher:*) but this and other like rumours are purposely spread by the Pope and the Venetians to maintain their cause. It is a sort of device that one sees through easily (*es latin que se dexa entender facilmente*). Hears also that some of the Papal troops who left the camp before Milan have been secretly enlisted by the Venetians, and that the Pope, besides, is collecting at Rome as large a force as he can, infantry and cavalry. All those who know his Holiness' late agreement with Don Ugo must necessarily wonder at such warlike preparations. He (the Pope) declares publicly that he is going to His Imperial Majesty, but nobody believes him; on the contrary, those who know his naturally vindictive temper think that his intention is to take revenge for the late injuries inflicted on him by Don Ugo and the Colonnese.*

(*Common writing:*) The Duke of Ferrara has not yet made any demonstration in the Imperial service, except forwarding the ambassador's correspondence, which, however, in the present state of things is no small service. One of his servants who went the other day to Milan told him (Soria) that his master intends soon to take the field in person, and collect round him the Spaniards who, according to the conditions of the capitulation, left Cremona on the 3rd inst.

(*Cipher:*) Alvero (*sic*) Perez arrived at Genoa on the 12th, gave him (Soria) the Emperor's letter of recommendation, and communicated part of his commission. Perceiving how very important it is, has given him advice and told him what precautions he is to take for the security of his person and papers. Will direct him as befits the Imperial service. Has made no attempt to ascertain his name and profession, but there is an odour of friar about him (*luego me olió á frayle*), though it must be said that he is very well disguised,† as Don Francisco de Mendoça will report.

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* "Pero nadie lo quiere creher, antes piensan los que lo conocen y saben su condicion, que es vendicativo, que pensará en vengarse de esto que le han fecho Don Ugo y los Coloneses."

† It will be seen hereafter that under a false name this individual was no other than the general of the Franciscan friars, Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, afterwards created Cardinal of Santa Croce by the Pope.

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(*Common writing:*) No news of the German reinforcements, except that they were collecting together at Trent, and would soon come down (*calar*), under the command of the Duke Lewis of Bavaria and George Fransperg (Fruntsperg). They muster 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse in all, and are to arrive in Italy this month.

The Siennese are very much alarmed owing to the Pope's troops and those of the Florentines congregating about their frontiers. They fear that the Pope will not stand by the agreement made with Don Ugo. Encloses copies of what the said Siennese have lately written to their agent (*hazedor*) here, and what the Cardinal of Sienna (Piccolomini) writes from Rome on the same subject.*

It is again rumoured that Andrea Doria, with the Pope's consent, is to join his galleys to those of France and Venice before this port: a very creditable thing indeed for the Pope to do!—Genoa, 14th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. Lope de Soria, 14th Oct."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7½.

15th Oct. **585.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 35.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote last on the 11th inst. As no letters from Don Ugo had been received at Genoa up to the 4th, and nothing was known about the agreement between His Holiness and him, he (Sanchez) now encloses copy of the same. Would have forwarded one much sooner, only he thought the terms of the agreement would have been faithfully observed, for a time at least; that couriers would have been allowed to pass, and all the Emperor's ministers and agents in Italy officially informed of it. He is not without suspicion that the Pope will not fulfil his late engagements. Secretary Perez is of the same opinion. He writes in date of the 11th that the Pope was making great preparations; he had sent for 3,000 Switzers and as many Italians from his camp, and had, besides, 400 men-at-arms and 500 light horse. All this (Perez says) is being done out of fear of the Viceroy, and of the forces assembled in Naples, but in his (Sanchez's) opinion all these armaments are intended against that kingdom, and to help the league. Such at least is the belief of several Venetians with whom he

* Neither of the papers here mentioned is in vol. A. 39 of the Royal Spanish Academy.

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(Sanchez) has conversed and who ought to know something about it. He is the more convinced of this, that no letters from Don Ugo have been received either at Milan or at Genoa. The Pope knows very well that Naples is at present scantily provided with means of defence, and intends no doubt to invade that kingdom before the Viceroy's arrival. For no other purpose is this collecting of troops and money just now. Ever since the agreement was made the Papal Nuncio in this city has been, and is still, in secret communication with the Signory.

Though he (Sanchez) announced in his last despatch the departure of the Spaniards who composed the garrison of Cremona, he finds now that the report was untrue. Some say that their captains have been retained as prisoners of war, and the men disarmed at the Duke Francesco Esforcia (Sforza's) instigation, until he (the Duke) is put in possession of Como, and paid the 30,000 ducats promised by the capitulation of Milan. Others say that the Pope will not allow them to pass through his territory, either to go to Naples, as agreed, or to join the Spaniards at Carpi. Cannot find out the real truth, though he has made every inquiry. Fears that the men are irretrievably lost.

Has received the enclosed from Castro,* though his letter of the 6th has not yet come to hand.

Yesterday the Archbishop of Regi,† a German, who is going first to Rome and afterwards to Spain, on a mission of the Archduke, called upon him (Sanchez) and said that his charge was in reference to Luther and his sect.

Has this moment received a letter from Secretary Perez, in date of the 11th, showing a certain uneasiness about the Pope's armaments, which he suspects are intended against Naples. The Pope was dissatisfied at Mons. de Bourbon's refusal to ratify the agreement. He (Sanchez) believes the whole to be nothing but an excuse and a hoax (*excusa y burla*).—Venice, 15th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Sanchez, 15th Oct."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 40). *pp.* 4.

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* *See* above, No. 581, p. 960.

† The deciphering, in Secretary Soria's hand, has "El arçobispo de Regi (*sic*) que es aleman." I presume that Regi is meant for Alba Regale, Alba Real, Alba Regia, as the city of Stuck Weisemburg was called at this time. If so, the archbishop here mentioned as having visited the Imperial ambassador at Venice must be Joannes Statilius, who in 1528 was sent by the King of Hungary to France. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Papers*, III., p. 166.

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16th Oct. **586.** The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d' Esp.

The King, &c. We wrote to you on the 21st of Sept., and have since received yours of the 10th of that month, though Lope Hurtado, who was to be the bearer, has not yet made his appearance.

Our Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) will be at Cartagena, ready to sail with the fleet on the 20th inst., weather permitting. He takes with him the Germans who were in the Roussillon, and 3,000 picked Spaniards. We have also ordered considerable armaments to be prepared at Genoa, and have written on the subject to the Duke of Bourbon, who is to send thither certain artillery.

What you tell us concerning Antonio de Leiva* we firmly believe. We always held him in estimation, and therefore refused to listen to the many reports circulated about him. We could not easily shut our ears to the accusations preferred against him, though we were convinced that he was incapable of behaving otherwise than honourably, as he has done upon every occasion. We are the first to acknowledge his good services, and he will find us always grateful and disposed to reward him.—Granada, 16th Oct.† 1526.

Addressed: "Al Abad de Najera, Comisario General del Emperador en Italia."

Indorsed: "The King. 1526. Granada. To the Abbot of Najera, 16th Nov. By duplicate."

Spanish. Original draft in Secretary Soria's hand. pp. 1½.

20th Oct. **587.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 38, f. 4.

(*Cipher:*) His last was dated the 15th inst. Has since then received the enclosed from Castro,‡ announcing the speedy arrival of the German reinforcements. The municipal officers of Innsbruck wrote to say that 12,000 of the best troops may be confidently expected in Italy before the end of this month, perhaps next week.

This Signory has had letters from their secretary at the Court of France (Andrea Rosso) of the 6th or 10th inst., stating that the King was much pleased to hear of the surrender of Cremona, and that his mother (Louise de Savoie) gave the courier who brought the news some ducats.§ The

* *See* the Abbot's despatch of the 10th of July (No. 485), exculpating Leyva from certain accusations at Court.

† The original has *November* instead of October, which is the right date, since the Viceroy's departure took place on the 24th.

‡ *See* No. 581, p. 960.

§ "One hundred crowns," says Andrea Rosso in his letter of the 4th of Oct. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Papers*, vol. III., p. 611.

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King, moreover, hearing what had happened at Rome, had determined to despatch Renzo da Ceri to the Pope, promising his help in men and money, and offering, if required, to come down at the head of a powerful army.

They (the Venetians) say that letters have come from their ambassador at the Imperial Court (Navagero) in date of the 20th of September, advising that the Viceroy's fleet was not to be expected so soon—perhaps not in this present October—as the Germans, who were to be embarked in it, had been ordered to Valencia, to put down a rebellion of the Moriscoes in that locality.

The Archduke by the last accounts was at Vienna at the head of considerable forces. The nobles of Sclavonia had held their diet, made him their King, and sent him an ambassador. This news has come in a letter of the president of Lubiana (Louvayn) to the Austrian ambassador residing in this city. A diet was also held at Praga (Prague) on the 6th inst., and there was a question of electing the Archduke for their King, although the King of France, the Duke of Saxony, and a great lord in Bohemia were also pretenders to the Crown.

The Turk has crossed the Danube with all his army in the direction of Transylvania, whose Vayvod (Zapolsky) is still at the head of 100,000 men.

Hears that the castellan of Musa (Gian Jacopo de' Medici) has released the Venetian ambassadors, who were going to France, for a consideration of 5,000 cr. (*escudos*), paid down in specie.—Venice, 20th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Sanchez, 20th Oct."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 48). *pp.* 1½.

21 Oct. **588.** KING HENRY to DR. EDWARD LEE, his Ambassador in SPAIN.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224, No. 10, ff. 19–23.

His letters dated Granada the 7th and 17th of September came by Osborne Echingham, bearer of this present; also a paper in French containing the Emperor's answer to certain points, and the ambassador's own despatches to the Cardinal of York.

Inside the packet of letters there was one addressed to Don Yngo (Iñigo) de Mendoza, whom the Emperor despatched some time ago as his ambassador to this court, but as he (Mendoza) has not yet arrived, and there is no certainty of his coming, he being now detained in France owing to certain matters brought forward against him* (though we have lately

* "Pour aucunes matieres qui luy sont obiectees."

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written for his liberation and hope to have soon news of him), the letter has been forwarded to the Provost of Casselles (Theimseke), now resident ambassador in this court, that he may keep it until his (Mendoza's) arrival. The said Provost who came here, sent by the Duchess of Savoy (Margaret of Austria) to represent the Emperor, has likewise delivered to us a letter from the Emperor, signifying his desire for the continuance of our friendship and alliance, the establishment of peace in general, and with the King of France especially, the withdrawal of his armies from Italy, the payment of debts owing to us, &c.

We have moreover seen the copy of the brief addressed to the Emperor by our Holy Father, and the answer given to it; also a report of the last conferences held between the King of France and the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), and a note (*billet*) containing certain offers made by the aforesaid King for the release of the hostages, his sons. All which papers and letters We have attentively perused, and find so weighty and important for the better knowledge of present affairs, that after taking the opinion of some of our wisest councillors upon their contents, we have resolved to send you back the present bearer [Osborne Echingham] with our own answer to the Emperor's letter, a copy of which is herein enclosed, that you may in compliance with your other instructions know our wishes and intentions; and first of all you will thank the Emperor for the readiness with which he has accepted our suggestions and advice in this matter of the general peace. We are pleased to hear his assurances that he will devote himself to that object, and that he proposes to appoint us mediator. In the state in which Christendom is, a prompt remedy is required. The Turk has invaded Hungary in great force, and defeated its King, who, flying from the field of battle, where most of his nobles fell, was drowned in La Drave (?) Should the kingdom of Hungary, one of the strongest bulwarks of Christendom on that side, remain in the hands of the Infidel, there is no knowing what harm might be done to our holy religion, for unless the Christian Princes, now engaged in intestine wars, lay down their arms, and make a general league for the repulse (*rebboutement*) of the said Turks, they will inevitably overrun Germany.

You will ask the Emperor in our name to confirm by his acts the very honourable words and promises contained in his letter to us, and to do everything in his power for the establishment and consolidation of a lasting peace among Christians, trusting, as we do also, that the King of France, whose great virtues and particular zeal for the Christian religion and the cause of God are well known, will do his utmost to attain this desirable object. This much with regard to the affair in general. Entering more into particulars We must say that We cannot see how a matter of this magnitude, so pressing,

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and so important, can be brought to a desirable conclusion, or how it is possible that a meeting of Princes or their delegates can take place soon enough to be of use, for before the appointment of the said delegates and designation of the place of meeting, considerable time must elapse, and winter not being a very suitable season for Princes and other great personages to assemble and work at conferences, it would naturally follow that much valuable time would be lost. Were We, who have no direct interest in this affair, to accept the Emperor's offers, and become mediator between the belligerents, We should suggest that the ambassadors of the contracting parties, now residing at this our court, or who might be sent hereafter, should be properly empowered, not only to discuss and treat about the said general peace among Christians, but likewise to approve, sanction, and ratify the clauses of the treaty. To this end We have just written to our Holy Father, the Pope, and to our good brother, the King of France, as well as to the Venetians, exhorting them that, since they are willing to admit our mediation in the present business, they send to their respective ambassadors at this our court sufficient powers and suitable instructions, declaring their intentions and wishes in a clear and categorical manner, without digression, that they (the ambassadors) may at once discuss, settle and conclude their masters' private affairs, the general peace among Christians, and the formation of a league to repel the Turkish invasion. All this to be accomplished in such a manner that there be no need for the said ambassadors to consult their respective courts thereupon, or to send messengers backwards and forwards, as the delay caused by such proceedings might thwart and impede the issue of the negotiations.

We need scarcely tell you that similar exhortations must be addressed by you to our most beloved brother and nephew, the Emperor, advising him in our name to use all possible diligence in this affair, and to let us know in a plain and straightforward manner his intentions and wishes respecting the King of France, the general peace and projected repulsion of the Turk, which it now concerns him (the Emperor) more than any other Christian Prince to accomplish, if it be true, as asserted, that owing to the death of the last King of Hungary, without posterity, the Archduke Ferdinand, his brother, is to inherit that and his other kingdoms.

With regard to the offers made by the Emperor to the Pope, as he informs us in his letter, to lay down his arms, provided the Italian potentates do the same, there can be no doubt that such demonstration on his part is a sufficient proof that he (the Emperor) is in earnest and really wishes for peace. We have lost no time in acquainting the ambassadors of the Pope, of the King of France, and of the Venetians, residing at this our court, with so laudable a determination. Yet the said ambassadors assert that this declaration of the Emperor's

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is a mere form without meaning, inasmuch as instead of diminishing his Italian army he is daily increasing it, and sending thither his Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) at the head of very considerable forces. Neither are the affairs of Italy now in the state in which they were when the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) was expelled from his dominions, a portion of which still remain in the hands of the Emperor, whilst another portion is occupied by the confederates. For this reason the ambassadors think that before a cessation of hostilities is proposed, the said Duke of Milan should be reinstated, or at least that his estate should be placed in neutral hands, until it be decided by law whether he (the Duke) is guilty or innocent of the charges brought against him.

Owing to the above objections it seems advisable that the Emperor declare at once his intentions respecting the Duchy of Milan and Francesco Sforza; because though he (the Emperor) cannot and ought not to be compelled to treat him otherwise than as his vassal and subject, and he (the Duke) could give hostages or some other sufficient security to surrender his estate if found guilty, yet the Italian potentates, who are now armed for their common defence, would not feel secure. For if the preliminaries of peace be adjusted, and the meeting of the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries take place, there must be at once a cessation of hostilities, and if the Italian Princes lay down their arms, in virtue of the truce thus made, and the Emperor ultimately remains in possession of the Duchy, the rest of Italy might be in fear of subjugation, whereby the negotiations for peace would be impeded, and a cause created for new and incessant wars.

You are also to inform our beloved nephew, the Emperor, how shocked We were to hear of the odious and unheard-of outrage committed by Don Ingo (Ugo) de Moncada, the Colonnese, and other of their adherents against the Pope's person (*encontre la personne du Pappe*), the particulars of which outrage we have no doubt have reached the Emperor's ears long before this. We are sure not only that the Emperor did not authorise or consent to such injurious treatment, but that he will be highly displeased at it, just as any other Christian Prince would be in a similar case, for really if the thing happened as related to us, there never was such an insult committed, not even by the Vandals, Goths, or any other barbarous nation; which execrable act is the more to be detested since, as we are informed, Imperial soldiers despoiled and plundered the Church of St. Peter and other temples and houses consecrated to God, and made most abominable use of the vases and ornaments of the same, such as was never before seen, read, or heard of, to God's great displeasure, to the infamy and shame of the offenders, and notable dishonour of the Apostolic See. We can assure you that the perpetration of such dishonourable acts by subjects of our beloved brother, cousin, and nephew, the Emperor, has been a matter of

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deep regret to us. Under the conviction, however, that such heinous acts have been committed without the Emperor's consent or advice, We have done, and are still doing, all that is in our power to mitigate, soften, and excuse the same, using all manner of arguments to persuade the ambassador of the Pope and other Christian Princes to bear the insult patiently. We are confident that, unless a new provocation and insult be offered, We shall find them inclined to the conclusion of a general peace. We have likewise exhorted our brother, the King of France, to offer the best possible terms for the release of his hostages, so that if a reasonable proposal can be agreed to on both sides, some good peace may be established that may enable us all to drive away the Turks from Hungary. To the execution of which purpose We shall not only devote all our care, efforts, and counsels, but also our means, as behoves a Christian King, although our dominions are perhaps further from danger than those of any other King.

Respecting the Emperor's intended coronation [in Italy], our advice is that since in so doing the Emperor is more actuated by his desire of becoming useful to Christianity, and preserving it against the attacks of the Turks and other infidels, as well of the heretic Lutherans, than by any private interest, considering that the Emperor cannot acquire greater glory or authority through it or a better right to the Empire, than that which he has now, the said act should be postponed. Should peace be made, and arrangements carried out for the repression of the Turk and his expulsion from Hungary, the Emperor's journey to Italy for the purpose of assuming the Imperial crown may easily be accomplished, and the ceremony performed without any of the Italian powers taking umbrage or suspecting his motives.

You can assure the Emperor that in this particular, as well as in all others in which our mediation may be asked or required, We shall act towards him as We would wish him to act towards us in a similar case; and that in what concerns the general peace, now in contemplation, he will find us so just and impartial a mediator and arbiter that neither he (the Emperor) nor any other Prince will have occasion to say that We have been biassed by hatred or affection to any of the parties concerned.

With regard to the debts he owes us, after hearing Don Iñigo de Mendoza's explanations on the subject, we intend to act with all reason, so that everything may be settled to his satisfaction.*

You shall take care that the Emperor's answer to this our

* "Quant à la contentacion de noz debtes, aprez avoir ouy la charge donnee à Don Yngo de Mendoza sur cest affaire nous demonstrerons au demourant conformables a raison, de sorte que notre dit trescher, et tresamé bon frère, cousin et beau nepveu l'Empereur aura toute cause destre content."

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letter reach us, as soon as possible, by the same Osborne Echingham, present bearer.

Addressed: "A notre ambassadeur à la cour de l'Empereur."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 17.

22 Oct. **589.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 40.

Wrote on the last day of September and 1st of October by Knight Commander de Sanct Anton, whom Don Ugo despatched to Spain. Encloses duplicate.

His Holiness is still arming. He has sent for 3,000 Switzers and 2,000 Italians, besides 400 lances and 500 horse, and is every day making fresh levies. With these forces and those he had already at Rome his army will soon amount to 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse. He gives out that these preparations are only intended as a means of defence against the Viceroy, who he fears will not ratify his agreement with Don Ugo. (*Cipher:*) The Secretary's opinion is that if the Pope finds an opportunity of revenging himself on the Colonnese he will not let it slip, for he is highly incensed against them, principally against Vespasiano, of whom he says diabolical things (*diabluras*).

(*Common writing:*) His Holiness' journey [to Spain] is still talked of, though not so warmly as at first. Meanwhile he is thinking of appointing legates to go to the various courts—Cardinal Edigio (Egidio)* to Spain, Campeggio to France and England. It is added that he has sent orders to Salviati (Bernardo), now his legate in France, to terminate his business there and return forthwith to his post near His Imperial Majesty. He (Perez) cannot say whether this last report be true or not, but this he knows for certain; namely, that the Portuguese ambassador in this city (Don Martin de Portugal) is going very soon to Spain on a mission. The Pope has announced it in consistory, and the ambassador has willingly accepted the office, believing that he will be the means of bringing the present quarrel to an end. The Pope's journey, therefore, very much depends on the answer that shall be given to Don Martin or to his legate. He (the Pope) shows great desire that the war should be put an end to throughout Italy, and has so written to Don Ugo. Would like to have the Neapolitan galleys for his voyage, and has already begun making preparations, and asking his cardinals for money. Those who have none to give are to deliver up their plate, jewels, &c., and it is even said that the ornaments of churches will be sold for that purpose, and for the war His Holiness intends waging on the Turk. Don Ugo is at Puçol (Puzzuolo), Cardinal Colonna at Subiaco, and Vespasiano at Genençano.

* Probably Egidius or Egidio, Cardinal of Sant Matheo, a native of Viterbo, who, on the election of Pope Clement VII., had seven votes in his favour.

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The latter was married the other day to a daughter of Luis de Gonzaga.* Ascanio Colonna is at Tallacoz (Tagliacozzo). Their forces scattered about the frontiers of Naples. It is to be presumed that, knowing as they no doubt do the Pope's warlike preparations, they are on the alert.

The Pope has somehow got possession of a letter which Don Ugo is said to have written to Vespasiano Colonna, requesting him to accompany him [to Rome] in force, as such was the Emperor's pleasure. He (the Pope) carries about the letter in his pouch (*escarcela*), shows it frequently, and says he intends to make it the principal ground for his complaint, when he next sees the Emperor. (*Cipher:*) The Secretary thinks that Vespasiano himself must have given Don Ugo's letter to the Pope, in order to excuse himself, for otherwise it could never have come to his hands.

Some days ago the Spanish residents† assembled at Sanctiago, where Bishop Felice addressed them in the Pope's name, saying His Holiness had heard that owing to recent occurrences the subjects of the Emperor were in some apprehension about their persons and property. They had nothing to fear from him, and now more than ever were to consider themselves secure, and follow their vocations and professions (*oficios y beneficios*) as before. But he begged that, since it was the custom of Spain that whenever a priest (*alguno de corona*) received injury, all clergymen took up arms in his defence, to stand up for him (the Pope) when attacked, or at least not side with his enemies. If any one of them was ill-treated, or had any complaint to make, he had only to apply to Bishop Felice, and his wrongs would be immediately redressed. The assembly returned thanks, and appointed the Bishops of Salamanca, Huesca, Castelamare and Alguer to present their respects to His Holiness in the name of the whole congregation. The Pope received them very well, repeated the same assurances which Bishop Felice had made, brought to their recollection, with tears in his eyes, the late sacking of St. Peter and of his own palace, and then showed that the above-mentioned letter from Don Ugo to Vespasiano Colonna.

There was on the night of the 2nd inst.‡ a great commotion here at Rome. The great bell in Campodolio (Campidoglio), which had not been tolled for upwards of 60 years, began to sound the alarm. This was owing to the men on watch having seen in the distance the light of fires and a party of hunters

* Luigi Gonzaga.

† "Toda la nacion Spañola," by which expression Germans, Neapolitans, Flemings and all other subjects of the Empire are meant; whence the appellative *nacion* now-a-days used in Spain, though in the familiar language of Andaluzia, as a synonym for "foreigner."

‡ This letter was begun about the 7th of June, as the writer himself says hereafter, and was not closed till the 22nd, which accounts for some of the contradictory reports contained in it.

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and mistaking them for Colonnese. Until the truth was known, all was alarm and confusion in the city. Only the Pope was tranquil in the midst of it, and laughed heartily at those who brought him the news. Some believe that the whole thing was concocted for the purpose of seeing how the Romans would answer the call in case of attack. Upwards of 4,000 armed men, many on horseback, ran in this manner to the defence of the city walls, but it is to be presumed that had the Colonnese really made their appearance before Rome, not so many would have answered the bell.

(*Cipher:*) It is suspected that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) is again in treaty with the Pope, and that the Venetians, though by no means his friends, are trying to detach him from the Imperial alliance.

(*Common writing:*) A brother of the Marquis of Mantua* has come to condole with His Holiness, and also to apply for a cardinal's hat, which, he says, has been promised to his mother the Marchioness (*la Marquesana*),† who is now here.

One of the Pope's captains, named Vitello, once before Milan, has arrived [in Rome], and is shortly to be followed by Count Guido [Rangone] and the rest, with the exception of Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis, who has taken pay from France, with 50 lances and 200 horse, and is to join the Marquis of Saluzzo. The rest of the Papal army [at Milan] is not to be disbanded until it be ascertained whether the Duke of Bourbon accepts or not the agreement made with Don Ugo, as the answer that was to have been brought by Don Francisco de Mendoza has not yet been received. That gentleman was detained at Modena, but when the Pope heard of it, he gave orders that he should be allowed to proceed on his journey. The excuse for his detention was that Guicardin (Il Guicciardino), fearing lest the garrison of Cremona should, when they heard of the Pope's agreement with Don Ugo, refuse to surrender the place, gave the governor of Mantua orders for all persons or messengers to be arrested, even if they came from the Pope. The alleged excuse may or may not be a right one, but the fact is that Don Francisco has already reached Piacenza, as the Pope says. We are daily expecting to hear from him, but hitherto no official news has been received of Cremona's surrender, which, according to the terms of the capitulation, was to have taken place the last day of September.

The sad intelligence from Hungary is, however, but too true. The Archduke is already in Austria, and on the 22nd of September entered Lintz. Travellers from Trent state that 10,000 Germans were ready to come down during the month of September, but up to the present day we have no news of their having arrived. Those who were at Carpi marched to

* Hercole Gonzaga, born in 1505, created Cardinal in 1527. He died 2nd March 1563. *See* Genealogies Historiques, tom. II., p. 276.

† Marguerite Paleologo, daughter of Guillelmo, Marquis of Montferrato.

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the assistance of their comrades at Cremona, leaving that town in charge of the Duke of Ferrara; at least such is the rumour here at Rome.

Whilst writing the above a letter has been received from the Archduke, saying he was about to send the Papal nuncio at his court with a message for His Holiness, who on his side is preparing an embassy of condolence on the progress of the Turkish arms, and offers of his help and assistance, though he will not send him money, as he says he himself is in great want of it.

Some say that a brother* of Cardinal de Lorraine has taken a commission from the King of France to subsidize 800 lansquenets, with whom, and the other forces he has here, he is to invade the kingdom of Naples; but there is no reason to suppose that such an idea exists, especially as the Viceroy is daily expected there.

News has this moment been received of the surrender of Cremona, and of the entrance of the Venetians into that city to the cry of "Marco, Marco! Duca, Duca!" It is believed the Duke (Francesco Sforza) will soon be there. The Germans, 1,500 in number, went out with banners furled and without drums; 70 lances, 100 horse, and 300 Spanish infantry were to go to Naples by way of Ravenna, but it was supposed that they would return to Carpi, being too few in number to cross the Romagna.

The Pope's troops, with the single exception of the bands commanded by Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis, who, as above stated, is to join the Marquis of Saluzzo, have gone to Parma and Piacenza. The Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) has done the same with his men; (*cipher:*) so that the Venetians alone remain now in the field, although nothing is easier for them than to take into their service most of the Papal troops just dismissed, and even to subsidize them with the Pope's money.

Has been told that the brother of the Marquis of Mantua, who, as aforesaid, is now at Rome, has brought full powers from the Duke of Ferrara to treat with the Pope. They say that he has already concluded, or very nearly so, an agreement by means of which the Duke is to have Modena, receive the investiture of Ferrara and his other estates, and be appointed Commander-in-Chief (*Capitan-General*) of the League, and furnish a contingent in men-at-arms (*lançás*) and light horse (*caballos*).

The said Mantuan (Hercole Gonzaga) is to be created Cardinal. It is even asserted that he has the Papal bulls in his possession already, but that the whole thing is kept secret for fear of the other cardinals being scandalized and going over to the faction of the Colonna.

The Pope, it is added, does not intend to keep his agree-

* Probably the Duke.

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ment, being daily persuaded by the datary (Matheo Giberti) and by Cardinal Fernesis (Farnese) not to do so. They tell him that the last mishap (*afruenta*) was entirely his fault, for not keeping a sufficient force in Rome, and that the covenant then made [with Don Ugo] having been agreed to under compulsion is null, and therefore he (the Pope) can break it whenever he chooses, and at once commence hostilities against the kingdom of Naples. That and no other, as asserted, is the destination of the forces now collected in this city, mustering already 10,000 foot and upwards of 1,000 horse, besides others coming from Espoleto. As to money to defray the expenses of the expedition, the Pope relies on the alienation at 10 °/₀ of 25,000 ducats, rent at Ripa, and in the customs (*aduana*), and the sale of certain houses and property of St. Paul's and other monasteries, which he hopes the Romans themselves will buy up.

In this manner does the Pope intend to revenge the injury received at the hands of the Colonnese. He, moreover, does not believe in the arrival of the German reinforcements, nor in that of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), who, he says, will not come so soon as he is expected.

Has been told that in the negotiations with the Duke of Ferrara neither Alberto di Carpi nor Jacopo Salviati has a hand; they are being exclusively conducted by the datary (Matheo Giberti) with the greatest secrecy.

The Pope has agreed to give one of his nieces, called La Duchesina, in marriage to a son of the Duke of Ferrara, who, besides his contingent of men-at-arms and light horse, offers to give a sum of money for the pay of the Papal infantry, besides artillery, ammunition, &c. Hercole d' Este, for such is the name of the youth, is said to have brought with him for the Pope's signature the draft of the treaty which has been concluded and signed.

Renzo de Cherri (da Ceri), whom the Pope hitherto mistrusted, as he did not consider him sufficiently attached to his cause, has been sent for. He and Count Guido [Rangone] are to command the expedition against Naples. Vitello is to go to Florence. Orders have been issued to the heads of the boroughs (*caporaones*) at Rome to arm all men in their respective districts (*regiones*) with swords and pikes, to be ready at a moment's notice.

(*Common writing:*) The Pope has heard that Mons. de Bourbon will not ratify his agreement with Don Ugo. He shows discontent at this, and has written to the latter claiming his hostages back, and saying that since he (Bourbon) will not agree, matters must remain as they were before. No answer has yet come from Don Ugo, nor have we seen Mons. de Bourbon's letter to judge of his reasons for refusing.

(*Cipher:*) Much danger threatens the Colonnese from this assemblage of forces. He (Perez) has written to Don Ugo about it; presumes they will be on the alert.

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(*Common writing:*) To-day, the 12th of October, His Holiness has news [from Milan] informing him that the Duke of Bourbon has had the agreement (*concierto*) publicly proclaimed in the camp, at which he (the Pope) is much gratified. The reason why the Duke delayed the ratification of the truce is that he had not been informed of it beforehand, and besides that he wished to know whether the Pope was bound by it to the restitution of Cremona, as there were no less than seven or eight companies (*banderas*) of his own infantry with the Venetians at the surrender of that place. Knight Commander Sanct Anton has just arrived from Milan with the same news, having passed through Sienna, where he went to recover, in accordance with one of the articles of the stipulation, the property taken from the Florentines. He has succeeded in having some of it restored, though some still remains in the hands of the captors. He (Sanct Anton) has suggested that a proper person should be sent to Sienna to claim the remainder, which the Pope is about to do.

A vessel has lately arrived in Pomblin (Piombino) with several Spaniards on board. On the 29th of Sept., the date of their departure from Cartagena, the Viceroy's fleet was still there. It had been detained in consequence of certain disturbances of the Moriscoes at Valencia, but the country being quiet again, the fleet was to sail immediately after issuing one month's pay to the men. Would to God it had come a month ago!

(*Cipher:*) The brother of the Marquis [of Mantua] has gone back. What he (Perez) said about his negotiations [for the Duke of Ferrara] is kept so secret that he cannot say for certain what truth there may be in the report, and whether the Duke has really forsaken the Imperial cause or not. He (Perez) continues, as before, to make him the medium of his correspondence with Alonso Sanchez and Don Ugo.

(*Common writing:*) The rest of the Papal troops from Lombardy are shortly expected in Rome. His Holiness keeps repeating his former assurances, viz., that they are only coming for his own defence. Three hundred musketeers who came the other day were by the Pope's command quartered at the palace of Ascanio Colonna, who was so angry when he heard of it that he has written to him (Perez) begging him to tell the Pope to remove the said force, or not to be astonished if he (Ascanio) should retaliate. The secretary intends one of these days to deliver Ascanio's message, but doubts whether His Holiness will take any notice of it.

Fabio Petrursis (Petrucci) is to go to Naples with a safe-conduct from Don Ugo. His journey has a double purpose; one of which is to beg pardon for his past offences, and offer his services to the Emperor. In the opinion of some, these latter ought to be accepted, for when the Siennese know that

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he is under the Emperor's protection, and may hereafter be placed in command of the city, they may become firmer adherents (*andar mas derechos*) to the Imperial service. The other is to receive the inheritance of his brother the citizen (*el burgues*) lately deceased at Naples.

Letters have been received from the Imperial Court in date of the 22nd of September, purporting that the ambassadors of France, Venice and Florence had received notice to quit, and that the Emperor had spoken angry words to the French (Mons. de Calvimont). Such dismissal of ambassadors at this time is very significative, and these people begin to fear that before the end of this month the Viceroy's fleet and the German reinforcements will arrive in Italy,

The Datary's servant who went the other day to France has returned. It is not generally known what has been the result of his mission, but he (Perez) hears that he brings an autograph letter of the King, in which he offers to come over in person to protect and defend the person of the Pope and the patrimony of the Church. On the other hand His Holiness shows much contentment at a letter he has received from his Nuncio (Castiglione), wherein he tells him that the Emperor is well disposed to conclude a general peace, which intelligence, coupled with the afflicting news received here of the progress of the Turk, will perhaps decide him (the Pope) to be no longer an obstacle to the said peace.

Has spoken to His Holiness in Don Ugo's name of the nuisance complained of by Ascanio Colonna. His answer was that the men who come to Rome must be quartered somewhere, at Cardinals' houses as well as those of other persons, for he (the Pope) has no other quarters to provide for them. Colonna therefore must have patience. Has written to him to pocket the affront and be quiet, but is much afraid that he will retaliate or do something whereby the present agreement may be broken.

This letter was begun a fortnight ago, when it seemed probable that the Portuguese ambassador (Don Martin de Portugal) would leave for Spain. As it is not yet decided whether he will go or not, he has made up his mind to send it by this conveyance. Hopes to God it will reach safely.

Intelligence has been received from the Duke of Ferrara that the Spaniards of Cremona intend to go to Carpi, and thence take the road to Pavia, or wherever they may be more useful to the Emperor, as they hear that were they to go to Naples they would be attacked and plundered on the road. As the said Spaniards left four hostages as security for their going to Naples, as stipulated in the capitulation, they are thinking of redeeming their comrades with the Venetian commissaries furnished for their security, whom

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they have imprisoned, which after all has proved a successful stratagem.

At every consistory which the Pope holds, there is a question of appointing legates, but hitherto no nomination has been made.—Rome, 22nd October 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cæsareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 22nd Oct."

Spanish partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 12.

22 Oct.] **590.** JOAN DE CASTRO to ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 75.

Wrote on the 15th inst., announcing his visit to George Fruntsperg. Came afterwards to this place (Innsbruck), where he found his (Sanchez's) letters of the 14th and 16th.

Everything is settled. Each captain has received money to pay his men on the road. Half-pay only to be issued from the day of the departure, which is to be the 12th at the latest. We muster 35 companies (*capitanias*) without including camp followers, who on this occasion are much more numerous than usual; 40,000 ducats per month will be required for the full pay of all this force, but Mons. de Bourbon writes to say: "Let the men come down immediately and the money shall not be wanting." We are accordingly coming in such force that when the Pope and the Venetians hear of it they will be anything but pleased. Calculates that this time, if money is not wanting, the Emperor will become sole master in Italy. Is going to Bolçano to collect his men for the general muster to be passed there on Friday next, the 2nd of November.

Good news of the Turk. Has heard in date of the 15th that His Highness the Archduke was at the furthermost village of his dominions, where he had held a conference with his sister (Queen Mary) for the purpose of taking possession of the crown of Hungary. The Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) opposes his election. The Bohemians have not yet decided, but are expected to vote in favour of His Highness, though the Duke of Saxony (John) is one of the pretenders to that crown. The Archduke's presence on the frontiers of Hungary has so reanimated the courage of the people that they flocked to him from all sides, and he found himself at the head of such a force that after detaching a portion for the security and protection of his frontiers, he was about to take the field with 7,000 horse and a considerable train of artillery. The Turk, after committing unheard of ravages and cruelties in Hungary, was retreating to Transyl-

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vania for the winter, intending to come back again next spring.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from Joan de Castro to Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 75). pp. 2.

27 Oct. **591.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 58.

Wrote on the 22nd inst., and now encloses duplicate of his letter. Nothing new to report except that the Papal troops from Lombardy are fast approaching Rome, and will be sent towards the Colonnese territory. They are to cross the Tiber, three leagues below Rome, and then march in that direction. Those which the Pope had here, and which, according to his (Perez') former despatches, were leaving Rome secretly, have already reached Grutta Ferrata, an abbey of Cardinal Colonna's. They have likewise occupied Marino, and another place called Frascati, which belongs to Vespasiano Colonna, and is the residence of Marco Antonio's widow. He (Perez) has spoken about this to the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), intimating that the Pope's behaviour cannot be looked upon in any other light than as a breach of the agreement between him and Don Ugo. His answer was that although the Papal troops were in the above-mentioned towns, they had not taken them from the Colonnese. His Holiness had a right to quarter his troops wherever he thought best within the territory of the Church, just as the Emperor had in Spain or Naples, or in the estates and towns of his barons and nobility. Replied to him that nobody could dispute that right in time of peace, but that when people were at war with each other it looked very much like taking possession of them altogether.

The Pope sent for him (Perez) yesterday and begged he would write to Don Ugo and persuade him to accept a sum of money, which he would name, in exchange for the person of Filippo Strozzi, detained at Naples as hostage. He (Strozzi) would pledge himself to appear before the Emperor within a certain time. In case of the offer not being accepted, His Holiness was willing to send as hostage in his room the Duke Alessandro [de' Medici], his nephew. He was about sending the Archbishop of Capua to Don Ugo on this errand. Strozzi's wife was ill, and her husband's detention so preyed on her mind, that he (the Pope) was afraid she would die of grief (*congoxa*). The fact is that this lady is held in great estimation by His Holiness, and it is thought that the disease she is suffering from may be aggravated by her husband's absence. The Archbishop (Schomberg) left yesterday evening for Naples. On this occasion the Pope told him (Perez) that the troops at Grutta Ferrata and Frascati had received orders to move on. If any damage had been committed, it would be paid for. They had only been sent thither to make room

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for the Switzers, who could not be accommodated at Rome in the same quarters occupied by the Italians.

The departure of the Archbishop [of Capua] has caused great consternation among the people of this city, who imagine that the Viceroy has already landed somewhere on the coast of Italy. But the truth is that there is no news of him or his fleet, except that he was to sail from Cartagena on the 7th inst.

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. From Perez, 27th Oct."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

28 Oct. **592.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 60.

Wrote on the 3rd inst. as by duplicate enclosed. On the 6th, Knight Commander of Sanct Antonio arrived from Naples with letters, and a message from Don Ugo de Moncada. He had a safe-conduct from the Pope. His commission was to ascertain whether the Papal troops were really leaving the camp before Milan, according to the agreement signed at Rome; also to know what the Duke of Bourbon intended to do in case of the Pope not fulfilling the conditions, or of the Viceroy refusing to ratify the truce on his arrival.

Francesco Guicciardini, lieutenant-general of the Papal forces, raised his camp on the 7th inst., leaving part of his artillery behind, for want of oxen, with only a few men to guard the guns. An edict was published on the 11th enjoining the men of this Imperial army not to interfere in any way with the Pope's subjects, but to treat them in a kindly and brotherly spirit as in time of peace. Part of the artillery is since gone, and the rest is to follow soon. Only Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis with his band remains behind, in the pay of France, as he pretends. He has sent thither a man, with a safe-conduct from the Duke of Bourbon, to inquire from the French King the terms of his service, &c., but the man has not yet returned, and our spies in the enemy's camp report, that Medicis is not inclined to wait any longer, and intends to join the Papal army. Four of his companies have already left the camp, and the rest will follow soon, as he says he does not choose to be under orders to the Marquis of Saluzzo.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) arrived here on the 16th inst., with the intention, as he said, of attacking us; but hearing that we were ready to receive him, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to measure our forces with his, has changed his mind, and now says he is about to fortify certain places 10 or 12 miles from Milan, to stop our supplies. Federico de Bozano (de Bozzolo) is to occupy Monza, close to Como and Monte de Broanço (Brianza?), with 2,000 infantry. Another strong detachment

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is to be sent to Melça and Cassano, in the direction of La Geradada (Ghiera d'Adda). He, himself, with the rest of the force will take possession of a district called Viagrassa, by which we receive our supplies from the other side of the Tesin (Ticino). This last district, however, is now being fortified by Bourbon's orders, and before he (the Duke of Urbino) arrives there with his heavy camp—which cannot possibly be accomplished in less than four or five days, though the place is only 14 miles from Milan—the whole will be strengthened ready to meet the enemy's approach. Now it is rumoured that the Duke is no longer going to Viagrassa, but intends to quarter for the winter at Monza, Melça and two abbeys close to his camp. He has begun to fortify those towns and monasteries, more in order to keep his men employed than to prepare the said winter quarters, for his forces are not considerable enough to allow such a division. His (the Abbot's) impression is that the Duke will not move from where he is until, through the arrival of the reinforcements we expect from Germany and Spain, he finds that he can no longer hold his ground. His plan seems to be to carry on a desultory war as long as he can, keeping his men out of their own country and in this estate of Milan, and thus gain time for the supplies he expects from Venice, Lodi and Cremona to arrive, and for the King of France, at whose request this war is being made, not the Duke Francesco's as was said at first, to negotiate with the Emperor for the deliverance of his two sons. Lastly, the Duke hopes that from want of money and provisions we shall be obliged to evacuate Milan, and that everything this Imperial army has gained will be lost in one day.

The rest of the men-at-arms and infantry brought from France by the Marquis of Saluzzo has arrived at Vercelli. They muster 100 lances and 700 or 800 foot, between Frantopins and Gascons, and have gone to Gatinaria, a town belonging to the Grand Chancellor of the Empire (Mercurino), intending to pass the river Sessia by the same ford, near which the Admiral of France (Bonnivet) was defeated and wounded three years and a half ago. Their intention is to cross the Tesin (Ticino), near its issue from Laco Maggiore, and come to this camp [before Milan]. A certain Count Filipo Tornielo,* a native of Novara, and a rebel to the Empire, has been despatched by the Marquis [of Saluzzo] with 200 musketeers to guide and conduct the said forces to the camp of the confederates; or, if he can, to gain possession of Novara, which Count Lodovico de Beljoyoso has lately occupied with 100 lances, 300 light horse, and 600 Italian infantry selected from the

* "Al presenta (says F. Leandro Alberti, in his *Descrittione d'Italia*, p. 443), tratta l'armi valorosamente Filippo Torniello, essendo capitano de cavalieri di Carlo V. Imperatore." The references made to that valuable work are from the edition of 1577 (Venetia appresso Gio. Maria Leni, 4to), which has considerable additions. The first is of Bologna 1550, folio.

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companies which Count Gayaço has under his command. Hearing that Torniello, as above said, had started for Gatinaria, Count Gayaço had gone to Novara to concert with Beljoyoso about attacking the said bands either whilst crossing the Sessia, or after they had passed it, before reaching the Ticino. The weather is bad and rainy; the rivers much swoollen and it is very doubtful whether either captain will be able to accomplish his object.

Andrea Doria has returned to Genoa with six galleys under the Papal flag. He was expecting two more, which were first to take the Portuguese ambassador at Rome (Don Martin de Portugal) to Provence. This would show that His Holiness does not intend to fulfil his agreement with Don Ugo. Believes that Doria's galleys have gone thither to keep company with the Venetian, whilst Pedro Navarro goes with his to join the French fleet now being prepared at Marseilles, to prevent, as they say, the Viceroy's arrival. Advices from Genoa confirm this last report. Count Navarro, however, had not left on the 25th inst., as he wished to take with him part of the Venetian galleys under a captain, and also some of Doria's, but neither this latter nor the Venetian captain would consent to this, on which account there was dissension among the commanders of the enemy's fleet.

The Spanish and Italian forces, formerly at Cremona, in pursuance of orders sent to them from hence, have crossed the territory of the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este), and reached an estate which Count Synebaldo de Fliesco has in the mountain district of Genoa. They had already arrived close to that city, and were to come to Tortona, whence they will march on Alessandria or wherever they may be most useful.

The Germans [from Cremona] have already reached Trent, where they are being incorporated with the forces of George Fransperghe (Fruntsberg). Of captain Corradin, nothing is known for certain; some say he is gone to Mantua, others to Venice. God permit that he may be as useful to them as he was to us, for certainly he was the cause of the surrender of Cremona.

On the 25th the Duke of Bourbon had a letter from Jorge Fransperghe, dated the 19th from Fies, beyond Innsbruck. He purposed, on the 1st of November, to pass muster with 32 full companies of infantry at Marano and the adjoining villages, and take immediately after the most convenient route to come [to Italy], respecting which he now consulted the Duke. In addition to the 10,000 ducats which had been remitted to him from hence, he asks for 10,000 more to pay his troops on the road, but says that should the designation of the route and money tarry, he will undertake his march by the road he thinks best.

The last Imperial letters received at this camp are one of the 14th of August, which reached us on the 1st of Sept.,

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and another of the 7th, received on the 16th inst. This last came by Alvaro Perez, who arrived in Genoa on the 12th, and says that when he left Cartagena, on the 1st, the Viceroy was to sail almost immediately, about the 6th. This and the reported voyage of Pedro Navarro to Marseilles make us hope that the Viceroy's fleet will soon be on the coasts of Italy; for as to Fruntsperg's Germans, they have been so long coming that we have very little confidence in them, especially as Lope de Soria writes from Genoa that there is a rumour aflcat among the people of the galleys, as well as among the Fregosi inside the city, that the Viceroy had returned to Court, and that the Emperor had sent him again to the King of France, a thing not at all improbable, considering what Lope Hurtado de Mendoça wrote last from Chamberi; namely, that the French King had sent to His Imperial Majesty one of the gentlemen of his bed chamber with new proposals, and that the said gentleman had met on the road a courier of the Emperor's going to the King [of France].

(*Cipher:*) By the above summary account of late events His Imperial Majesty will be able to judge how matters stand. The plans of the generals, whether the reinforcements arrive or not, are as follows. If the confederates raise their camp and march on Viagrassa, as announced, to try and reach Alessandria or Como, and thence go in pursuit of the enemy and offer him battle. If victorious, as we are sure to be, to follow up our success; if vanquished, to die and fulfil our duty. Such is Bourbon's determination. The Marquis [del Guasto], though exceedingly weak in consequence of his quartan ague, is bent upon fighting to the death (*fasta que la quartana le dexe*). Antonio de Leyva is still suffering from tertian, and intermittent fever; half crippled by his usual sciatic complaint, and so feeble that he can scarcely move in his couch. Though so great an invalid, he manages all matters appertaining to war, and is determined to have himself fastened on his horse, if he cannot ride otherwise.

This desperate resolution of the Imperial generals, as may be imagined, has been taken in consequence of our not having one farthing left out of the last 200,000 ducats; of our being thereby unable to issue any pay to the Germans here and at Pavia; of the total want of provisions, which is the cause of the Milanese abandoning their dwellings to the mercy of the Imperial soldiers; and lastly, of the constant dread in which we all are of the men committing all manner of outrages in order to obtain their daily food. No money or supplies are to be expected from Naples, and the Duchy itself is completely exhausted and ruined. In this emergency we are determined to fight the enemy or die in the attempt. If an agreement can be made with the King of France, under such securities as may reasonably be demanded from one who has already

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once broken his faith and sacrificed his own sons—who only live by the Emperor's clemency—let it be made as soon as possible, for it is evident that he (the French King) is feeding the present war, and proposing new conditions for the sole purpose of delaying the departure of the Viceroy's fleet until the winter season sets in, so that he may in the meantime improve his position. Should, however, peace with France be impossible, His Imperial Majesty had better make terms with the Pope, England and Venice, the more effectually to chastise the French King for his violation of the treaties and immoderate lust of power. Whichever of these two courses be adopted, it is essential that it should be put into execution immediately, and before the Turk, now master of Hungary, penetrates so far into Germany as to compel the Emperor to go thither with all his forces and arrest his progress.

(*Common writing:*) The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga have arrived at Chamberi. The Marquis writes to say that he wishes to take part in the war, and will afterwards go to Rome. Bourbon has accordingly written to the Duke of Savoy, requesting him to give them (the Marquis and the Bishop) a sufficient escort to come as far as Casal di Monferrado or Verceli, whither he purposes sending another escort that may bring them safely to the camp. Lope Hurtado [de Mendoça] will come also, if the French King persist in his refusal to grant him a safe-conduct.

Begs that captains be appointed to several companies of men-at-arms, which are at present under the command of mere lieutenants, and that other persons of rank (*principales*), well trained to war, be also sent for the command of the various troops. Cremona was lost owing to the want of a trusty and experienced Spanish Commander.

On the 19th inst. Countess of Chalante* was beheaded in this Castle of Milan, after having confessed that Don Pedro de Golisano, the lieutenant and cousin of Count Golisano, had murdered, at her instigation, two brothers, named Arduyn and Carlo de Masyn, both Piedmontese and strong Imperialists. Both were assassinated one night by the said Don Pedro, actually a prisoner in this castle waiting for his trial.—Milan, 28th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 28th Oct."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 64). *pp.* 7.

* Escalante?

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29 Oct. **593.** ANTONIOTTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to his SECRETARY at the Imperial Court.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 108.

(*Cipher:*) We hear from Rome that His Holiness has appointed legates to various courts; Campeggio to the Emperor, Salviati to France, Cesarini to England.

Two days ago Andrea Doria anchored at Porto Fino with six Papal galleys. Two more remain behind for the purpose of conveying to Marseilles the ambassador of the King of Portugal. Doria's galleys are under the Pope's flag (*è con la bandera del Papa*), which is a sufficient sign that he (the Pope) does not intend to observe the agreement. If he has hitherto, it has been merely for the purpose of arming and getting ready. We consider this news of sufficient importance to be communicated to the Emperor, and therefore send this letter to Monaco by land, that it may from thence be forwarded to you.

Of the German reinforcements we know nothing in this city, and, though the Viceroy's fleet is daily expected, there are no signs yet of its coming. The citizens are discontented and grumble, as there is only food for the remainder of this month; so that, considering the little hope there is of a speedy succour, it would be but reasonable to begin talking about surrender [to the enemy]. We hope, however, to receive some wheat from Lombardy, which will, perhaps, enable us to drag on for a few days longer until the Viceroy's arrival, which must not be longer delayed. Should he not come very soon, so as to deliver us from the enemy's fleet in front of this port, you may consider us—and indeed we desire you to say so at the Imperial Court—as entirely lost; and, Genoa once in the hands of the enemy, the Imperial army will not be able to hold Lombardy.—Genoa, 29th Oct. 1526.

Indorsed: "Desifrato de' littere del Signor Duca di Genoa al suo Secretario."

Italian. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

29 Oct. **594.** JOAN DE CASTRO to ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A 39, f. 77.

(*Cipher:*) Has duly received his two letters of the 19th and 21st, to which he will answer briefly, as he wrote fully on the 22nd. Has come to Trent, where his company of soldiers is. On the 2nd of November a general review is to be passed, and immediately after the [German] forces will begin to march. Will inform him, with all possible secresy, of the route they are to take. Thanks him for having communicated the intelligence to Milan. Nothing could be more agreeable to him (Castro) than to know for certain that the

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Imperial generals are duly advised of their movements. This time they will come down in such force as to be capable of fighting the enemy single-handed.

Affairs in Hungary and Bohemia go on prosperously. His Highness' determination [to fight] has been enough to make the Turk abandon his conquest, and retreat to his dominions. He has 25,000 Hungarians with him, and a Diet is soon to be held at a town of the Archducal dominions, where the Vayvod, who has usurped the crown, will not be able to do much for his cause. Things, moreover, are in a very satisfactory state in Bohemia, and if the Hungarians do not do their duty voluntarily they shall by force.—Trent, 29th Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Joan de Castro."

Addressed: "To His Worship Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador at Venice."

*Spanish. Original entirely in cipher.** *pp.* 1½.

30 Oct. **595.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 72.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote last on the 20th inst. Encloses copy of a letter† from Joan de Castro, announcing the arrival of the Germans. The Pope by all accounts is arming very fast. He must have two objects in view (*debe de tirar à dos hitos*): to prepare against the Viceroy's fleet coming to Italy, and to invade the kingdom of Naples.

Merchants' letters from Florence of the 20th state that a Florentine had arrived there on his way to Rome. He came from the King of France on an embassy to the Pope, to whom he is to present 20,000 cr. (*escudos*) in addition to his monthly contribution to the League. If the news be true—and there is no reason to doubt it—the Pope is determined to attempt Naples, and that explains why the French King sends him that money.

Hears also that the Pope has lately forwarded to this Signory certain overtures for a general peace, and that the Signory, after discussing the point in some of their last *preghai*, have answered that they have no objection to a general peace, provided it be not said that the chief object is the Turkish war; that the Duke Francesco Sforza be also included in the treaty and restored to his estate, and

* No deciphering is appended; but as both the Archduke and Joan de Castro, his servant, are known to have used the cipher which Sanchez sent them (*see* above, p. 808, No. 495), the present and other letters in the collection have been made out with the help of Sanchez' deciphering key by Don Antonio Rodriguez Villa, one of the pupils of the "Escuela de Diplomatica" at Madrid.

† Probably that of the 22nd. *See* No. 590.

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that the sons of the French King recover their liberty.—Venice, 30th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 30th Nov."

Spanish. Original entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

31 Oct. **596.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 77.

(*Cipher:*) After his letter of yesterday, the 30th, he (Sanchez) received the enclosed from Joan de Castro. The speedy arrival of the German reinforcements has caused much alarm among these people (the Venetians), who, it would appear, have not the means to carry on the war. Were the Viceroy's fleet to arrive at this moment, there can be no doubt that the Emperor's enemies would get the punishment they deserve.

Has heard that the Venetians intended to keep Cremona and the Geradada (Ghiera d' Adda) for themselves, as preconcerted with the Pope and the King of France. The Pope was to get in compensation certain territories [in Italy], besides all those that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) possesses at present; the King of France all the rest of the duchy of Milan. It appears, however, that when the King of England heard of this arrangement he would not consent to it. Matters, therefore, remain as they were. The Duke Francesco Sforza has already taken possession of Cremona, the delivery of which was delayed chiefly from the above reason.

Having received orders from Mons. de Bourbon and from Don Ugo not to quit Venice, he (Sanchez) intends to remain at his post until the Emperor's pleasure be known.—Venice, 31st Oct. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacratissime Cesaree et Catholice Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 31st of Oct."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

3 Nov. **597.** PROTHONOTARY CARACIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 86.

Wrote last on the 3rd of Oct. Had written before on the 12th of September announcing the disasters in Hungary. Since then the enemy have raised their camp and retired beyond

* The letter here alluded to will be found at p. 892, under No. 542. It is not, however, signed by Caracciolo, but by his colleague, Alonso Sanchez.

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the River Lambro to a place called Pioltella, on the road to Cassano, seven miles from this city [of Milan]. Their intention appears to be to retain possession of Monza, a very important position in the Duchy for receiving supplies, &c.

The Duke of Bourbon, accompanied by the Marquis del Guasto and Antonio de Leyva, though both were prostrated by disease and unable to put on armour, rushed out of this camp in pursuit of the retreating enemy, but found them so entrenched and in such good order that nothing could be done.

(*Cipher:*) As he (Caracciolo) has been commanded to give his opinion on Italian affairs, he will not hesitate to say that a general peace with honourable conditions is very desirable under present circumstances; for even if the promised reinforcements from Spain and Germany were to come shortly, there is no money to pay so considerable a number of men. Even if there was money, the Spaniards could no longer live in a city completely ruined and exhausted, whose inhabitants fly by hundreds and desert their homes rather than be subjected to the exacting cruelties of such guests. The men themselves are in a state of mutiny. Not a day passes without their coming to the Duke's quarters uttering threats and all manner of angry words (*brute parole e fatti*). The generals do all they can to calm down the soldiers, but it is feared that, clamorous as they are for the arrears of their pay, which are considerable, they will one of these days execute their threats and sack Milan, without any one of us being able to prevent it. Taking the Imperial troops out of Milan and following the enemy's steps, so as to be able to fight him on his own ground, is a dangerous experiment, which, though proposed by some of the generals, has been disapproved by the rest; for the men will not abate in their demands, and insist upon being paid in full, though not only the infantry, but the men-at-arms and light cavalry also have been for many months foraging entirely on the Milanese (*comiendo à discrecion*).

The above considerations and the probability of the Turks marching upon Vienna—whither the Archduke must needs repair with all his forces if he wants to arrest their progress—render peace highly desirable under present circumstances. The Emperor has always wished for it. The Pope, France and Venice cannot refuse if honourable terms be offered to them. At any rate, if no other means of securing peace can be found, it is indispensable not to neglect this brave Imperial army, which, if allowed to exert its valour, is sure to wrest from the enemy that which cannot be obtained by fair means.

(*Common writing:*) Antonio de Leyva is dangerously ill. The Marquis suffering from double tertian ague (*due terzane*). He has already spent his own fortune and that of his friends, and yet he is indefatigable in the exercise of his duty, doing all he can for the Imperial service.

(*Cipher:*) The Duke is also very active; he never rests,

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encouraging the men and persuading them to have patience; but words will not satisfy them, they want deeds.—Milan, 3rd Nov. 1526.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Caracciolo, 3rd Nov."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 92). pp. 6.

3 Nov. **598.** The SAME to the GRAND CHANCELLOR MERCURINO GATTINARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 90.

(*Cipher:*) Illustrissimo mio signore honoratissimo, &c. Encloses a letter for his Imperial Majesty on the state of affairs, and the dangers to be apprehended from the mutinous temper of the men, exasperated as they are by the want of provisions and money. Earnestly entreats him to apply a remedy to the threatening evil. Milan, 3rd Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Al Ill^mo^ Signor mio honoratissimo el Gran Cancell° de sua Maestà."

Italian. Original in cipher. No deciphering appended. p. 1.

3 Nov. **599.** ANTONIOTTO ADORNO to his SECRETARY in Spain.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 108.

Spinar (Espinar), Don Ugo's secretary, and Donato de Tassi (Taxis) have both arrived at Monaco. At the time of their departure from Spain the fleet had not yet left Cartagena, which news has so discouraged the citizens of this place (Genoa) that I greatly fear some popular commotion. We have scarcely food for ten days, and even that must come from Lombardy at great risk and expense. Novi is defended by 1,200 foot and 100 light horse, who are there for the sole purpose of ensuring the scanty supplies that come from Lombardy. Had that town fallen into the enemy's hands, you would already have heard of our surrender. That place (Novi) and Gavi are the two keys to Genoa. This last ought not to be, as it is now, in the hands of Guasco, but to have been restored to us. Indeed, had we not refused to deliver the castle to him, our communications with Lombardy would have been interrupted by this time. Intelligence has reached us from Venice that the Signory had resolved in one of their last *preghai* to besiege this city by land, since the blockade by sea did not produce the desired effect. It is a wonder to me how we have been able to maintain ourselves against so many enemies without and within the city, for

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besides the Fregosi, who continue as hostile as ever to our party (the Adorni), and the two factions of the Plebeians and Nobles, which last is now in power, there is another party denominated of the Union (*La Unione*) from that which many inhabitants of this city are trying to bring about.

Domenicho Sauli writes from Venice to his friends here, that he has received letters from Andrea Navagero, the Venetian ambassador at the Imperial Court, in date of the 27th, advising that the Emperor had only 20 ships and 6,000 German infantry at his disposal. Most of the latter had perished in different encounters with the Moors [of Valencia], and those who remained had refused to embark unless they previously received the arrears of their pay, viz., 21 months. In fact the said ambassador assures the Signory that the Viceroy's fleet will not leave the shores of Spain this year.

We do not hear of the Pope having, as was reported, named the legates who are to go to the various courts. On the contrary, we hear that military preparations are now being made on a great scale, and that the Papal army at Rome will soon muster 12,000 foot, 300 men-at-arms and 1,000 light horse. Whom these forces are intended against nobody seems to know for certain; but in all probability the Colonnese will be the first to feel their weight. It is evident that the Viceroy on his arrival cannot do otherwise than attack His Holiness in his own estates. His best plan would be, after relieving this port and driving away the enemy's galleys, to land part of his forces on the gulf of La Spezzia, and march upon Florence, which city, being almost defenceless, cannot offer much resistance, and afterwards attack Bologna, which being done, the Pope must necessarily come to terms.

All the wheat and merchandize which the enemy's galleys have taken from us is being sold in the most scandalous way, a thing unprecedented in the annals of history; for whenever peace has been concluded between belligerents, private property has been restored on both sides, especially when there has been no previous declaration of war, as in this present case, and when Genoa has given no offence to the confederated powers. We, therefore, beg the Emperor to retaliate on the property and goods of all Frenchmen, Venetians and Florentines now established and residing in his dominions of Spain, Flanders, Sicily and Naples.

As the Imperial ambassador [in Venice] must have written the news of the Turk, I need not say anything on the subject.

The confederates raised their camp in front of Milan during the latter days of October, after sending on their artillery and heavy luggage. The enemy, however, retreated in such good order, that Mons. de Bourbon deemed it imprudent to follow them in force, though he sent in pursuit of them some light cavalry and detached foot (*fanti bandati*), to pick up the loiterers. They have taken the direction of Cassano

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upon Adda, their first march being to Pioltello, five or six miles from Milan.

The Duke Francesco Sforza is now at Cremona, which adheres to him alone (*sta à nome suo solo*). He has a good garrison within the walls.

Signor Gio. de' Medici has not yet left the camp of the confederates. Monza is still occupied by the enemy. The Imperial generals at Milan cannot make out what the enemy's plans may be, whether they still intend to cross the Adda, or to pitch their tents between that river and Milan.

Dertona (Tortona) had been taken by the enemy through the treason of some of its inhabitants, who introduced inside a company of volunteers (*aventureros*) with their captain. My nephew,* however, has since recovered the town, and taken Vigisolo and other villages from the enemy.

The enemy seems intent upon attacking Genoa. I have written to Mons. de Bourbon to send us reinforcements, and some officer of reputation to command the whole, for Marramaldo and his men are not to be trusted in the event of an attack.

You are to thank His Imperial Majesty for the promise he has made of giving us Livorno and Petra Sancta as soon as the war against the Florentines is at an end, and you will take care that the Imperial mandate be despatched for execution to Mons. de Bourbon and to the Viceroy.

Addressed: "To our Secretary at the Imperial Court."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

5 Nov. **600.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d' Esp.

Wrote last on the 27th Oct. by Don Ugo [de Moncada], enclosing duplicate of his letter dated the 22nd, which went by way of Ferrara and Genoa. The duplicate of that of the 27th is also enclosed.

Don Ugo having heard that His Holiness was collecting forces and preparing artillery, begged him (Perez) to call and tell him (the Pope) in his name that were any attempts made on the lands of the Colonnese he (Don Ugo) would be obliged to defend them, as they were under the Emperor's protection, and included in the late truce. The Pope's answer was that he was determined now, more than ever, to keep his promise, and abide by the agreement (*concierto*) made with Don Ugo; and yet, notwithstanding these and similar asseverations that the Pope is daily making, he (Perez) knows as a positive fact that not later than the 2nd inst. he sent reinforcements to the frontier of the Colonnese, besides four large guns, ten falconets, several waggons of powder and ammunition,

* "Dertona era redutta in mano de inimici essendosseli introdutto un capitano con compagnia de ventureri; pero nostro nepote ha recuperata detta cita et ha redutto anche ad obedientia Vigisolo et alcuni loci."

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shovels, pickaxes, spades, levers, scaling ladders, cart wheels, timber and rope, and everything else required by pioneers (*gastadores*). The Baron del Burgo (Borgo ?), a Sicilian, lately arrived from Hungary, where he was Papal Nuncio, has accepted the command of these forces on condition of not serving against the Emperor, whose subject he is.

At the moment he (Perez) is writing intelligence has been received that the above-mentioned artillery forces are close by at Marino, Frascati, Grutaferrata and Tagacoz (Tagliacozzo ?), all places which formerly belonged to the Colonnese. It is added that Ascanio Colonna intends to come with infantry and cavalry to defend other fortresses still stronger than those, and that Vespasiano will do the same. It is, however, generally believed that all these armaments are destined for an invasion of the kingdom [of Naples]. They expect Renzo de Cherri (da Ceri) from France, and say that he is coming fully empowered by King Francis to spend 20,000 ducats monthly on similar armaments ; also that the French fleet, under Pedro Navarro, is to go to Savona, to sail thence for Sicily and invade the island, with the aid of the emigrants (*foraxidos*), whom Cesare Imperatore* commands. Others say that all these forces are intended against Naples, which is to be attacked by sea, whilst the Papal army invades it by land on this side, and that they will muster 10,000 or 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, besides the Orsini, who, with their bands, have been taken into the pay of France.

The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) has returned from Naples, whither he was sent to procure the liberation of Filippo Strozzi. He came back without him, as neither Don Ugo nor the Collateral Council would consent to his release, however great the securities offered by the Pope, who is anything but satisfied at the refusal, as likewise the wife of the said Strozzi. The Archbishop adds that at Naples preparations of money and provisions were being made in consequence of the Pope's armaments.

A Frenchman arrived the other day, the same person whom the French King sent to the Pope† after Don Ugo entered Rome. It is rumoured that he has made great offers in the name of his master, who (he says) proposes coming down with all his forces for the protection of the Church and of the Pope's sacred person, at which all here are exceedingly proud.

A bull has been issued for the sale at 10 per cent. of 200

* A Sicilian nobleman supposed to have been concerned in Cardinal Volterra's celebrated conspiracy in 1523. *See* Bergenroth, vol. II., p. 559. He had a brother named Francesco, whom Guicciardini (*Istoria d'Italia*, III., 396) calls Francesco Imperiale.

† Renzo da Ceri is said by Sanuto (v. Rawdon Brown, vol. II. p. 611) to have been sent by King Francis to Rome on this occasion ; but as he was not a Frenchman, perhaps another ambassador is here meant. About this time a messenger of the Queen of France (Lorenzo Toscano) is said to have reached Rome (Guicciardini, *lib.* XVII.). His name is elsewhere said to be Daubreq.

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offices, which, as stated in one of his (Perez's) former despatches, are worth 1,000 ducats each. Every cardinal is compelled to buy one of these offices, and those who have no ready money give up their plate and dine off earthenware. The bull is founded upon the undertaking against the Turk, and the entrancei nto Rome of Don Ugo and the Colonnese. These last, it is said in the bull, broke their faith to the Pope. At first Don Ugo was also included in the general anathema, but his name has since been left out, so that only the Colonnese are mentioned in it. Does not send by this conveyance the bull and a quantity of other papers—rather impertinent than otherwise (*no muy bien dichos*), which are daily published here, though said to come from abroad—because the packet would have been too bulky. Has, however, forwarded to Don Ugo a copy of the bull, which goes by the title of "*Mons Fidei*."

Fears that the Pope's troops, now marching towards the frontiers of Naples, will stop every estafette on the road, though the Pope has lately sent orders to the chief of his commissariat to allow all couriers to pass. This, however, will cease when the war breaks out, and in his (Perez's) opinion hostilities will commence as soon as the Pope is fully prepared, for it is not likely that he will go on spending so much as 60,000 ducats every month, as they say he is doing, to no profit, although each of the confederates contributes his share of the expenses.

The Pope is making much of a certain Abbot of Farfa,* son of Giovanni Giordano Ursino (Orsino), who, they say, will undertake to conquer the county and duchy of Tallacoz (Tagliacozzo) in Naples, to which he pretends to have a right. All the emigrants (*foraxidos*) of Aguila (Aquila) have found shelter here, at Rome, under the impression that they will powerfully assist in an invasion of the Abruço (Abruzzo), as well as in the taking of that town [Aquila]. Has given Don Ugo notice of the enemy's designs.

Hears from Naples that the Viceroy is shortly expected. On the 21st of October last he (Lannoy) was at Alicante, and was to set sail in two or three days for Genoa. Read to the Pope the paragraph in Don Ugo's letter conveying the above intelligence, and he (the Pope) answered, "It is most needful that the Imperial fleet come as soon as possible, for I hear Genoa is in great want of wheat." Perhaps the Pope thought, as many here seem to think, that the news is false, and that we only spread it to prevent the intended expedition against Naples.

Thirty-five companies of German infantry were to pass review at Maran (Marano), close to Trent, on the 2nd inst., and to start without fail on the 6th.

* Napoleone Orsino, *Abate di Farfa*, about whom, *see* Guicciardini (IV. pp. 203–89). He was the son of Giangiordano Orsino.

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The Turk had crossed the Danube, notwithstanding that the Vayvod had defeated him in a battle, and taken Ibrahim Pasha, his most favourite general, prisoner. The Infante (Ferdinand), who was at Vienna with 8,000 foot and 200 horse, had been elected King of Bohemia; the barons of Hungary who were soliciting his aid [against the Turk] had also promised him the crown of that kingdom.

(*Cipher:*) The garrison of Cremona is now at Alexandria (Alessandria). The Pope says that he very much prefers their being in Lombardy to their going to Naples, as at first intended; which in his (Perez's) opinion is another proof that the invasion of Naples was decided upon long ago, and that all these warlike preparations of the Pope have no other object.

There is no more talk of His Holiness going to Spain or sending legates to the various Princes. The Portuguese ambassador's (Don Martin de Portugal) departure has also been put off, and there is every reason to think that the Pope is intent upon doing us all the harm he can. Were one to believe in his protestations, the Emperor could never have had so affectionate a father; but the deeds do not suit the words. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, must consider what is best for his interests under the present circumstances. The general opinion is that an agreement ought to be made with the King of France on the best terms possible. This point once gained, the Emperor will easily carry out his plans in Italy.

(*Common writing:*) It is reported that Cardinal Colonna, in consequence of an invitation received from the Collateral Council of Naples, has gone thither for the purpose of discussing with Don Ugo the plan of the future campaign. He (Colonna) is now residing at Castil Capuano.

The Venetians have removed their quarters to Viagrasa and Monça, where they intend passing the winter. Their object is said to be to intercept the road to Pavia, and the supplies going to the Imperial camp. They intend to do the same with respect to Genoa, and for that purpose will attack a strong place called Nove, where the Doge usually keeps his stores of provisions. It is added that they are to send 8,000 of their troops against Naples and Sicily, on board the French galleys.

Miçer Jacopo Salviati prefers paying Don Ugo 30,000 ducats to sending his own son as hostage, as agreed; (*cipher:*) from which it may be inferred that His Holiness' intentions are far from good, since he (Salviati) is willing to disburse such a large sum to free his son. Has written to Don Ugo informing him of this and other matters.

Nothing new concerning the Duke of Ferrara. He is no doubt waiting to see how matters go on (*que mundo corre*) and will then incline to whichever side suits him best.

(*Common writing:*) Don Ugo and the Collateral Council [of Naples] have commissioned a certain Miçer Giovanni

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Antonio Muxetula to come to Rome and negotiate with His Holiness respecting the affairs of the Colonnese. The Pope has sent him a brief that he may come in safety.

The Pope's troops are now at Genençano and about that frontier, threatening a very strong place called Paliano (Pagliano), where Vespasiano Colonna is said to have stored numerous and well-appointed artillery, with plenty of ammunition. It will prove rather tough work for the Pope's troops, for the Colonnas keep the place well garrisoned and in a good state of defence.

Has been told that recruits flock from all parts to the Pope's camp on the frontiers, and that the whole force is to consist of 20,000 foot. The Ursinos (Orsini) are working with all their might (*sacan fuerza de flaqueza*), and enlist as many men as they can for the Pope. Renço de Cherri (da Ceri) has been promised a cardinal's hat for one of his brothers, the hand of a daughter of Jacopo Salviati, and a fine estate in the kingdom of Naples, if he will only take the command of the Papal forces. The report is worth mentioning, though it may in the end prove untrue.—Rome, 5th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 5th Nov. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (dated the 6th). pp. 6.

5 Nov. **601.** MEMORANDUM in Chancellor Gattinara's handwriting.*

S. E. L. 1554, f. 497.

The following are the letters to be written and the points to be considered respecting Rome and other countries.

First of all the mission of [Cesare] Ferramosca to His Holiness Pope Clement VII.

2nd. The ratification of the truce concluded between the Pope and Don Ugo [de Moncada] with the insertion of certain articles.

3rd. The answer to the Pope's brief, lamenting the last occurrences at Rome and alluding to the Emperor's journey to Italy, letters of credence, &c.

4th. Letters to the College of Cardinals in general, and to everyone of them in particular. All letters to be letters of credence.

5th. To Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna, to Ascanio and Vespasiano Colonna, to each of them separately, telling them

* Ferramosca's departure from Spain having taken place in November, I have been induced to place here this minute in the handwriting of the Grand Chancellor, which, like most others, has the day of the month in blank.

A copy of this is in Bergenroth's collection, vol. IV., fol. 323, in Brit. Mus., *Add.* 28,575, and is headed thus: "Lo que se ha de despachar para Roma y otras partes; en *Castellano* Garcia y Lallemand; en *Latin* Valdés."

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that the Emperor has duly received their letters of the 24th of September, written conjointly with Don Ugo de Moncada, containing the account of occurrences at Rome, &c.

6th. To Cardinal Cesarino and Giovanni Georgio Cesarino, his uncle, thanking them for the offers of service made to Don Ugo.

7th. To Cavaliere Ursino* and Mario Ursino, thanks for similar offers.

8th. To the people (*populo*) and Senate of Rome in general, and to the Conservatore of the said city in particular, with simple credence (*simple crehencia*).

9th. To the Governor of Rome and Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) letters of credence.

10th. Ten more letters in blank to several members of the Orsini and Colonna families.

11th. To the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) and the Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno) simple credence, as likewise to the Signories of Sienna and Lucca.

12th. To Julio di Capua, Federico and Diomedes Carapha (Carrafa), Conte di Sarno, Hanibal di Genaro, and ten more Neapolitan gentlemen, credence and thanks for their services under Don Ugo. The drafts of these last [letters] to be in Spanish, and to be made out by Secretary Garcia.

13th. Answer to the Duke of Bourbon's letter apprising him of the Viceroy's departure, the ships and number of men he has with him, the money sent to Germany, &c.

To the Viceroy and to Don Ugo. To Alvaro Perez in case His Imperial Majesty decide to call him still by this name.†

14th. To the King of England, informing him of the late occurrences at Rome, and of what the Emperor has written to the Pope thereupon (if required enclose also a copy of the Imperial letter). A similar letter to the ambassador who resides at the French Court (Praet), that he may communicate the intelligence to King Francis.

15th. To Madame the Governess of the Low Countries, and to the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) letters describing the Pope's affliction, although this cannot be done for certain until the news arrive [from Rome]. To inform the said Princes of the measures which the Emperor purposes to take, &c.

16th. To other Kings and Princes it does not seem so indispensable to write just now.

17th. The matters concerning Perez, Aguilera,‡ Alonso

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* Drafts of letters to *Giovanni Georgio* Orsini, *Ruberto* Orsino, and *Mario* Orsino, dated Granada, 9th Nov., are at Simancas, Ferramosca being accredited to each of them separately.

† *See* above, Soria's letter, where the arrival at Genoa of Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, under the pseudonym of Alvaro Perez, is mentioned, p. 964.

‡ "Las materias de Perez Aguilera, Alonso Sanchez," &c. Thus written it is difficult to decide whether *Perez Aguilera* is meant for only one person, or whether Secretary *Perez* and Knight Commander *Aguilera* are intended. I rather incline to the latter reading, and have accordingly placed a comma to separate the two names.

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Sanchez, Abbot of Najera, and Lope de Soria have been put into Secretary Soria's hands to make suitable answers thereto.

Spanish. Holograph minute by Gattinara. pp. 2.

7 Nov. **602.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat. Re. *Bul. Suelt.* Leg. c.f. 127.

Has been informed by his nuncio, Count Baldassar Castiglione, that he (the Emperor) is inclined to conclude peace. The news of this intelligence has filled him with joy. Is ready to make peace on such conditions as he can honourably accept.—Rome, 7th Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "Imperatori Carolo, Regi Hispaniarum."

Latin. Original on vellum.

9 Nov. **603.** The EMPEROR to the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

S. E. L. 1554, f. 503.

Expresses in the strongest terms his regret and sorrow at what has happened [at Rome]. It was all done against his will, and against that of his captains, by a mutinous soldiery. Was very much affected at hearing the news, especially at a time when he was meditating and planning with his brother (the Archduke) an expedition against the Turk for the defence of Christianity.—Datum Granatæ, 9th Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "Sacro Collegio Cardinalium."

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso Valdés. p. 1.

9 Nov. **604.** The EMPEROR to ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM.

S. Pat. Re. *Estado*, 1554, f. 553.

Congratulates him upon his having become "*ex professo*," an enemy of Luther. Exhorts him to continue in that path. —Granada, 9th of Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "Erasmo Rotterodamo."

Latin. Original draft. p. 1

9 Nov. **605.** The EMPEROR to GIOVANNI GIORGIO ORSINO.

S. E. L. 1554, f. 501.

Writes in credence of Cesar Ferramosca, whom he now sends to Rome and to other parts of Italy to beg they will remain faithful to his cause.*—Granada, 9th Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "Johanni Georgio Ursino."

Latin. Original draft. pp. 1.

* There is a note in the Chancellor's own hand thus conceived: Similar circular letters, *mutatis mutandis* to be addressed to Ruberto Ursino, Mario Ursino, to the Governor of Rome, to the Archbishop of Capua (Capuano), Cardinal Colonna, Vespasiano and Ascanio Colonna; Senatui P. Q. R. et Conservatoribus, &c. Gattinara's original draft ordering this and other letters to be written is printed at p. 996, under No. 601.

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12 Nov. **606.** ANTONIOTTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to his SECRETARY, in Spain.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 109.

The confederates have removed their camp at Peschiera Malignano, and other places close to Monza. This has been done, as they say, at the Pope's express desire, who is no less anxious than the French and the Venetians that this our city should be attacked by land. For this purpose Gio. de' Medici went on Sunday, the 4th inst., to Piacenza with orders to throw a bridge over the Pò there, but it is to be hoped that when he hears of the speedy arrival of the Germans he will abandon his enterprise. Letters of the 8th from Mons. de Bourbon announce that within six or seven days, at the latest, Fruntsperg's bands will be in Lombardy.

Count Philippo Torniello and Gasparo del Mayno are still in the Novarese with considerable bands. Mons. de Bourbon has resolved to send the Marquis del Guasto against them with a strong force, but up to this date he has not left the camp.

The Italian and Spanish infantry lately from Cremona were enabled to cross the Pò some time ago. They may now be considered as saved, and able to join the Imperial camp.

Advices from Savona confirm the news of the French fleet "de vele quadre" being in the port of Villafranca. It is therefore to be feared that the galleys of the Religion of [St. John] of Rhodes will also join them.—Genoa, 12th Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "To our Secretary in Spain."

Italian. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 1½.

12 Nov. **607.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 99.

Wrote last on the 14th of October by Don Francisco de Mendoza, who sailed in a brigantine which he (Soria) fitted out for him. On the 1st inst. a servant of this Doge who left Spain on the 24th of September arrived, but brought no despatches for him (Soria). A letter, however, has arrived from Espinal, Don Ugo's secretary, informing him of his arrival at Monego (Monaco) in company with Donato de Taxis. Both left the Imperial Court on the 12th of October at Granada and brought despatches for him and other Imperial agents in Italy. Is very anxious to hear what news there is of the Viceroy's fleet, for certainly it is now wanted more than ever. Hopes that Don Francisco de Mendoza has reached Spain in safety.

(*Cipher:*) The last intelligence from Rome is contained in the enclosed letter of Secretary Perez to him [Soria], dated the 18th of October. The general opinion there is that the Pope will not fulfil his treaty with Don Ugo, and that the troops he is

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now collecting at Rome are destined against the Colonnese and the kingdom of Naples.

After giving His Holiness due notice of his arrival, Alvaro Perez left the other day for Rome, having first obtained from Cardinal Cortonna at Florence, and from the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti), the required safe-conduct.

Encloses two letters from Alonso Sanchez, as well as the copy of another which that ambassador has written to him (Soria) from Venice. The account he gives of the state of the Imperial army at Milan is certainly not reassuring, and unless sufficient means be provided for the forces now coming to Italy, all that has hitherto been spent will be unavailing. Mons. de Bourbon says that the men are getting every day more clamorous and insolent. He has written to the Doge and to him (Soria) to procure him 30,000 ducats wherewith to pay part of their arrears to the Germans and Spaniards, who are so mutinous and disobedient as to be completely unmanageable. He (Soria) is very sorry that he cannot back the Duke's petition. The merchants will not advance more money except on bills drawn upon them, and endorsed by their correspondents in Spain; and as to applying to the Community it is out of the question in the present state of things.

The Spaniards who composed the garrison of Cremona are safe in Novara and its neighbourhood. Owing to the Pope's lieutenant (Guicciardini) and the Duke of Urbino refusing to ensure their march to Naples, they considered themselves entitled to return to Lombardy, which they have done.* The Germans left for their native country, and it is now asserted that some of them are coming back with Fruntsperg.

The enemy's fleet has been increased of late by 10 ships and galleons, besides two caracks, which they captured some time ago, laden with wheat for this port. It is asserted that some French galleys and those of Rhodes are to join them soon at Villafranca di Niça. With these forces they give out that they will attack the Viceroy's fleet so as to prevent his landing on this coast. We have in port four caracks and three galleons, besides the six galleys, a sufficient force for our defence, though not strong enough unless in combination with the Viceroy's, to drive off the confederated fleet. Indeed, should not the latter arrive within 20 days, there is no knowing what will become of us all, for the people here are again holding meetings, and promoting the old idea of a union, with exclusion of both Fregosi and Adorni from the government of the Community, and under a chief

* "I cavalli e i fanti Spagnuoli avendo passato il Pò per tornarsene nel Regno di Napoli, ed essendo fatta loro qualche difficultà dal Luogo Tenente di concedere le patenti e i salvocondotti sufficienti, perche era molesto al Pontefice que andassero á Napoli, preso (*sic*) al improviso il camino per la montagna di Parma e di Piacenza, e depoi passato con celerità il Po, alla Chiarella si condussero salvi nella Lomellina, e dipoi á Milano."—Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Ita'ia*, lib. XVII.

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(*presidente*) appointed by France. Knowing this, the commanders of the enemy's fleet are trying to allure the citizens with the hope that all vessels, wheat and merchandize taken from them will be restored; the Datary (Giberti) and Andrea Doria also write urging them to make terms and forsake the Emperor's cause.

Juanin (Giovannino) de Medici has arrived at Piacenza. He must have been informed of the speedy arrival of the Germans in Lombardy, for he seems disposed to dispute with them the passage of the Pò . . . . .*—Genoa, 12th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Soria, 12th Nov."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

12 Nov. **608.** The Same to the Grand Chancellor Gattinara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 105.

The enclosed for the Emperor will inform him of the state of things. The delay in the arrival of the promised reinforcements may prove a serious check to the Emperor's affairs.

Forwards a packet of letters just received from Mussiur de Liñan (Mons. de Lignano), his son-in-law.

Count of Santa Severina has died at Naples, leaving a vacancy in the Collateral Council of that kingdom. He (Soria) would apply for it, if he were sure that the Chancellor would favour his suit.—Genoa, 12th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious Count of Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of the Supreme Council [of Estate] of His Imperial Majesty, &c. at Court."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

16 Nov. **609.** The Emperor to the Abbot of Najera.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d' Esp.

The King, &c. His letters of the 27th June, 28th July, 27th of August, 10th of Sept. and 3rd Oct. have come to hand.

The Viceroy of Naples sailed from Cartagena on the 24th of October last, and as the wind has been prosperous ever since, it is to be hoped that he is already at Genoa, whither he was directed to go. He takes with him 10,000 men, Germans and Spaniards, and several gentlemen of our household. As We have likewise provided our brother, the Archduke, with money, that he may send reinforcements to Lombardy, and We are now remitting bills of exchange for the support of our Italian army, it is to be hoped that with

* The letter is almost entirely in cipher, but so torn and mutilated that scarcely one half of it can be read. No deciphering, however, is appended.

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such assistance everything will be settled to our advantage though God Almighty is witness that We would much rather employ our resources and means to lessen the power of the Turk, and prevent the dangers and calamities which threaten Christianity.

The agreement (*concierto*) with the Duke of Ferrara is concluded. We have caused a letter to be written in our name to the Duke of Bourbon, to which We hope he will offer no objection (*se conformará*), and that when the time comes for the ratification of that made between the Pope and Don Ugo, he will not raise any difficulties.—Granada, 16th November 1526.

Addressed: "To the Abbot of Najera, &c."

Indorsed: "The King. 1526. Granada. Abbot of Najera, 16th Nov. By duplicate."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

16 Nov. **610.** The EMPEROR to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 114.

The King, Abbot of Najera, &c. Your letter of the 8th of May has come to hand. Respecting our Italian army, sufficient provision has been made, as you will see by the letter written to our generals, and by the instructions given to Don Ugo, who has already left the court of France. The bills of exchange now remitted, you will take care to have presented and accepted.

With regard to the rumours which you say are current in Italy, that King Francis will not fulfil his promises, the truth is that the said King is willing to observe the treaty in all its parts, except in that which concerns the restitution of Burgundy, which he says is very difficult, owing to the resistance of the inhabitants to a change of master. In compensation he offers a large sum of money, viz., 2,000,000 of ducats. We have not as yet accepted his offers; on the contrary, we have insisted, and still insist, upon his returning and again constituting himself a prisoner in our hands.—[Granada, 16th Nov. 1526.]

Since the above was written your two despatches dated the 18th and 24th of May have been received. No answer is needed to their contents.*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

16 Nov. **611.** The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 116.

The King, &c. Your despatches of the 31st of July, 17th, 26th, and 31st of August, 8th, 24th, and 30th of September have duly come to hand.

* No date; but placed as it is in the volume between two other minutes of the 16th Nov., addressed to Commander Aguilera and Secretary Perez, I have not hesitated to date it as above.

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Cardinals Cesarino, Campejo (Campeggio), Valle, Tortosa and Sienna have been written to in acknowledgment of their good intentions and wishes.

We are much affected by the news of the Duke's [of Sessa] death. Certainly we have lost in him a good servant.

You will thank the Portuguese ambassador (D. Martin de Portugal) in our name for his good offices, and for offering to forward your correspondence.

Great was our displeasure at hearing of the attempt (*lo que se intentó*) made by the undisciplined bands under Don Ugo [de Moncada]; for although it is quite evident that the disastrous doings at Rome were unpremeditated, and against the will of Don Ugo and of the Colonnese, yet we would have given anything that so flagrant an outrage had not been perpetrated by troops under the command of one of our captains. Would to God that the Pope and those of his cardinals who are the principal cause of this war had looked to its consequences! We should have been spared this affliction. His Holiness knows well how ardently we have wished for peace, and what strenuous efforts have been made on our side to ensure the peace of Christendom, so that we might together march against the infidel Turk. We are now sending to His Holiness Cesare Ferramosca, our equerry, and one of our Councillors [of Estate ?], bearer of the present, properly instructed to negotiate and bring about the said peace, which we sincerely hope will be now effected and accomplished.

Our Viceroy of Naples sailed from Cartagena on the 24th of October. As the wind has been fair ever since, it is to be hoped that he has already anchored with his fleet at Genoa, whither he was directed to go.*

The promised brief of absolution for Alcalde Ronquillo and the rest who had anything to do with the trial, sentence and execution of the Bishop of Zamora has not arrived, though so often promised and announced. You must again request His Holiness to fulfil his promise in this particular.

The offers of service which you say have been made by Count Petillano (Pitigliano) had better be discussed with Don Ugo de Moncada and Cesare Ferramosca on his arrival.

You will find herein enclosed the copy of a brief (*motu proprio*) which His Holiness granted to the Bishop of Urgel; also of a letter for Joan Beltran, commanding him to give up his pension of 20 ducats every year on the Archdeaconry of Urgel, now held by Don Antonio, our present chaplain.—Granada, 16th November 1526.

Addressed: "To Secretary Perez at Rome."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Secretary Soria. pp. 5.

* This and other paragraphs are substantially the same as in the preceding letter to the Abbot.

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16 Nov. **612.** The Emperor to Knight Commander Aguilera.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 112.

His letter of the 3rd Oct. has come to hand.

The news of the Turk and of the late disorderly behaviour of Don Ugo's men at Rome have caused us much painand sorrow. We consider both as visitations of God, on account of our sins, and because each of us attends to his own private interests instead of promoting the common weal. Of our sentiments towards His Holiness, and constant wish for the establishment of a good and lasting peace, no one can presume to doubt. We are now sending to Rome our equerry, Cesare Ferramosca, bearer of this, &c.—Granada, 16th Nov. 1526.

Addressed : "To Knight Commander Aguilera."

Spanish. Original draft in Secretary Soria's hand. p. 1.

16 Nov. **613.** Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, to his Secretary in Spain.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 109 v°.

Has received by Don Ugo's secretary (Espinar) his letter dated Monaco; also the information that on the 4th inst. the Viceroy was with his fleet at Mahon, the port of Menorca. He was to sail that very night for Calvi in Corsica, and there wait for intelligence from us as to which route to take. Two brigantines have been despatched, informing him of the state of affairs here, and urging him to come as soon as possible. Savona may be easily taken from the enemy if Mons. de Bourbon will only help us with 1,000 infantry and some pieces of artillery from Alessandria. Our designs against the Florentines will, he has no doubt, meet with the Viceroy's approbation. Meanwhile the Venetians are arming in all haste (*facendo fanti à furia*) and the country people flying to the towns with their valuables.

There is a rumour that the Germans who are coming down muster 44 banners in all, though the advices from Milan and Venice reduce them to 35. With these reinforcements, and those which the Viceroy will soon put on shore, His Imperial Majesty can do anything he pleases in Italy; but money must also be abundantly forthcoming, otherwise all our efforts will be unavailing, and perhaps too some of the mercenary bands will go over to the enemy.

The Papal troops have lately taken Marini (Marino) and another town from the Colonnese. The war goes on, not in the Pope's name, but in that of the College of Cardinals.

The Pope sent, some days ago, 45,000 ducats to Piacenza; he is now remitting a similar sum to raise troops in that locality. It is supposed that the number of men to be enlisted is 10,000.—Genoa, 15th Nov. 1526.

After the above was written advices have come from the Imperial camp at Milan. Mons. de Bourbon announces, positively, that the Germans had left Trent and were fast

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approaching Italy. The enemy had raised their tents, and were in full retreat upon the Adda. Some light cavalry had been sent in their pursuit.

The Viceroy's fleet, according to the enemy's report, has been signalled at the mouth of Bonifacio. The French fleet have not yet left the Pomeghe islands, and, therefore, the news of their having anchored in front of Villafrancha [di Niça] has turned out untrue.

The other towns taken from the Colonnese [besides Marino] are Grotta Ferrata and Rocca di Papa.—Genoa, 16th Nov. 1526.

Addressed: "To our Secretary in Spain."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

16 Nov. **614.** LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 126.

After writing the enclosed, Spinal (Espinar), the secretary of Don Ugo, arrived with the Imperial letter of the 9th Oct. He also brought us the agreeable intelligence that the Viceroy was at Mahon in Menorca, (*cipher*) and wished to know from the Doge and from him (Soria) how matters stood in this city and where he should touch. Has despatched a brigantine to inform him of the naval forces in this port ready to follow his orders, and the number of the enemy's galleys outside.

(*Common writing:*) Has heard from Sanchez, at Venice, in date of the 30th and 31st of past month, and encloses one of his to the Emperor with news of the Turk and of the Germans. This last is confirmed by letters from Milan of the 8th inst. At that date George Fruntsperg had already entered the Veronese with 12,000 foot and some cavalry, besides artillery, &c. According to other advices from Milan, and to a letter of Donato de Taxis of the 12th, the Venetians had hastily raised their camp and were crossing the Adda, with a view no doubt to arrest, if possible, the progress of the said Germans, and defend their own territory.—Genoa 16th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Genoa. Lope de Soria, 16th Nov."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

16 Nov. **615.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 120.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote on the 5th inst., and now encloses duplicate. As Don Ugo must have written from Naples this will also go by way of Ferrara and Genoa.

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(*Common writing:*) Giovanni Antonio Muxetula arrived on the 9th inst., and on the ensuing day went to the Pope and explained the nature of the charge he had brought from Naples, which was to request him to abstain from wasting the lands of the Colonnese. The Pope's answer was that the Emperor could not possibly object to his punishing his rebellious vassals. After a good deal of remonstrance on the part of the ambassador (Muxetula), the Pope consented to stay all warlike proceedings against the Colonnese for a few days, so as to allow him time to consult Don Ugo and the Collateral Council at Naples. He (the Pope) wished only to chastise the Colonnese; he would promise not to interfere at all with the kingdom of Naples. So it was agreed, and the ambassador (Muxetula) has accordingly written this to Naples.

Meanwhile the injury that has been done to the Colonnese is very considerable. The Pope's troops have taken Marino, Frascati, Gruta Ferrata, Monte Fortino, Genençano, Cave, and Rocca di Papa. They have set fire to most of the houses, pulled down the enclosures, and demolished the walls of the castles, except those of Monte Fortino and Rocca di Papa, which they have not yet succeeded in taking. There is a report that they have likewise destroyed the palace [of the Colonna] at Genençano, which is very handsome and large, and that several pioneers had been employed in that work [of destruction]. Paliano (Pagliano) has been assailed, but the castle is well defended, and the garrison, it is added, has inflicted some loss on the besiegers.

Things are in this state and likely to remain thus until an answer be obtained from Naples, where, according to late advices, a force of 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse is being prepared, without including in that number either the ordinary troops [of the kingdom] or the levies which the barons are raising on their estates. Part of these forces was to join Ascanio Colonna in the Abruzzo, and the remainder to go to Sant Germáno under Vespasiano.

On the 8th inst. admonitory summonses were posted up calling upon Cardinal Colonna to appear at Rome within 60 days to answer certain charges, at the expiration of which period he was to be deprived of his dignities and emoluments. Similar summonses have since been issued against his relatives. He (Perez) has never ceased representing to His Holiness that such proceedings are in violation of the agreement entered into with Don Ugo; that the Pope has no right to dictate such measures against the Colonnese. The Pope maintains the contrary opinion, and it has been settled that there will be an open discussion in which each party will defend his own right. The secretary trusts to his own powers and learning; the Pope has appointed Cardinal Ancona to reply to him. (*Cipher:*) Is not at all in favour of the expedient adopted. He would have preferred that an intimation should have been made to the Pope to stay all proceedings against

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the Colonnese and observe the articles of the treaty; for, to say the truth, the Turk could not have treated them worse than he (the Pope) has done. It is a heart-breaking scene to see the vassals of the Colonna family flying and taking refuge in Rome, men and women with their children on their backs: a miserable sight, much worse than the flight from Egypt.

Every day fresh troops come in, and join the Pope's camp. Last week 1,300 men, who were under Juan (Giovannino) de Medicis, arrived from Lombardy.

It is generally supposed that His Holiness, after taking complete revenge on the Colonnese, will try to arrange matters with His Imperial Majesty. In case of his not succeeding, he will endeavour with the assistance of France and Venice to invade Naples or attack Genoa, so as to oblige the Emperor to come to terms with him. The speedy arrival of the Germans, however, is likely to disconcert his plans, for at this moment they must already be in Italy, mustering 18,000 men, with plenty of artillery and ammunition, and so strong that they could of themselves give the enemy battle. The Venetians have sent to defend the passes on their frontier, but no force that they (the Venetians) can put on the field will be sufficient to arrest their passage.

Renço de Cherri (da Ceri) is daily expected here. Some say that he is to form part of the expedition now being fitted out at Marseilles against Naples, and that the Duke of Albany (John Stuart) and a brother of the Duke of Lorraine,* who pretends to have a right to that crown, are also coming down with him. It is added that if Renço comes [to Rome] by a land route, he is to take the command of all the Pope's troops, and in the event of the latter making his peace with the Emperor, invade that kingdom all the same in King Francis' name.

No news yet of the Viceroy's fleet, which is anxiously expected. Some of the Imperial servants in this city would rather see it at Naples than at Genoa.

Estafettes go regularly between this city and Naples, though some have been detained on the road.

There is a report that the general of the Franciscans (Fr. Francisco de los Angeles)† landed the other day at Genoa, and that he is the bearer of full powers to treat with His Holiness.

Don Ugo's answer to the Pope's request has come. The Collateral Council of Naples rejects all offers of money, and refuses to give up Filippo Strozzi, whom they consider on account of his wealth and influence and the many friends he has at Florence, a most valuable security. Strozzi's wife, however, never ceases her entreaties, and is trying to persuade His Holiness to make his peace with the Emperor.

* The Duke of Guise, brother of Francis, Cardinal of Lorraine.

† The same ecclesiastic mentioned elsewhere, and whose real name was Fray Francisco de Quiñones.

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His Imperial Majesty must already have been informed how the Archduke was elected King of Bohemia on the 23rd of October last, and how there was good hope of the Hungarians agreeing to the election, although the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) had made some sort of arrangement with the Turk, by which he hoped to remain in possession of that country. Soliman,* however, had gone to Transylvania, whence he sent most of his artillery to Constantinople by water, besides 3,000 boat-loads (*varcas*) of shot made from the bronze bells he had melted in Hungary. Terrible accounts come of the cruelties perpetrated by the Turks.

(*Cipher:*) He (Perez) has been told as a fact that the Pope has already made out a bull depriving the Emperor of the kingdom of Naples, and revoking the investiture as well as the bulls and briefs granted by Pope Leo [the Tenth] thereupon, on the plea that His Imperial Majesty cannot be Emperor and King of Naples at the same time. They add that when the Pope loses all hope of an arrangement with the Emperor, he is sure to have recourse to this last expedient. This, however, he (Perez) does not know for certain; he only repeats what he hears.

Our Agustin Folleta (Micer Augustino Foglieta) has entirely lost the Pope's favour. He has quitted the Palace and is now residing in Rome at . . . . . .† under the apprehension that if the Pope's affairs do not turn out well, he will wreak his vengeance on him, and on all those who have endeavoured to thwart his project. He (Perez) need not remind His Imperial Majesty of the virtues, learning, purity and zeal for the Imperial service which the aforesaid Micer Foglieta has shown on every occasion, as he knows that Don Juan Manuel‡ in old times wrote strongly in his favour. But if at any time a person of great parts and reputation, well acquainted with state affairs, and political intrigues both here and in France is wanted, the Emperor could not do better than employ him. He (Perez) has said nothing to him on the subject, but is quite sure that he would willingly accept a post in one of the Imperial Councils.

Has been told that if the Pope could be certified that the Emperor was not going to make war on him, he would induce the Romans to stand security for him. But it is to be doubted whether the inhabitants of this city will ever subscribe to such a condition, for they dislike him (the Pope) owing to the

* "Y crehen que viendose su Santidad desesperado de concierto con V. Mag^{d} que procedera con su *Ungria* adelante. Yo no lo afirmo esto por Evangelio, pero digo que me lo han dicho asi." The word *Ungria*, if not a mistake of the deciphering clerk, must mean "design, project or intention."

† "En las casas de *parte*." This word, which the deciphering clerk omitted to interpret, is no doubt intended for the name of some cardinal or personage attached to the Imperial cause.

‡ Don Juan Manuel was Charles' ambassador at Rome from May 1520 to Sept. 1522, when he was succeeded by the Duke of Sessa.

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many taxes he has imposed, and is still imposing upon them, as well as to the scarcity and dearth of provisions, for every day a certain quantity of loaves of bread is taken to his camp along the Neapolitan frontier. In fact such is the want of wheat at Rome that people are actually dying of hunger.—Rome, 16th November 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

19 Nov. **616.** JEAN BOUTON* to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224, No. 11.

Arrived in London on the 14th inst. Was rejoiced to hear from the Emperor, as he has had no news [from Spain] for a long time. Waited first on the Cardinal, to whom he delivered the message whereof he was bearer. Did the same to the King. As far as he can judge, both took it very well, and seem desirous to maintain the alliance and friendship which has hitherto existed between England and the Empire. Will write more in detail when he reaches Flanders, whither he purposes going to-morrow in order to acquaint Madame (Margaret of Savoy) with the delivery of his charge, the answer made by the King and Legate, and so forth. Hears that Don Iñigo has arrived in Flanders. If so, he must be told to come [to London] as soon as possible, that the present negotiations may be brought to a close.

As the King of England is now sending to Spain the Bishop of Oulsestre (Worcester), auditor of the Apostolic chamber (Girolamo Ghinucci), he (Bouton) will be brief, and limit himself to announcing his speedy return to Spain.

Has found in London as the Emperor's resident ambassador the Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), who came four months ago and has not yet received one farthing of his salary. Recommends him to the Emperor's notice, as he is a very worthy man, and full of zeal for the Imperial service.—London, 19th of November.

Signed: "J. Bouton."

"Sire pour ung petit pais vous ne maures james par mer; je suis tout blanc."

Addressed: "A l' Empereur."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

* Esquire Button, otherwise called "le Sieur de Courtbaron." *See* Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. IV., pp. 578–86. In a letter of Gasparo Spinelli to the Doge and Signory, dated London, 10–11th of August, the arrival is mentioned of an ambassador sent by the Lady Margaret (of the Low Countries) in the room of the Provost of Cassel, recalled; but there must be some error in the date for Mons. de Courtbaron, as he himself says in his letter, arrived in London on the 14th of November, and found Theimseke still at his post.

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19 Nov. **617.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 128.

Wrote on the 19th of October last, as by duplicate enclosed.

On the 31st the enemy raised their camp and went in the direction of Pioltela, four miles from hence on the road to Cassano, where a bridge had been thrown over the Adda ready for their passage. We are waiting to see whether they really cross that river or go to Lodi and Marignano, as they give out. Their retreat is said to be caused by the rains and the cold setting in. All our army went out in pursuit of the enemy, as far as a hospital (*ospital*) called Sanct Gregorio, beyond the range of the city walls; the Marquis del Guasto armed and on horseback, though much reduced by his quartan fever; Antonio de Leyva stretched on a litter, as he could not possibly ride; the Duke of Bourbon very active, going from one place to another, trying to discover a weak point whereat to attack the retreating enemy with 1,000 musketeers and the light horse. The day passed in this manner till the 23 hours, when our troops came back to Milan without having attempted anything, as the enemy were still formed in squadrons within their camp. Had we had pioneers, and provisions, and waggons to carry the same; had we been sure that during our absence the Milanese, who have Imperialists quartered upon them, would not seize the opportunity and desert their dwellings, we should undoubtedly have marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

(*Cipher :*) The general opinion here is that the confederates will not cross the Adda until they know for certain that the expected reinforcements from Germany are about to enter Lombardy. Besides which, the soldiers of this Imperial army have lately become so mutinous, clamouring incessantly for their pay, and threatening to sack Milan if their arrears are not paid, that it is very doubtful whether they will obey orders and march against the enemy. With the consent of the generals a deputation is now going to the Emperor to solicit the payment in full of the said arrears. The men-at-arms have appointed one Sancho Lopez Gallego, lieutenant of Count of Altamira's company, a discreet and able officer who has served in these wars, and principally at the siege of Pavia under Leyva; the light horse one of their captains named Christoval de Alarcon. The infantry have not chosen captains for this mission, but are sending four private soldiers.

Begs to observe that the deputation is instructed to demand the full payment of their arrears without deducting the time during which they have been quartered on the Milanese and living at their expense.

However preposterous the demand, it must be granted to them, or else there is risk of a mutiny. Thinks that if their claims are fully acknowledged, and a portion of their arrears, say one fourth, is paid down, they may be persuaded to serve as hitherto, and march against the enemy.

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The warder (*alcayde*) of Tarento accompanies the above deputation. He has lately been appointed Colonel of light horse, with a gratuity of 100 crowns per month. The command of the rest of the cavalry has been given by Mons. de Bourbon to Count Gayaço and to Captain Çucaro.

(*Common writing:*) On the 7th Knight Commander Urrias with the Spaniards of Cremona, and Count Lodovico Beljoyoso with 100 lances, 200 light horse, and 500 foot from Novara, routed three companies of Vasques and Gascons (*vascos y gascones*) lately arrived from France, and who had pitched their tents in a district called Gaya, not far from that city (Novara). The enemy mustered 700 men in all, but so furious was the attack of the Imperialists that not one of them escaped, most being killed on the spot, and the remainder made prisoners. They have since been conducted to Novara, whence they will be sent to serve in the galleys, unless the King of France releases the many Spaniards he has in his fleet, besides the Duke of Bourbon's servants taken whilst crossing France with his horses.

In consequence of the above defeat, 3,000 of the enemy who were encamped close to Novara, at a place called Sant Olegio, on the Ticino, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies coming to this city, have retreated by way of Gattinara into Piedmont, of which country most of them are natives. Perhaps their intention is to relieve four companies of their infantry now shut up in Asti, which Fabricio Marramaldo is investing with 1,200 Neapolitans from the garrison of Alessandria. Should the said captain succeed in taking possession of Asti, all the country beyond Pò and Ticino will be free from the enemy, and the roads to Genoa more secure than they have been hitherto.

Don Ugo's Secretary (Espinar) arrived in Genoa on the 14th inst. The Viceroy's fleet was at Mahon in Menorca, shortly to set sail for Cabe (Calvi ?) in the island of Corsica, there to wait for the Doge's answer to his letters of inquiry, &c. (*Cipher:*) Has been requested to come to Genoa without delay, as the fleet is most wanted there to drive the enemy off its shores. It will then be decided whether the Imperial fleet is to go to Rome or to Florence, or whether it will be preferable that the troops on board be landed at some point of the coast, and march on Piacenza or some other city in the lands of the Church. This, however, will depend in a great measure upon George Fruntsperg's speedy arrival with his Germans, and upon the Duke of Ferrara being satisfied with the Emperor's decision as brought by Espinar.

(*Common writing:*) On the 16th a gentleman whom Mons. de Bourbon had sent to the Archduke returned to this camp. He says that on the 5th, the date of his departure, the Infante (Archduke Ferdinand) was at Linça (Lintz), preparing to go to Vienna. The Turk had set fire to Buda, and sent, as captives, beyond the Danube 20,000 of the inhabitants who had been spared from the almost general slaughter.

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The Pope is arming, and no letters come from Rome. His Imperial Majesty knows no doubt by this time what the Pope's intentions are. God in his justice will not allow those who so unjustly make war on him (the Emperor) to prevail, but will permit full vengeance to be taken of them.*

After the above was written, a valet of the Marquis del Guasto, who left Mantua on the 16th, has arrived. He says that the Marquis (Federigo Gonzaga) had letters announcing that George Fruntsperg had passed Lades (Ladice) and was already in the Mantuan territory with all his forces and 22 pieces of artillery, and that the Marquis was to give him passage through his estate, and furnish, besides, provisions for his men. The intelligence must be true, for the enemy left Pioltella yesterday, and moved their camp three miles beyond to Gorgonzola and Inçago,† and to-day, we hear, are still closer to the river Adda, which they will no doubt cross to-morrow or after.

Intelligence has likewise been received that the Turk, after setting fire to Buda and to almost all the other cities of Hungary —with the single exception of a few strong places and the citadel of that city‡—and slaughtering all the inhabitants save 8,000 or 10,000 Hungarians whom he carried off as slaves, had retreated to the other side of the Danube. He had left a good force for the defence of Belgrade, and the Vayvod (Zopolsky) with an army remained as governor of the kingdom [of Hungary]. The Bohemians had elected the Archduke for their King.

This very day we hear from Genoa that the Viceroy has arrived in Corsica and anchored in the Gulf of Sant Florencio with all his forces. The Duke of Bourbon is sending one of his chamberlains called Mons. de Pelu. As soon as the plan of the future campaign is agreed upon between the said Viceroy, Bourbon, and George [Fruntsperg], His Imperial Majesty shall hear of us.—Milan, 19th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

P.S.—On the 5th inst. Bonifacio Vizconde (Visconti?), he who once attempted to assassinate the Duke Francesco Esforcia (Sforza), wishing to take service with us, arrested a servant of Archbishop Fregoso, who was posting from Savona to the enemy's camp, and brought him to Milan with all the papers and correspondence whereof he was the bearer. There was among these a letter signed by Pedro Navarro, Andrea Doria, and the Venetian Proveditor, from the galleys in front of Genoa, to the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) and to the Marquis of Saluzzo, requesting them to take up a position with the forces under their command at Sarrabal, Gaui, and other towns at the foot of the Genoese ridge of mountains, so as to cut off the supplies of wheat from

* "Dios es justo, y dará a V. Mt. entera vengança de sus enemigos que tan injusta y malamente le hazen la guerra."

† Gorgongiola and Inzago in Lombardy.

‡ "Salvo los castillos fuertes y especialmente el castillo y la estala? del Rey en Buda."

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Lombardy. Genoa (said the letters) was on the point of surrendering for want of provisions. The plan is no doubt well conceived, but as George Fruntsperg and his Germans are fast advancing, it is to be hoped that Genoa will hold out a few days longer, and then everything else will go on aright. The enemy in the meantime are trying to arrest the progress of the Germans, and have sent eight or ten companies of their infantry across the Adda, to occupy, as they say, the passes.

Our last news from George [Fruntsperg] are of the 25th Oct. He writes from home (*de su casa*) to the Duke of Bourbon, saying he will without fail muster his men on the 2nd inst. at Marano and Bolzano, and start on the following day (the 3rd) with 31 companies of infantry, artillery, cavalry, &c. He (George) proposes coming by the pass of Corvara, so as to cross the river Lades (Ladice) between Vicenza and Verona, in the neighbourhood of the Ferrarese, with whose Duke (Alfonso d'Este) he has secret understanding, or else by the Rocca d'Anfa, so as to cut across between Verona and Bressa (Brescia) into the marquisate of Mantua. Should the Duke prefer a shorter route, he (Fruntsperg) offers to come through the land of the Grisons, leaving his artillery behind.

The Duke is of opinion that immediately after his landing at Genoa the Viceroy ought to march straight upon Rome; whilst George Fruntsperg with his Germans, 500 lances, and 500 light horse, invades the territory of the Venetians by Bergamo, and the Duke himself with the rest of the Imperial forces attacks Bologna and Florence. Even supposing the Germans did not come in time, the Duke could easily undertake the expedition to Venice, whilst the Viceroy, after landing at Genoa, might come to Piacenza and from thence march on Florence and Rome. Antonio de Leyva with a small Spanish force and the Germans of Fruntsperg, besides the above-mentioned lances and light cavalry, might remain in guard of this camp, to make head against the Venetians, and attend to Milan and the whole of Lombardy. Such is the plan of campaign which, after much discussion, has been settled upon. The Duke has just sent one of his gentlemen (Mons. de Pelu) to the Viceroy, to inform him of his determination, and also to ask him for money, if he has brought any with him, for without that indispensable element no plan, however well conceived, can be carried into execution, since both Germans and Spaniards will not move out of Milan unless previously paid their arrears.—Milan, date *ut supra*.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. The Abbot of Najera, 19th Nov."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 151). *pp.* 8.

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20 Nov. **618.** Garci Manrique, Governor of Gaeta, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 135.

As a reward for his services at Pavia and other places in Italy, the Emperor was pleased to grant him 600 waggon-loads of salt from Barletta every year. Finds that this grant, owing to various causes, is insufficient for his support. Begs that it may be commuted for an equivalent in the *tratas* (exportation of grain) of Sicily, or some other fiscal dues, as his brother,* Don Francisco de Mendoza, now going to His Imperial Majesty in Spain, has charge to represent. Owing to the late rumours of war, the Collateral Council have sent to Gaeta, where he now is, as governor (*capitan de armas*) with a force of 300 foot. Will do his duty to the utmost.—Gaeta, 20th Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Garci Manrique."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Garcia Manrique, 20th Nov."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

21 Nov. **619.** Don Iñigo de Mendoza to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

Sire,—From the French court [of Lyons], and by special messenger despatched by the ambassador (Mr. Praet), I informed your Majesty how on my arrival at that place I waited upon the King and upon his mother (Louise de Savoie), and told them both of my going to England as resident ambassador. It was then agreed between M. de Praet and myself, that as the frontier could not be crossed without a proper passport (*carta de passo*) he should procure me one. No difficulty was made at first, the King's secretary (Robertet) having promised to grant me a safe-conduct in his master's name, as I had occasion to inform your Imperial Majesty in my former despatch. Since then, however, there has come a message from the Grand Steward of France (Montmorency), intimating that the Emperor and the King, his master, being no longer at war, no safe-conduct was needed for my journey. The King, however, would appoint a gentleman of his chamber to accompany me, and see me across the frontier of his dominions.

Upon this assurance I determined to wait until the expected English embassy should arrive, that I might collect information and learn how matters stood in that quarter, knowing for certain, as I had occasion to inform your Imperial Majesty in a former despatch, that the King of England, though included in the Italian league, had not yet

* "Segun que de mi parte suplicará á V. Mt. Cesarea Don Francisco de Mendoça, mi hermano." Though in these times brothers often assumed different names, some taking that of the father, whilst others called themselves after the mother, there is reason to believe that *hermano* must here be taken in the sense of member of the same religious confraternity, since both Garcia Manrique and Francisco de Mendoza happened to be knights of Santiago.

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affixed his signature to the treaty. Perceiving, however, that my departure was indefinitely postponed, that the gentleman who was to accompany me did not make his appearance, and that the English ambassador,* on his arrival, showed me no courtesy whatever, but, on the contrary, shunned my presence as much as he could, I consulted your Majesty's ambassador at the French court (Praet) as to what I had better do under the circumstances. After mature deliberation both of us were of opinion that, in case of my not being allowed to proceed on my mission, as we had every reason to fear, it was far better for the Imperial service, considering our present relations with England, that my arrest should take place on the road to that country, and whilst on my mission thither, than at the French court. I, therefore, insisted again upon quitting Lyons, and earnestly requested the fulfilment of the promise made by the King's steward, who at last sent me a message through Secretary Robertet to say I might start at once on my journey, as I should soon be joined on the road by the aforesaid King's gentleman.

Calculating, therefore, that if arrested on the road your Imperial Majesty might have a more plausible excuse for delaying the execution of what the King of England is now demanding, I set out on my journey, closely followed by the said gentleman of the King's chamber, who, as I afterwards learned, travelled the same marches as myself, having previously sent notice to all the frontiers from Lyons to the sea, and principally to Calais, not to supply post-horses to any person whomsoever. In this manner I was allowed to proceed as far as Hanques (*sic*), the last town of that district, where, in pursuance with orders whereof he was the bearer, the said King's gentleman summoned a number of horse and foot, with whom he surrounded the inn where I was, made me his prisoner, and conducted me some 40 leagues beyond into the interior of the country, to this Castle of Arques, where I have now been a prisoner for nearly four months,† and so closely watched that it has been quite impossible for me to inform your Imperial Majesty of this occurrence, or of the fact that some time before my arrest I took the precaution to destroy my instructions and the letters I had for the King of England. Indeed, had these fallen into the hands of the French, as I had every reason to apprehend, and had your Imperial Majesty ordered fresh ones to be made out, this French King might have told his brother of England how very different my former instructions were, and how scanty and limited my powers to treat. I likewise took care to acquaint Madame the Governess of the Low Countries (Margaret of Savoy) with the event, that she

* Dr. John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was sent about this time to France to negotiate the marriage of the Princess of (England), Mary, with the Dauphin son of Francis.

† Don Iñigo's detention took place in August.

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might inform the King of England of my arrest, and also communicate the intelligence to Spain. These people, however, have made such a noise about it, circulating the news far and wide, that I consider this last precaution as entirely useless, and have not the least doubt that your Imperial Majesty long ago heard of it.

I have reasons to believe that my arrest has been planned between the Cardinal of England (Wolsey) and Madame the Regent [of France], for they understand each other perfectly. Thinking I was the bearer of despatches, such as the King of England naturally expects to receive in the present condition of affairs, and that my mission had a different object, they imagined that by seizing my person and papers they ensured also the success of their plans. But if they hoped thereby to establish friendly relations with the English King, they must have been sadly disappointed, for, as I said before, I destroyed not only my instructions, but the very letters I had for the King and Cardinal of England.

Your Imperial Majesty will now be able to reconsider the matter, and, if necessary, extend my commission and increase my powers, since the King of France being ignorant of the contents of my instructions, he of England may easily be persuaded to believe that I was fully empowered to treat, especially when he sees the fear and suspense prevailing in France.—Arques, 21st Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty the King of Spain."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

22 Nov. **620.** ANTONIOTTO ADORNO, Doge of Genoa, to his SECRETARY in Spain.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 109.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 16th. Three days after, on the 19th, His Holiness told the Neapolitan ambassador (Muxetula) that he had received news of the Viceroy's fleet, 32 sail strong, having reached Corsica. It is thought here that the galleys of the League will attack and defeat it.

The said Muxetula again remonstrated with His Holiness, and requested he would refrain from pronouncing sentence against the Colonnese but to no purpose. Yesterday a consistory was held, whereat the Cardinal, his brothers and nephews were deprived of their honours, dignities and benefices to the fourth generation. The execution of this sentence was delayed five or six days, until an answer should come from Naples. Cannot say what the Collateral Council will decide on this matter, but his impression is that His Holiness will still prosecute his vengeance, for he swears he must for the honour of the Church obtain satisfaction for the injury received.

The disputation* took place, and neither of the parties was vanquished in it. Very naturally His Holiness could not

* See above, No. 615, p. 1006.

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own that he was wrong in this matter, because if he did he would be bound to indemnify the Colonnese for their losses, which are, as stated above, very considerable.

(*Cipher:*) In his (Perez') opinion, whatever the answer from Naples may be, and whatever the danger in thus attacking the Emperor's friends and allies contrary to the terms of the last agreement, the Pope will go on making war on the Colonnese until he has actually destroyed them. He thinks that by revoking then the sentence of privation and restoring the Colonnese to their dignities and offices everything will be forgotten.

(*Common writing:*) The Germans left Trent on the 11th inst., and were coming down by way of Bresa (Brescia). Every hour the news of their arrival is expected in Italy. The Venetians were preparing to defend their territory, and the greater part of their forces had left Milan for that purpose; two bridges had been thrown over the Adda for the passage of the remainder.

(*Cipher:*) Guicciardino and a gentleman of the King of France have lately been trying to gain the Duke of Ferrara over to their cause. But they will get nothing from him, for the Duke sees the Emperor's growing power in Italy, and has besides heard that a servant of Don Ugo (Espinar) has arrived at Monaco, bringing from Spain the acceptance of all his terms. He has written to Don Ugo to inform him of all this, as well as of the brilliant offers that have been made to him by Alberto di Carpi and the Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti) in the Pope's name.

The latter has again applied to Don Ugo for the release of Filippo Strozzi, and the discharge of Jacopo Salviati's bond for 30,000 ducats, promising, if his request be complied with, to abstain from hostilities against the Colonnese.

His Imperial Majesty has just lost, on the 18th inst., a good vassal and servant in the person of Christoval Brezeño.* He died from a wound in his thigh made with a pair of scissors.—Rome, 22nd Nov. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 22nd Nov."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

26 Nov. **621.** Queen Katharine to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224.

Most High and Powerful Lord,—I cannot imagine what may be the cause of your Highness having been so angry, and having so forgotten me, that for upwards of two years I have

* Thus written in the manuscript. Probably a mistake for Briceño, which is a common Castillian name.

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had no letters [from Spain]. And yet I am sure I deserve not this treatment, for such are my affection and readiness for your Highness' service that I deserved a better reward. This notwithstanding, I cannot help doing what I consider my duty, *i.e.*, writing whenever an opportunity offers itself, and by all those who go to Spain from these parts, begging to know what your Highness' pleasure may be, and what is the state of your precious health, which I beseech God to grant as good and prosperous as your Highness can wish.

As the Bishop of Uxeter,* who is now going to Spain as ambassador from the King my Lord, will verbally inform your Highness of everything relating to me, I shall say no more now than to commend him to the Imperial notice, which I shall count as a favour to myself. May our Lord God, &c.—Granuche (Greenwich), 26th November 1526.—Your good aunt "Katherine."

Addressed: "A la Magt. del Emperador."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

28 Nov. **622.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 143.

Since his letter of the 22nd, of which a duplicate is enclosed, the news is that on the 25th four ships anchored at Gaeta with 1,800 Germans and 400 Spaniards on board. There came also a brother of the Marquis of Mantua and the Colonel of the Germans. This intelligence, as may be supposed, has been anything but agreeable to those who only a few days ago spread the news that the Viceroy's fleet had been completely destroyed by the enemy.

Advices from Naples state that a respectable force of infantry and cavalry had been raised, and was in perfect order to undertake anything that might be required. The Pope's army is still on the territory of the Colonnese, but without doing harm. There had been dissension between the chiefs, so much so, that the men had come to blows one with another, and death had ensued. Every day soldiers were deserting, and the artillery was expected back in Rome. (*Cipher:*) Were the Neapolitan troops to make a dash now, they might possibly get hold of their guns.

The Germans were on the 23rd inst. close to the Pò, intending to cross over to Modena. The whole force musters 16,000, without counting the volunteers (*aventureros*); they have 400 horse with them, and 600 more have been sent from Milan to meet them. The Duke of Ferrara is to send them eight or ten field pieces. Indeed this arrival of the

* So written in the original instead of W[or]xeter, as the ambassador could not be any other than Girolamo Ghinucci, auditor of the Papal Chamber and Bishop of Worcester.

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German reinforcements, and of Espinar, Don Ugo's secretary, has so cheered him up, that there is no chance now of his coming to terms with His Holiness, though he has been, and is still, strongly solicited by the Guiçardino (Il Guicciardino), and by a French gentleman lately sent to him.

The deprivation of office, &c. of the Colonnese was to have taken place to-day. The Neapolitan ambassador (Muxetula) has obtained a respite from the Pope, but it is to be carried out at the next consistory.

The Pope wishes to have a security that he will not be attacked on the side of Naples, so that he may withdraw his troops from that frontier; but Don Ugo and the Collateral Council have answered, that as the Viceroy is so shortly expected and brings full powers from the Emperor, it is wiser to wait for his arrival. The Pope consequently has not withdrawn his troops from the territory of the Colonnese.

(*Cipher:*) A Spaniard has lately arrived in this city under an assumed name (*encubierto*). The Datary (Giovanni Matheo Giberti) is in secret communication with him. Who the man may be, nobody knows for certain. Some say that he is the general of the Franciscans in disguise, others that he is a different person. All agree, however, that he is now hiding at Belvedere, within the Palace,* and that he brings very ample powers from the Emperor to conclude peace, &c. He is a small-sized man, with red, though scanty, beard, and goes by the name of Alvar Perez de Quiñones. He landed some days ago at Genoa, whither a Papal brief was forwarded that he might come [to Rome] in all security. The brief was despatched by a man who came [to Italy] with him. His name is Maestro Avalos, a person, as Perez suspects, well known at Seville in the Archbishop's household and among his familiars. A gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon, who left Rome the day before yesterday, told him (Perez) that he had met the said Spaniard in Genoa, and suspected him at once to be a spy, as he lived in retirement, left his dwelling only at night, and besides came to ask him to deliver certain messages to the Doge and to the Imperial ambassador (Lope de Soria), which he promised to do, but never did, as he mistrusted him. His informer has since quitted Rome at the calling of Mons. de Bourbon, who sent for him.

Has been told by a trustworthy Roman that the Pope, through the intermediate agency (*intercession*) of a very influential person, is now in treaty with Mons. de Bourbon to try and make him forsake the Imperial service. Anything that is said about the Pope in this particular may confidently be believed; but it cannot be presumed that the Duke, whose honour, reputation and advancement are entirely in the Emperor's hands, will for a moment listen to such overtures.

* "Y que está ascondido en el Belveder, que es en palacio."

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(*Common writing:*) Don Ugo and the members of the Collateral Council of Naples have sent orders to their ambassador (Muxetula) to return, since it is found that His Holiness will not desist from attacking the Colonnese. The ambassador is preparing to depart, and has asked Cardinal Giacopo Salviatis for the 30,000 ducats which he is bound to deliver instead of the person of his son, within two months. The Cardinal is using all manner of expedients for delay, and hopes that some agreement may be arrived at between the Emperor and His Holiness by which he may be exempted from fulfilling the said clause.

The Germans, marching on Lombardy, have lately had some skirmishing with the French and the Venetians, in consequence of which the Imperialists have removed their quarters to another district more capable of defence. It is confidently believed that by this time they have crossed the river Pò.

It is publicly announced here that the Duke of Ferrara has decidedly declared for the Emperor.

Mons. de Bourbon's gentleman has returned [to Rome] owing to the postmasters having refused him horses on the road, which he suspects has been done for no good purpose. He is now trying to obtain the requisite orders.

Whilst about to close this letter he (Perez) hears that the general of the Franciscans is certainly at Belvedere, and that the Spaniard now hiding in the city is a nephew of his, and a knight commander of the order of Calatrava. The general, as before stated, brings full powers from the Emperor, and it is added that the Pope is thinking of coming to an agreement with him.

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Perez. Duplicate of the 28th Nov."

Spanish. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 145). *pp.* 2¼.

29 Nov. **623.** The Emperor's answer to Dr. Edward Lee, English Ambassador in Spain.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224, No. 16.

The following is the answer made by the Emperor to a paper of Dr. Lee, ambassador, almoner and councillor of the most excellent and powerful King of England.*

His Imperial Majesty is pleased to hear that his brother of England is well disposed to negotiate a general peace, so that the Christian Princes may afterwards turn their arms against the infidel Turk and drive him away from Hungary, &c. The Emperor will follow the King's good advice and counsel on this particular, and do everything in

* See a despatch of Andrea Navagero, the Venetian ambassador, abstracted by Rawdon Brown (*Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 620).

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his power to secure the said peace. To this end most ample powers are now being forwarded to his ambassador [in London], Don Iñigo de Mendoça, together with full instructions on all and each of the points contained in the King's letter, that he (Don Iñigo) may with the assistance and advice of the said King promote and bring about a truce, during which a general as well as particular peace may be permanently established. With regard to other points more particularly relating to the King of England and to His Imperial Majesty, there is no need to make here a more specific declaration, since they have been fully explained in Don Iñigo's instructions; besides which the roads through France are so insecure, to judge by the frequent arrests of Imperial messengers in that country, that there is danger even of the present letter being intercepted.* Neither would it be quite honourable (*bien honneste*) for the Emperor to declare his full intention on the points proposed to him before he knew how far his adversaries were prepared to work for the accomplishment of so praiseworthy an object. The King, however, may be sure that if the confederated powers entertain the same sentiments as he (the Emperor) professes, peace will be easily established on a solid foundation, when it will become manifest to the whole World that the Emperor has always been, and is still, willing to sacrifice his own private interests to those of the Christian community at large. Yet as some time ago the Emperor sent full powers to his ambassadors and agents at Rome† to conclude the said general and particular peace; as since then His Holiness has offered to come over [to Spain] and meet the Emperor at Barcelona for the purpose of joining in so holy a work, and afterwards inducing the most Christian King of France to do the same; as the Emperor has accepted the Pope's offers and written to him a letter, the copy of which was sent to Don Iñigo, that he might, if necessary, show it to the King, it naturally follows, that should the Pope decide on taking this journey, should these preliminary steps or the negotiations now being conducted at Rome give some reasonable hope of a speedy settlement, the nearest and shortest way to general peace must needs be adopted, for this Turkish evil requires a prompt remedy, as the King of England very wisely observes in his letter.‡

* The Emperor's answer was taken back by Osborne Echingham himself, and, therefore, as it could not be supposed that the French would stop an English messenger and take his despatches, the contents of this memorandum, which was probably enclosed to Don Iñigo, must be looked upon as a sort of excuse for the Emperor not having sooner declared his intentions about Milan, &c.

† Cesare Ferramosca, the general of the Franciscans, and others mentioned in a previous despatch.

‡ The Emperor was loath to accept Henry's mediation, and would have much preferred referring this matter to the Pope. Navagero says in his despatch of the 2nd of December: "The Emperor uttered much abuse of Cardinal Wolsey, saying that he was the cause of whatever the King did, and that he does not further this business for the welfare of Christendom, but from personal ambition, and because he wishes the whole world to be dependent on him."—Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. III., p. 621.

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With regard to the objections raised by the ambassadors of the League now residing in England, who are said to mistrust the Emperor's words, inasmuch as his Italian army, instead of decreasing in number, is daily being reinforced, His Imperial Majesty can only observe that as long as the confederates will go on augmenting their forces he cannot be expected to diminish his. It would be the greatest folly for him to lay down his arms whilst his enemies maintained a war footing. Should the confederates wish to put an end to hostilities, either through a permanent peace or through a long truce, so that the arms of the Christian Princes might be turned against the infidel Turk, they will find the Emperor ready to abide by his words; otherwise they must expect that as long as the present warfare continues he will do all in his might to increase his forces by land and sea, were it for no other purpose than to save the lives of the many brave veteran soldiers who have fought his battles in Italy, and may hereafter, when peace is made, serve in the holy enterprise against the Turks. The Emperor is confident that the King of England will not advise him to act differently in a matter so deeply affecting his (the Emperor's) honour and reputation, and that he will take such care of his affairs and interests as their mutual friendship demands.

Respecting the disagreeable occurrences (*l'inconvenient aduenu*) at Rome and at the Pope's palace, the Emperor is very grateful for the opinion expressed by the King that he (the Emperor) had no part in it, and that all was done without his approval or consent. Such was the case, and the Emperor has regretted the event more than he can say, having already made most ample excuses to His Holiness, as the King will see by the Emperor's letter to the Pope, of which a copy has been forwarded to his ambassador, Don Iñigo de Mendoça.—Granada, 29th* of Nov. 1526.

Indorsed: "Lettre au Docteur Lee."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

29 Nov. **624.** The Emperor to the Bishop of Maintz (Mayence) and other Princes [Electors] of Germany.

B. N. M. M. E. 50, f. 150.

Carolus Divina favente clementia electus Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus &c. His character and his honour cannot, and must not, be impeached. Will, nevertheless, make the following declaration in order that his enemies may never again bring accusations which remain unanswered.

Regardless of his advantages over the French King, and bent only upon securing the peace of Christendom, and of Germany in particular, he (the Emperor) gave in marriage his eldest

* The day of the month is in different ink, as if it had been filled up when the paper was fairly transcribed for the Emperor's perusal and signature.

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sister (Eleonora)* to the King of France, his prisoner, who, had he only consulted his interests and good fortune, might thereby have been reckoned a victorious rather than a vanquished Prince on the banks of the Ticino.†

The Kings of France have robbed his predecessors of part of their patrimonial estates. He (the Emperor) never claimed any, except such as he could not without dishonour leave in their possession. Although some of his councillors advised him not to trust the King, he permitted him to go back to his own country. Wishing to ensure the peace of the World, he decided to place his trust in King Francis, thus preferring the weal of Christendom to his own personal advantage.

Whilst preparing to go to Italy (as preconcerted with the said King of France) and commence war against the Infidel, he (King Francis) having concluded a defensive and offensive league with the Pope and other Italian potentates, prepared to attack his Italian dominions, "divisoque inter eos Regno nostro Neapolitano, dum alter vanis pollicitationibus omnia quæ nobis promiserat se præstiturum asseverat, alter verò ad Hungariæ defensionem nos invitat, ut nos invaderet incautos et nostra ac Sacri Romani Imperii dominia hostilibus armis adgredientur."

Not satisfied with this, the King of France orders a calumniatory paper to be printed in his dominions and circulated, in which, whilst trying to justify himself for not having kept his oath, he heaps on him (the Emperor) all manner of injurious epithets. He (the Emperor) forbade any answer to that paper being published, as he wished to conquer his enemy and improve his own cause by virtue and moderation. Now, however, that the King of France has sent him a letter, not written, but printed at Paris‡ full of false and gratuitous accusations, the Emperor cannot do otherwise than reply, for fear it should be concluded from his silence that he admits any of the charges contained in the said document. Sends them the "*Apologia*" or rather "*Invectiva*," of the French King, together with his own answer to it.§ Sends them also a copy of the treaty of offensive league which he (Francis) made [with the Pope, the Venetians, and others], and in consequence of which the Emperor's dominions in Italy have been invaded.‖ The result of which war has been that the Turk (*Turcarum Tyrannus*) has invaded Hungary (*Pannoniam*) and subjected it to his rule, to the discredit and shame

* Born on the 15th of November 1498. Charles, who was the second son of Philip and Joanna, on the 24th of February 1500.

† Ut si ipse suæ felicitati non invidisset, in Ticcinense conflictu non modo cæcidisse sed vicisse ab omnibus videri potuisset.

‡ The "Apologia dissuasoria Madricii conventionis," which was printed at Paris and profusely circulated. Sandoval, the historian, published a Spanish translation of it.

§ This, which was anonymous, but said to be the work of his Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, was printed at Alcalá.

‖ The treaty of this league, called "Santissima" and "Clementina," may be seen at full in Sandoval (*lib.* XV., *cap.* III.) and elsewhere.

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of the Christian arms; that churches and monasteries have been profaned, many families driven away from home, and much innocent blood spilt. And although the most Christian King of France is the sole cause of such misery, yet he wishes all the time to appear as if he were the best of Christians! Intercepted letters fully prove that it was at his instigation that the Turks so furiously assaulted Christendom. Why did he dip his hands in the blood of Christians? Why did he raise new troubles and dissensions when Christendom was at peace? Why did he recommence war when, with the help of God, who favours just causes, We had vanquished him so often? All for the sake of a small strip of land in Burgundy, not the Duchy, for that the Emperor never claimed, but an insignificant territory which his predecessors robbed from the house of Austria.

The King of France has detained and imprisoned ambassadors who were sent to him (the Emperor) to exhort him to make war against the Turk.*

The King of France enumerates the victories of the Turks among his own triumphs, and the life of an Emperor who devotes himself entirely to God as he (the Emperor) does, appears to him a most miserable existence.

Much prefers the fate (*sors*) of the King of Hungary to that of the most Christian King of France. The latter prides himself upon his efforts to procure the peace of Christendom; who then forces him to make war? Quis talem comperit camarinam? If he wishes to deliver his sons from captivity, the sons he gave the Emperor as hostages for his good faith, why does he not fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and if he will not do so, why does he not return to captivity as he promised to do?

Tells them (the Electors of Germany) all these things that they may judge whose fault it is if Christendom is again involved in war. It is evident that the King of France cannot, and will not, live in peace, but whatever he may undertake or do, he (the King), the Pope, and the rest of the Christian potentates, may be certain that the Emperor will carry out his plans for the peace of Christendom, the expurgation of religion (*de religione purganda*), &c.

For this purpose the Emperor is now going to Valladolid, where he intends to hold "Cortes" on the 20th of January next, and ask a grant from his subjects that will permit him to send sufficient subsidies to Germany, wherewith to defend

* The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), whom Pope Clement sent to Spain in 1524, was actually detained in France. Don Iñigo de Mendoza's detention has also been recorded, p. 1014.

† Francis had addressed to the Princes and Electors of the Empire at the Diet of Spires a letter the substance of which may be seen in Sandoval *Historia del Emperador Carlos V. lib.* XV. *cap.* XV., in answer or refutation of which the above document was drawn out by Alfonso Valdes, Latin Secretary to the Imperial Chancery.

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the Empire on that side. His Spanish subjects have opened their eyes to the injustice and danger of his position, and are ready to sacrifice their substance and their lives. They urge him to take up the enterprise at once.

Should, however, the King of France change his mind and sue for peace, he (the Emperor) would do everything in his power to favour him and spare his honour; would even give up some of his own rights (*de jure propio*) in order to quell the present dissensions and commence a vigorous campaign against the Turk.

Does not conceal from them the very wicked practices (*perniciosissimas Gallorum artes*) of the French, who in order to carry out their point do not scruple to sow discord among their opponents. It is for the Princes Electors of Germany to mistrust the words of the French King, but to show to the World that they are not to be persuaded by his fallacious arguments.—Granatæ, die penultima Novembris 1526.

Addressed: "Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Venerabilibus illustribusque Principibus amicis et consanguineis carissimis."

Latin. Copy. pp. 20.

30 Nov. **625.** The EMPEROR to his brother FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaysers Karl V.*, I. 224.

His letters of the 22nd of September, dated from Lintz, and brought by the last courier, came to hand on the 13th inst. Cannot well express his grief on hearing of the adverse fortune and death of King Lewis of Hungary. Could not at first believe the news, though they reached him from various parts.

Is glad to hear that his (the Archduke's) affairs are going on prosperously, and sends this present despatch by three different routes, by Flanders, by Italy, and also by France, in the hope that they (the French) will allow the courier to pass. This last will only contain such matter as cannot damage their common interests in case of its being intercepted.

Respecting his journey to Italy, he (the Emperor) perfectly agrees with the Archduke that it is now more necessary than ever it was. Intends accordingly to hasten it as much as he can that he may provide for the welfare of Christianity, intending to sacrifice all his treasure and dominions for that purpose, and to send him such aid that he may successfully resist the Turkish invasion and restore the Christian religion [in Germany] to purity and splendour.

When his letter came to hand the Emperor had already sent to Italy his last penny, and was, therefore, completely unprovided for the emergency. Has done, however, all he could to procure money, and will shortly send him 100,000 ducats in bills by a gentleman of his bedchamber, whom he

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has charged with a mission to him and their sister Mary [the Queen widow of Hungary]. Begs him not to expose his person too much, but carry on a defensive war only, until he (the Emperor) shall be able, if required, to help him with all his power.

Respecting his advice that he should come to an agreement with the King of France, gain all the allies he can, and dissolve, if possible, this Italian league, the Emperor can assure him that hitherto everything that could be done for that object has been tried. It is his intention to continue so doing in future, so that the World may never say that he (the Emperor) was an obstacle to peace. But the Archduke, his brother, must know that peace cannot be concluded without the consent of all the belligerents. Has, therefore, made up his mind, in case the war continues, to help him in the present emergency, and has already given orders for certain preparations in troops, money and artillery, to be exclusively destined for his (the Archduke's) relief.

Has likewise ordered the necessary despatches to be made out respecting Hungary and Bohemia according to the minutes lately sent. Does not see how he can help him from Spain; certainly were those kingdoms dependencies of the Empire, he would willingly make them over to him, and he declares that if anything belongs to him as inheritance from their common grandfather (the Emperor Maximilian), he (the Emperor) at once makes it over to his brother, the Archduke.

With regard to Bohemia he has no doubt that there will be competitors. Encloses him the deed of investiture as required, but as some of his councillors assert that the kingdom of Bohemia is not a fief of the Empire, advises him to have the matter properly investigated there, and if it be found that the said kingdom is no fief of the Empire, as asserted, advises him not to make use of the investiture deed lest it should prejudice his interests.

The truce with the Turk seems advisable for many reasons.

That the Archduke's affairs in Hungary and Bohemia may be the sooner settled to his satisfaction, the gentleman who is to go to him and their sister Mary, has been ordered to follow his instructions in every respect, and proceed afterwards to those kingdoms; but as, though he will ride post haste, he may be a long time on the road, owing to the great distance, the despatches for the said kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary are forwarded beforehand that a convenient use may be made of them.

Thanks him very much for the reinforcements sent to Italy under George de Wranspergh (Fruntsperg).

Affairs in that country [Italy] have been attended to in such a manner as regards supplies of men and money as to leave no doubt that success is ensured. Upon the arrival of the Germans, and other troops under the Viceroy of Naples, who sailed on the 24th of October, there will be a sufficient

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force, besides the army in Lombardy, to face the enemy everywhere. As to money 50,000 ducats in bills on Flanders have been remitted exclusively for the pay of the Germans under Wranspergh, and 400,000 more are now being forwarded to Genoa to meet the expenses of the army in Lombardy, as the duplicate of the letter taken by Donato de Taxis must have informed the Archduke.

Has no doubt that the news of the sack of the Pope's palace and church [of St. Peter] at Rome has reached him. Has told the Nuncio (Castiglione) how very sorry he (the Emperor) was at what had happened, and that any cause should have been given to the men to commit such an outrage. For the greater satisfaction of His Holiness, and in order to show that the said sack was accomplished without his will and intention, the Emperor has sent to him Cesare Ferramosca with a letter in his own hand, of which a copy is enclosed, exculpating himself from all blame, &c.

Must also have heard that His Holiness proposed in the College of Cardinals to come over here [to Spain] in order to treat of the general peace. Should His Holiness carry his plan into execution, nothing could be better for the service of God and the weal of Christianity. Has no confidence, however, in his coming; but whether he does come or not, shall not omit anything that may lead to the establishment of the said peace, to conclude which his Viceroy of Naples is sufficiently empowered, even if he knew that the Emperor was to lose by it part of the advantages gained.

The King of France lately sent here one of his gentlemen called Dages (?), with no other message except one concerning the treatment of his sons. He returned as he came, without transacting business or making any overtures.

Respecting the Archduke's private and other affairs mentioned in the letters brought by Presintgher and by the last courier, and about which Salinas has also spoken to him (the Emperor), an answer will be sent through the said Presintgher, who is to accompany the above-named gentleman in his mission. Begs him to reply as soon as possible to this letter, by whichever of the three messengers reaches him first.—Granada, the last day of November 1526.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand, King of Bohemia."

French. Copy.

4 Dec. **626.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 159.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote last on the 10th of October. The enclosed for the Viceroy* will inform His Imperial Majesty of what has occurred since his arrival. Has written to ask for instructions and inquire whether he is to remain at

* See the following number.

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Venice or go away. Is waiting for the Viceroy's answer. —Venice, 4th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Sanchez, 4th Dec."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (*f.* 171). *pp.* 1½.

4 Dec. **627.** The Same to the Viceroy of Naples.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, 160.

(*Cipher:*) On hearing of his (the Viceroy's) arrival in Corsica he (Sanchez) wrote by way of Rome, and sent a duplicate of his letter to Genoa. Sends now a triplicate of the same, in case the two former have not reached him.

There is a report [in Venice] that the Imperial fleet has anchored on the coast of Sienna, and landed at one of the Siennese ports, which, if true, is by far the best and most advantageous course to be pursued under present circumstances, since by marching immediately upon Florence, that city may again have its liberties restored, and a good sum of money may be obtained from the citizens by way of monthly contribution for the support of the Imperial army. This being done His Excellency will have no difficulty whatever in marching on Rome, now without defences, since the whole of the Papal army is on the frontier facing the Colonnese, and the forces lately sent from Naples for their support. This being accomplished, the Imperial generals might turn their attention towards the Venetians, by far the most powerful of the Emperor's enemies in Italy, not only on account of the strong places they hold, but also of the assistance they expect to receive from France, if it be true, as reported, that they have lately made overtures to King Francis and promised him the duchy of Milan. But even granting that France were to help Venice with a powerful army, there can be no doubt that the League being virtually dissolved, Florence, Sienna, Mantua and other countries siding with the Emperor, and the Duke of Ferrara being at the head of the Imperial forces, the Imperialists can successfully cope with those of France and Venice united. Takes God to witness that he (Sanchez) is averse from war, but if peace cannot be obtained on conditions suitable to the Emperor's dignity and greatness the best course to be pursued is to strike a decisive blow at once.

The agreement with the Duke of Ferrara could not happen at a better time; both the Pope and this Signory fear it more than the reinforcements just received from Germany and Spain. The Duke is a very wise politician, understands Italian affairs better than anyone else; has much influence, considerable treasure at his disposal, and is undoubtedly the

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best weapon that could be selected against the Venetians. Could His Excellency secure also the services of the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) he might be useful. The mere promise of restoring to the Marquis the territories which the Venetians last took from him, and still retain, would be a sufficient incentive for him to declare in our favour, especially if the Duke of Ferrara wrote to him on the subject. Both the Duke and the Marquis could easily keep the Venetians at bay (*los ternan los dedos en los ojos*).

Hears that the Signory have lately held four or five of their councils called *preghay*, in consequence of the Pope being in great fear of these German reinforcements, and having sent to implore their help. It was thereat discussed whether orders ought not to be sent to their general the Duke of Urbino to cross the river Pò with part of the confederated army, and hasten to the defence of Parma and Piacenza, threatened by our troops. Has been told that the result of their deliberations was not to send such orders to the Duke, but to desire him to remain in the Mantuan territory, where he is at present, and try at any risk to prevent the march of George Fruntsperg. This, however, could not be accomplished, for he hears that the Germans crossed the river the other day. The rest of the army of the League, under the Marquis of Saluzzo, is still in the Milanese territory, quartered in the districts round the city. It is chiefly composed of Frenchmen, Switzers, Frantopins and Grisons.

Respecting His Holiness this must be said of him, that having first pardoned, or promised to pardon all those concerned in the last outrage (*insulto*), he has since deprived Cardinal Colonna of all his offices and dignities, and is about to do the same with his relatives and adherents. He has, according to information received from Rome, wrought such damage on their territory, destroying their crops, burning their villages, and demolishing their castles and strong places, that the Turk himself has not acted more cruelly towards the Hungarians than he (the Pope) has done towards Christians living in the dominions of the Church.

Will not conceal from His Excellency that in his opinion there is now an opportunity for resuming the negotiations commenced after the victory of Pavia by means of the Milanese ambassador in this city (Taverna). His Excellency must recollect that the mere offer made at the time of some of the Pope's lands was sufficient to make the Signory listen to our proposals. The same expedient might now be tried with success, though on the other hand it may perhaps be imprudent to help the Venetians to an increase of territory.

By letters of the Regents at Hispruch (Innsbruck), and of the Captain of Trent, which the ambassador of the Archduke, now King of Bohemia, has lately received, in date of the 18th of November, we learn that the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) has arrived, by post, with six gentlemen of his

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suite, and is shortly to be followed by 1,000 Burgundian horse. Finding on his arrival at Trent that George Fransperch (Fruntsperg) had already crossed the frontier, he wrote to inquire where he had better pass. In his (Sanchez') opinion the Prince will not be able to come down unless his forces be increased by 6,000 foot at least, especially as the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is occupying in the Mantuan the positions which he has at present.

There is a report here that Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis has been mortally wounded in the leg by a hackbut shot (*tiro de polvora*), in the Mantuan. His Excellency knows too well the military qualities (*virtud y bondad*) of such a captain to make it needful for him to expatiate on the importance of this intelligence.

(*Common writing:*) The Hungarians are now holding their diet at Albarregal (Alba Regia) for the purpose of electing a King. Great hopes are entertained that just as the Bohemians have elected Archduke Ferdinand, the Hungarians will do the same, although the King of Poland (Sigismond) and a Vayvod of Transylvania (John Zapolsky) are also competitors for the Crown. The Archduke, however, seems determined to enter Hungary either by the consent of the people or otherwise with 25,000 fighting men, and the Bohemians have promised him 15,000 more. He has sent to Cita Nova (Newstadt) in Austria for his artillery, and is only waiting for the result of the Hungarian diet to march into that kingdom. The Turk, it is said, has been obliged to return to his dominions in consequence of a cousin, or near relative of his, having revolted in Suria (Syria) and Egypt, assisted by the Sophi of Persia.

(*Cipher:*) Wishes very much to know whether he is to quit Venice or not. His Excellency must certainly have brought orders from Court to that effect. Both Don Ugo and the Duke of Bourbon, whom he (Sanchez) has consulted on this particular, are of opinion that he may still be of use at Venice.

(*Common writing:*) Hears from Naples that on the 23rd or 24th of last month four ships and one caravel belonging to His Excellency's fleet, and which were compelled by stress of weather to separate and run in for Sicily, had safely reached that island. They are reported to have on board 1,800 Germans and 400 Spaniards, under a brother of the Marquis of Mantua and a colonel of the former nation.

(*Cipher:*) Having written thus far, intelligence has been received that the Signory has letters from France of the 18th Nov. enclosing bills of exchange to the amount of 10,000 gold cr. (*escudos*) and promising 30,000 more at a short date. The French King is, moreover, very lavish in his offers. The Marquis of Saluzzo with 350 French lances, 6,000 Switzers, 4,000 Fantopins and 1,000 Germans, recruited among the rebellious peasants (*villanos*), were to pass the river Pò, so as to protect (*fazer espaldas*) the lands of the Church. This Signory is now levying 5,000 foot more.

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The Pope is said to be in such fear of the Imperial arms as to have written to this Signory announcing that the moment he hears of an attempt being made upon his estates, or of a revolution in Florence, he will leave Rome for Ancona, there to take ship and come to Venice for safety. He has also requested this Signory to have certain ships stationed at that port (Ancona) ready for his passage, and is only waiting to receive an answer to a letter which he is said to have written to His Excellency, inquiring whether there is any chance of truce or agreement whatever. Should the answer be negative or slow to come the Pope is to carry out his determination and come to Venice. Hears also that the Signory is about to send one of their secretaries to the Emperor to exculpate themselves from their late acts, and throw the blame upon others, protesting, as is their habit, of their affection, &c., for the Emperor. Indeed, both the Pope and the Venetians are sure to use very fine words in order to avert, if possible, the danger that threatens them, and gain time for the defence of their territory, and for the French King to arm in their favour.

Juanin (Giovannino) de Medicis died of his wounds at Mantua.

Had it been possible to send this letter by a trusty person he would certainly have done so, but he has no one here whom he can trust at present; sends it through the Duke of Ferrara.

The Pope wants the Signory to send their army across the river Pò. They suggest that the Marquis of Saluzzo can easily do it with the forces under his command. It is not known, however, whether the Marquis will do so.—Venice, 4th December 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Excellency Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples."

Spanish. Contemporary copy, mostly in cipher. Deciphering on separate sheet (f. 172). *pp.* 9.

4 Dec. **628.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d' Esp.

Encloses duplicate of his letter of the 28th Nov. Since then news has come of the arrival of the Viceroy's fleet at a port on the coast of Sienna, called Santo Stefano, on the receipt of which intelligence the people both here and at Florence were so alarmed that they already considered themselves as lost and ruined (*perdidos y saqueados*). Their fears, however, were somewhat calmed when they heard that the Viceroy, after anchoring for four days on the coast, had sailed for Gaeta. Knight Commander Peñalosa, whom Lannoy had sent to the Pope with letters from His Imperial Majesty, &c. was detained on the road, and the letters taken from him and brought to His Holiness, who, hearing of the Commander's

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detention, immediately despatched a chamberlain of his with orders for his release. Peñalosa arrived in Rome on the night of the 1st inst. and was lodged at Belvedere, in the same apartments as the general [of the Franciscans ?], whom His Holiness thought of sending to Santo Stefano, when he heard of the Viceroy's arrival there. The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) was the person first appointed for that office, but the Pope afterwards changed his mind and his appointment was revoked.

Peñalosa had an audience from His Holiness, which lasted upwards of two hours. Perez saw him the day after, and learned from him that the Viceroy had really sailed for Gaeta. His coming to Santo Stefano was not a matter of choice, but of necessity, since the whole fleet had on the previous day met with very stormy weather and had to run before the wind (*corrido un dia fortuna à arbol seco*). At Genoa a ship (*nao*) was attacked and sunk by the galleys of the League, having on board a captain named Sayavedra and 200 men. None of the other ships received any injury, and although that of the Viceroy was more furiously attacked than the rest, no one was killed on board, and but few were wounded. The Pope had been very much pleased with the messages brought to him by Peñalosa; he had offered to do wonders for the service of the Emperor, in whose hands, he said, he had placed all his affairs. Next day (the 2nd) Peñalosa started for Naples, accompanied by the general [of the Franciscans] and by one of the Pope's chamberlains.

(*Cipher :*) Told Peñalosa to warn the Viceroy not to allow himself to be duped by the Pope, for it is quite evident that whatever demands are now made upon him he is sure to recognize, such is his consternation at the Viceroy's arrival, and the state of his mind. Indeed, had Lannoy, without sending him a peaceful message at first, as he did, commenced hostilities against the Florentines at once,—as everyone here feared he would—there can be no doubt that the Pope would have taken to flight. Peñalosa's visit, however, calmed his fears and those of the cardinals most attached to his person, who confidently expect a settlement of the present questions at issue. But, as he (Perez) has told the Commander, unless proper securities be obtained from His Holiness, no negotiation, however advantageous, can secure the Emperor's interests, for the Pope is sure to do again what he has done hitherto on so many occasions, namely, break his most solemn promises. His Imperial Majesty must rest assured that the Pope will now act in the same manner, for such is his habit. Besides, the doctrine is openly professed here at Rome that no compulsory act need be regarded as valid. This is the excuse they allege when taunted with their late doings in the lands of the Colonnese, though they pretend that in this instance the Pope was perfectly justified in what he did.

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(*Common writing:*) It is rumoured that His Holiness is again levying troops, and has sent some of his captains for that purpose to Perosa (Perugia) and Romagna. He has likewise sent for all the forces he had on the frontiers of the Colonnese, but the Romans met the other day and decided to send a deputation to His Holiness, begging he would give counter orders, as they (the inhabitants) were afraid of being sacked by his troops. Ten of the chief inhabitants waited upon the Pope, who told them he had not yet made up his mind to bring the said forces to Rome; when he did, he would answer them. This notwithstanding, he (Perez) finds that troops are secretly entering Rome, in small detachments, that more vigilant watch is kept at the gates of the city, and that the Borgo is being fortified, though at the same time valuables are being hastily removed from the Borgo as well as from the Papal Palace, for fear of the Neapolitans coming and sacking the place, as they did on a late occasion; for they know very well that the Viceroy's forces are numerous and well appointed, and that it is not their habit to be idle and gain their pay without work. What the Viceroy's intentions may be he (Perez) cannot say for certain, but from the military preparations now being made at Naples it is natural to conclude that the Colonnese with his help will sooner or later retaliate on the Pope the injury he has done them. Indeed it is reported that Ascanio Colonna has already begun to set fire to, and demolish certain castles of the Orsini bordering upon his territory. His Holiness has been the first to set the example that in future no war is to be carried on except by fire and plunder, and yet he complains of Ascanio's system of warfare. That Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsini) mentioned in one of the Secretary's former despatches,* has pushed his hatred of the Colonnese much further than any other of the Pope's partisans. It is to be hoped that he will repent one of these days.

The Duke of Ferrara's declaration in favour of His Imperial Majesty has been much resented here. The Duke's ambassador communicated it to the Pope, who answered, "Your master's determination does not take me by surprise; I knew of it already; but since the Duke wants to make the Emperor master of all Italy, let him, and may it do him much good."

The Germans crossed the Pò, notwithstanding the Duke of Urbino's opposition, and that of Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis, who lost 700 or 800 men in the attempt, and was besides wounded in the leg by a hackbut shot, of which he is likely to die, or at least to lose his leg. The German lansquenets were encamped 12 miles from Ferrara, at a place called Albondin, distant 30 miles from Modena and Bologna, which circumstance naturally keeps those districts in

* *See* above, Perez's despatch of the 5th Nov., No. 600, p. 994.

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continual alarm. The Pope has ordered levies of men for the protection of those cities, but finds none willing [to enlist under his banners]. Cardinal Cibo, his legate at Bologna, and his brother Lorenzo Cibo, who is captain of the Papal bodyguard, have gone to the threatened districts with plenty of money; but the general opinion here is that they will do no good. The Duke of Ferrara, on the other hand, has sent the Germans 18 pieces of field artillery (*artilleria de campo*), ammunition and other warlike stores, and he himself has taken the field with a competent force, and is now marching upon Modena, which cannot offer resistance.

Miçer Juan Antonio Muxetula, who was here [at Rome], on hearing of the Viceroy's arrival at Santo Stefano, started for that port, thinking he would meet Knight Commander Peñalosa on his way to this city. It happened, however, that as the Pope's chamberlain in charge of the latter had instructions not to allow anyone to approach the Commander for fear of his inducing him to change or modify the message whereof he was the bearer, altered the route, and Miçer Muxetula went on without meeting him on the road. Peñalosa then wrote to him to come back, as the Viceroy had already sailed for Gaeta. Muxetula returned, and after holding a conference with the Pope, started for Naples on the 2nd, to inform the Viceroy, Don Ugo, and those of the Collateral Council of everything he had seen and heard at Rome.

(*Cipher :*) Miçer Agustin Folleta (Foglieta) had a conversation with Peñalosa. He is a good and loyal servant of the Empire; has great experience of state affairs, &c.; ought to be consulted, as he knows the Pope's intentions better than anyone here.

The Florentines are discontented with the Pope, owing to the large sums of money he has drawn from them. They are desirous of coming to terms with His Imperial Majesty exclusively of the Pope, who, they say, has upon every occasion made his own conditions and left them in the lurch. He (Perez) has written to inform the Viceroy of this circumstance, requesting that he will send a proper person to treat with them and give them hopes of their being admitted under the Imperial protection, for certainly they consider themselves in this instance the Pope's dupes.

Cardinals Frenesis (Farnese) and Monte,* who are the Pope's advisers on this occasion, have removed their quarters to the Palace, where they are staying at present. Both have offered to follow His Holiness should he quit Rome; but it is added that Frenesis (Farnese) is now sorry at having made

* Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal di San Damiano and Santo Eustachio, who in 1521 had a good chance of becoming Pope. Again, in 1523 he was supposed to be with Valle and Campeggio, one of the Imperial candidates. Monte (Antonio Ciocchi di) was Cardinal di San Vitale and Sancta Praxede, Archbishop of Liponte, &c.

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the offer, for he has considerable temporal estates in Rome and its immediate neighbourhood, and is afraid of losing them.

(*Common writing:*) It is asserted that Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis has had his leg amputated, as otherwise he might have died of his wound.

The Germans are reported to be somewhere between Parma and Rezo (Reggio), not far from Mirandola. Fears are entertained of their marching against Florencia (Firenze), whither a Bohemian or German bishop has been sent to compound with the said Germans, in case of their going thither, for the preservation of the city from plunder. All money and valuables in the country are, however, transferred to the city; a tax of 30,000 ducats has been imposed upon the ecclesiastics by way of a loan, and considerable levies of men besides are being made for the defence of the territory.

Prothonotary Bentivolla (Bentivoglio) has been arrested, and sent to a castle on suspicion that he was in secret correspondence with the Bolognese.

To-night, most of the artillery which the Pope had in the lands of the Colonnese has arrived, and there is a report that the galleys of the League, with Pedro Navarro and Andrea Doria in command, have anchored at Civittà Vecchia.

(*Cipher:*) Cannot say what the Viceroy's projects are, but whatever he intends doing must be done quickly, or the opportunity may pass away. The Pope is arming as fast as he can. The confederates have sent for a considerable number of Switzers. This is the time for striking a decisive blow, through which His Imperial Majesty may become master of Italy; whereas, if Fortune be slighted (*desdeñandose la Fortuna*), no such opportunity may again offer itself.

(*Common writing:*) Giovanni de'Medici died at last from the results of the operation.

The courier who came from Mons. de Bourbon, after delivering his message, returned [to Milan]. An order for post-horses was issued to him.—Rome, 4th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Secretary Perez. 4th Dec."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

5 Dec. **629.** The Abbot of Najera to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 175.

Wrote on the 19th of November last. (*Cipher:*) As the sea route is both long and dangerous at this time of the year, this present goes by land. What he (the Abbot) has to advise is in substance as follows: George Frenespergue (Fruntsperg) with his Germans crossed the river Pò, on the 27th, at a place

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called Ostia. The Duke of Urbino and Juan (Giovanni) de Medicis had molested him during three consecutive days, but on the 24th he (George) arrived at a village called Borgo Forte, and on Sunday next began to cross the river in three boats (*varcas*) and one rafter (*puerto*). Captain Corradin, who accompanies Frenespergue (Fruntsperg), had already passed the river with the vanguard, consisting of 3,000 Germans, when the enemy made a furious onset on the rest of the force. They were, however, received with such steadiness that upwards of 300 remained dead on the field, and among the number one Benedetto di Mondolfo, lieutenant to the Duke of Urbino, the bravest and most experienced officer in the army of the Confederates. Juan de Medicis also received a musket shot, which very much shattered his leg, at the same place where two years ago he was wounded at Pavia.* He was removed to Mantua, where he has since died, on the 29th. He was without question the best captain in the enemy's army, and the Duke of Urbino has greatly felt his loss. After this Fruntsperg crossed the Pò, without further opposition, on the 26th. He has with him a number of horses for dragging his artillery, with which he is well provided. The Duke [of Urbino] had boats prepared, and a bridge thrown across at Cremona, intending to pass the Pò and meet the Germans on the other side, but he has since thought better of this, and gone to Casalmajor, near Cremona, and thence to the Marquisate of Mantua, where he now is with his wife,† waiting, as is reported, for new orders from the Signory. The bridge was not thrown over the Pò at Cremona, and it is added that the idea has been altogether abandoned for the present.

The Marquis of Saluzzo, who had taken up positions on this side of the river Adda with the French and Swiss forces, and five pieces of artillery, at a place called Babari, so as to watch this Imperial army, and prevent its junction with the Germans under Fruntsperg, marched yesterday in the direction of a district called Trebi (Trebbia), beyond the Adda, intending no doubt to join the Venetian camp, and cross the Pò with them. There are, therefore, no enemies on this side of Adda, except those of Lodi. On the other hand the Papal troops have abandoned Piacenza, too large a city and not strong enough to be effectually defended, in order to protect Parma and Modena, where they greatly fear an attack of the Duke of Ferrara and Franespergue's Germans. There is a report to-day that Parma has also been evacuated by the Pope's troops, but this is hardly

* At Governolo. Ireneo Affo, in his *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte duca di Trajetto*, &c., relates whilst alluding to another Luigi Gonzaga, commonly called Luigi da Castelgiffredo from an estate so named: "Trovossi poi nella baruffa succeduta a Governolo el Novembre dell' anno stesso (1526) per impedire á Tedeschi el passaggio del Pò, e fu in gran rischio della vita per essergli stato ammazzato sotto il cavallo. Toccò un colpo di falconetto a Giovanni de'Medici, che militava in compagnia di lui, ed egli tosto lo condusse a Mantova nel suo palazzo, ove morì."

† Eleonora Hippolita Gonzaga, daughter of Francesco, Duke of Mantua. See *Genealogies Historiques*, vol. II., p. 484.

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credible, unless it be for the purpose of succouring Florence, which appears to be threatened by the Viceroy, for we hear, by merchants' letters from Genoa, that the Imperial fleet, after defeating Doria's galleys in sight of that harbour, had gone to a seaport town on the coast of Sienna. Of the Imperial fleet's doings in Genoa we have no official accounts yet. All we know is that on the 22nd of November last the Viceroy arrived in sight of the enemy, 20 miles out at sea, and began cannonading (*bombardeando*) them. The engagement lasted all day, but there was a very dense fog, and such a boisterous sea that our fleet could not enter the harbour. It was much better that it did not, since for all purposes the fleet is much better where it is now, and can certainly do greater execution.

The Pope has lately been trying to gain over the Duke of Ferrara to his side, making him all manner of promises, and Guizardino (Guicciardino), his lieutenant-general, went to him from Modena for that purpose. The Duke has answered that it was too late, as he had already taken service with the Emperor, in consequence of which the Pope's lieutenant returned to Modena, and has since gone to Rome. It is believed that the Duke will persist in his determination, although the despatches brought by Espinar are not so full and explicit as he might have wished. The Duke of Bourbon is daily expecting to hear from him what his plans for the future campaign are.

No other news from Rome except that the Pope had lately taken possession of certain territories and towns belonging to the Colonnese, and that the latter and Don Ugo were preparing to retaliate and expel him from Rome. It is to be hoped, however, that His Holiness, who is a prudent (*sabio*) and wise man, will not again willingly expose himself to danger, but will rather come to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, so as to bring about a general peace.—Milan, 5th Dec. 1526.

P.S.—Jorge Frenespergue writes in date of the 27th of last month how [at the crossing of the river Pò] he lost one of his captains and a few men.—(Data *ut supra*).

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Milan. Abbot of Najera, 5th Dec."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

11 Dec. Simancas, Est. L. 2010, f. 21.

630. The Bishop of Bayeux to Monsignor di Verona,* Datary of Pope Clement VII.

Is very sorry to hear that the Pope is about to make an agreement with the Emperor, without the knowledge of the

* Monsignor di Verona is no other than Gianmatheo Giberti, the Pope's Datary, who was bishop of that see. The letter is not among those edited by Porcacchi, as it was probably intercepted.

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King of France. This he (the Bishop) gathers from his last letters to the Legate, which have been read to him.

Signed: "Il Vescovo di Bayus."

Addressed: "A Monsignor di Verona."

Italian. Contemporary Copy. p. 1.

12 Dec. **631.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

Bib. Nac. Mat. E. 50, f. 147.

On the 12th of Dec. 1526, at the Papal Palace, and "*in aula quæ vocatur del Papagayo,*" in which the Pope and the cardinals were assembled for the purpose of celebrating a sacred consistory, Juan Perez, Imperial Secretary in Rome, and prior of the Church of Osma (*Oxomiensis*), exhibited two letters from the Emperor, his master, the one written on several sheets of paper, the other on one large sheet with the Imperial seal appended, both of which were addressed to His Holiness, and which the Pope received and retained in his hands. After which the said Secretary Perez exhibited another letter of the Emperor addressed to the College of Cardinals, and to their President Cardinal Franciotto Ursino, of the title of Sancta Maria in Dominica, which the said cardinal also accepted and retained. Which being done, the said Secretary asked the undersigned notary to draw up for him a public instrument of the above proceedings; to which were present as witnesses: Ramiro Nuñez de Aguilera, Knight [Commander] of Calatrava; Pedro Sarmiento, clergyman of Burgos; Lope Sanchez de Ulloa, agent (*hacedor*) to the Archbishop of Toledo; and Alfonso de la Cueva, clergyman of Burgos and public notary.

Latin. Contemporary copy said to have been made from the original in the Archives at Simancas. (Patronato Real. "Diversos de Italia," Leg. I., f. 4.)

13 Dec. **632.** The Emperor to Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Imperial Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 224, No. 17.

On the 8th of September last, not knowing that you were detained in France, and imagining that you already might be in London, We wrote to you at great length respecting certain matters to be there negotiated with our brother of England. Our letter, written entirely in the cipher that you took from hence, went by a servant* of the said King, whom this English ambassador (Dr. Edward Lee) was then despatching through France. Inside the said letter enclosed within the King's packet, there was: 1stly, a copy of a Papal brief accusing us of being the cause of the present war, and our own answer to the said brief; 2ndly, a memorandum of what the King of France had negotiated with our Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy), and the reasons he alleged for not fulfil-

* Osborne Echingham?

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ling the conditions of the Madrid treaty, together with the answers made to his proposals. We also sent you a copy of the memorandum which the aforesaid ambassador (Dr. Lee) gave us in his master's name, and our answer to it.* All this that you, Don Iñigo de Mendoça, might more fully and effectually negotiate the matters committed to your charge. We have since heard that owing to your detention in France and absence from that court [of England] the packet of letters addressed to you was delivered to the Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), whom our aunt of the Low Countries sent to England to represent us until your arrival.

Now, holding it as certain that with the King's and Cardinal's diligence you have been set at liberty before this, and are already residing in London, where you cannot fail to have received from the said Provost of Cassel our said letter and papers, and begun to negotiate according to our instructions, We consider it important to call your attention to the following facts.

We hear that before its being forwarded to the Provost [of Cassel] the packet of our letters to you was opened by order of the King [of England], and the copies of the papers mentioned in our answer to the English ambassador (Dr. Lee) taken out of it. We have no reason to think that our ciphered letter inside has been opened, and hope, if it has, that you have acted with your usual prudence and discretion. Yet as it might be that during your detention in France your deciphering key was taken from you and copied, or for greater security destroyed by yourself, We now send you a fresh one that you may decipher and read whatever despatches have been addressed to you since your departure [from Spain]. To make more sure this present [despatch] is written in an entirely new cipher, the key to which will be delivered by the bearer.

What We now have to add is this: that since our reply to the English ambassador (Lee) a letter has come from the King, to which our Chancellor has made a suitable reply* in our name, as you will see by the appended copy of both papers, and of the powers therein mentioned. But although our answer to the English ambassador contains the substance of the matters under discussion, and points out the manner in which We intend to have the same treated and resolved, yet We deem it important to observe that, although the powers sent to you for concluding peace, and abstaining from war, general and particular, and for devising a remedy against the Turkish invasion, be very full and ample; although on the presentation of the said powers to the King, our brother, and to His Reverence the Cardinal, you are to assure them of our readiness to bring about a general peace between Christians, so that We may all turn our arms against the infidel

See No. 623.

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Turk; although in the negotiation and final settlement of the said general peace, and of all the points relating thereto, you (Don Iñigo) are particularly desired to follow the advice and good counsel of the King and Cardinal, yet our wish is that no use should be made of the said powers, and no conferences held until those of our adversaries be properly examined, and found sufficiently ample and correct. To this end We have directed our good aunt [Margaret] of the Low Countries to appoint a lawyer, to assist you in the inspection of the said powers, and to give his opinion, if required, on all matters relating to the negotiation. The name of the lawyer* to be appointed by our aunt has been purposely omitted in the powers, principally because We wished no one to make use of them except yourself, and in order that, if still detained in France, greater efforts should be made by the King and Cardinal to procure your release and bring the present negotiations to an issue.

In the event, however, of the King of England and the most Reverend Legate urging you to communicate your charge before the several ambassadors of the League have received their powers, or before such powers have been found by you and your said colleague to be sufficiently ample, you may begin to negotiate, provided the promise and assurance is obtained that the said powers will be modified or enlarged as may be held necessary, and that whatever agreement is made will be duly ratified by the contracting parties. Meanwhile, and in order not to lose time, you may discourse on the general interests of Christendom, and on the war to be made on the Turk, and so forth, without, however, alluding to our particular views and interests in this projected peace, so as to allow time for the powers of the other ambassadors to arrive. And if you thought that for the remedy of existing circumstances a truce was required, of at least three years, so that the belligerents may conjointly withdraw their armies from Italy, and employ them against the Turk, each power agreeing to pay a proportionate part of the expenses of the war, and His Holiness consenting also to unlock the treasures of the Church and to grant cruzadoes, tithes and such other appropriation of ecclesiastic benefices as may be required on the occasion, you may declare in our name that the better to promote God's service We consent to give His Holiness the management and direction of the whole affair, that he may afterwards settle our private differences, and bring about the said general peace between Christians in such a manner that it may henceforwards be placed on a permament basis. But as it would not be either convenient or prudent for the security of our own affairs, or the successful issue of the negotiations, that before the powers of the other ambassadors had been properly examined and found correct We should

* J. Bouton, Sieur de Courtbaron. *See* above, No. 616.

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reveal our secret intentions and views respecting the conditions of the proposed peace,—as by so doing we might give our adversaries an opportunity of becoming more slack and difficult in that commendable work, as well as create new disturbances and dangers to the public cause, you must beg the King and Legate not to press you to declare our sentiments in the matter, but to take it on trust that your commission and instructions are such that, when peace comes to be made, the World at large will say that We have done our duty, both with respect to the general as well as to the private interests involved in it.

Moreover, as the King has kindly offered his mediation, and We have not made him a categorical answer on that point, but merely informed him that We should be glad to accept his help for the conclusion of this peace; as in his last reply the King thanks us for the acceptance of his offers, and We have not deemed it necessary to be more explicit thereupon, avoiding as much as possible giving him the title of "mediator," for fear he should constitute himself sole arbiter, and pretend that We are bound to put our affairs entirely in his hands; as it might happen that, in consequence of the said offer made and accepted by us in general terms, both the King and the most Reverend Cardinal were to ask you whether you have powers from us to make the King of England mediator and arbiter in all differences existing between us and the confederates, in that case you will tell them, in as courteous and mild words as possible, that your present charge is in conformity with the answer in writing sent to his ambassador (Dr. Lee), and that you cannot imagine either that the King can wish to become sole arbiter in these matters, or that our answer to his ambassador implies the unconditional acceptance of his offer. You may also tell him that by "mediation" we understand such interference in our affairs as will allow him to confer with one or other of the parties, observing complete neutrality, and proposing the means (*medios*) he may consider most conducive to the purposes of peace.

Such are our instructions with regard to the negotiation in general, for if by the ambassadors of the opposite parties having their powers *en règle* the conferences should commence, and the particulars of peace be discussed, you are to endeavour that our adversaries speak first, since they are the claimants, and We the defendants; besides which, in our private agreements with each of them our claims are sufficiently defined. We have faithfully observed our stipulations, and think they are bound to do the same, unless they show cause for the contrary. Should they do so, they will always find us disposed to subordinate our own private interest to the public good, so as to bring about the said general peace, and turn the Christian arms against the infidels.

But as it may happen that, in making their respective proposals, the ambassadors of the confederated powers or his

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Reverence the Legate, or the King himself, as mediators, will try to draw you out, and ascertain from you what our intentions are on each point, your answer must be so shaped as not to be in contradiction with the instructions we have sent you. Should you be questioned about Milan and the Duke Francesco Sforzia (Sforza), and should it be proposed that, upon the restitution of Lodi and Cremona by the Venetians, the whole of the Duchy should be placed in the hands of a neutral power—thereby calming the fears which the Pope and other Italian potentates seem to have of our ultimately taking possession of that estate—you will tell them that the duchy of Milan is a fief of the Empire, and that the Duke, our vassal, being accused of felony and crime of lese Majesty, the cognizance and judgment of which appertain only to us, We cannot think of allowing the said restitution or delivery of the Duchy into neutral hands without a previous judicial inquiry into the Duke's guilt. Such a proceeding would be inconsistent with our honour and authority, and yet such is our wish for peace that We are willing to appoint such judges as shall be beyond suspicion to take cognizance of the crimes imputed to the Duke Francesco Sforza, and to abide by their judgment and sentence. If in the meantime the Pope and the Venetians stipulate that the cities and castles of Lodi and Cremona shall be delivered to the Duke, we will allow him to hold and retain the same until his case be tried, and it be decided whether he is guilty or innocent of the charges brought against him. Respecting the rest of the Duchy, still in possession of our troops, We have no difficulty to place it by way of deposit and sequestration in the hands of the Duke of Bourbon, whom by the advice and nomination of our Holy Father, the Pope, and to the exclusion of our own selves and of the Archduke, our brother We had formerly designated to succeed in case of the death or deposition of the Duke Sforza. This arrangement seems to us equitable and just enough, and one that the confederated powers cannot possibly object to, as it will effectually remove all suspicions that might be entertained of us and of our doings. You will, therefore, insist upon it, and not consent to that portion of the estate of Milan, now in our holding, being restored to the Duke Sforza before his trial, nor the whole of it placed and deposited in any other hands than those of the Duke of Bourbon.

With regard to the King of France and the liberation of his sons, you will see by the enclosed memorandum what offers he made at the time to our Viceroy of Naples. You will show it to the King and Legate, and tell them that if We have not yet answered the French King on this point it has been owing to three very potent reasons. The first, in order that the treaty (*asiento*) of Madrid as concluded with the said King should remain intact; the second, because no ambassador came sufficiently empowered to treat of the said matter with us; and the third,

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because the offers, such as they were, seemed to us exceedingly poor (*magros*) and unsatisfactory, not calculated to produce the desired peace between the French King and ourselves, and above all affording no security that his new promises would be more faithfully fulfilled than the first. Should, however, the French ambassadors now make better offers than those once before made to our Viceroy, a copy of which is herein enclosed, you may say that you dare not, without consulting us first, treat that question separately. Even if the offers were really more advantageous, your charge solely consists in having the conditions more clearly specified, and obtaining better securities; and, therefore, should the King of France repeat his offers, or make fresh ones, you may at once declare that even if sufficient powers be granted to his ambassadors your commission is limited to seeing that the said offers are clearly expressed and defined, so that no occasion can afterwards arise for further controversy or dispute. That being done, you will proceed to make, in our name, five different declarations, as follows:—

Firstly: that the stipulations of this new agreement are in nowise to invalidate those of the treaty of Madrid, except in cases expressly mentioned.

Secondly: that the condition of suspending the execution of the article concerning Burgundy is to be understood without any detriment of our rights to that Duchy, whatever they may be.

Thirdly: that all articles of the treaty of Madrid, whether general or particular, respecting which no express mention is made or alteration proposed in the King's offers, shall remain in force and be fulfilled and executed as stipulated in the said treaty.

Fourthly: that whatever conditions are accepted by the King of France, whether respecting the two millions (*cuentos*) offered to us, or the payment of sums owing to the King of England, which King Francis also offers to take upon himself, or the restitution to be made to the Duke of Bourbon, or any such like stipulations, they must be fulfilled and executed before his two sons, now detained as hostages, can be released and set at liberty, since owing to his want of compliance with, and non-fulfilment of, former engagements We cannot trust him unless We have the said security.

Fifthly: that whatever be newly settled and agreed between us is to be duly ratified by the General Estates of France, and approved of by the Parliaments of the Kingdom, according to the treaty of Madrid. In case, however, of the Estates General refusing to ratify the treaty so concluded, every province in the kingdom of France is to give its sanction and approval.

Sixthly: that We shall not be bound to send our sister (Eleonor) to France except in one of two cases—either upon the fulfilment by King Francis of all the conditions of the treaty

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and subsequent release of the hostages, or upon the ratification by the said King of the new treaty now made, and payment of at least one half of the sum fixed as war indemnity.

Seventhly: that the King of England be warrant and security (*conservador y assegurador*) for the treaty thus made between us and the French King, issuing his letters patent to that effect, and pledging himself to help and assist the party who observes against the party who violates, and declare for the former against the latter.*

Although We have reason to believe that after the above declarations the offers once made on the part of France will not be increased (*esforçados*), yet We shall be glad to hear from you what their answer is to each of the above-mentioned points, and you will take no engagement thereupon without consulting us first.

With regard to the Imperial coronation, there is no necessity whatever for you to mention this point unless you are expressly questioned about it. Should, however, the matter be brought under discussion, and should you be asked whether it is our intention to go to Italy for that purpose, or to consent to receive the Imperial crown here [in Spain], you will answer that this is not a matter subject to negotiation, or upon which any stipulations can be made, since it is a mere ceremony affecting only our honour and reputation, and no other interest whatever. It would indeed be derogatory to our dignity to give up a right which our ancestors have always possessed and enjoyed, and respecting which We have, on more than one occasion, fully declared our intentions and wishes. You may assure the King that We should not for the sake of the Imperial crown only, and for our intended visit to Italy, raise such a force and make such military preparations as might tend to increase the fears of our enemies (*adversarios*) in those parts. Were it not that the said coronation is likely to promote the service of God, and secure peace to the Christian world, We would willingly give up our said journey and coronation, which can in nowise increase our honour and reputation, or add to the power and authority which We at present enjoy.—Granada, 13th Dec. 1526.

Addressed: "To Don Iñigo de Mendoça, our Ambassador at the Court of England."

Spanish. Original draft entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

15 Dec. **633.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 153.

Received on the 9th inst. the Imperial warrant (*cedula*) of the 8th October last, together with two letters for His Holiness, one long, the other short, and a third for the College

* "La septima y postrera que el Serenissimo rey de Inglaterra sea conservador y assegurador del concierto que se hiziere entre Nos y el dicho rey de Francia, y dé sus letras patentes en ampla forma, por las quales el prometa de assistir y ayudar la parte que observare contra la parte que contraviniere, y declararse en favor de la dicha parte observante contra la otra parte."

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of Cardinals, which last came through Don Ugo de Moncada. As he (Perez) was enjoined to present the said letters formally to the Pope and cardinals, and have an act of the proceedings drawn up by a notary and proper witnesses, as His Holiness might, if he knew of it, prevent the cardinals from assembling, he (Perez) kept the matter secret until last Wednesday, the 12th inst., which was a day for consistory, when, accompanied by Knight Commander Aguilera, Don Pedro Sarmiento, (*cipher:*) Lope Sanchez de Ulloa, the agent to the Archbishop of Toledo in this city, and Alonso de Cuevas, who is at the same time notary, chaplain and solicitor (*solicitador*) to His Imperial Majesty, (*common writing:*) he (Perez) went to the hall where the Pope and cardinals were assembled, and delivered into the hands of the former the Emperor's letter to him, which he stated to be the answer to his brief [of September last]. The letter addressed to the College of Cardinals he delivered to Cardinal Ursino, who, being first deacon, is in the habit of receiving such despatches, though he (Perez) intended to have given it to Cardinal Monte, who, in the absence of Cardinal Frenesis (*Farnese*), not present on that day, acted as senior president (*decano*). This being done, Perez and his attendants left the room, when the enclosed instrument* was drawn up to prove that the letters had been delivered, &c.

Has since tried to ascertain whether the letters were read in consistory. Has been told that they were not, but almost all or the greater part of the cardinals must have taken cognizance of them, or read their contents separately, for it is now publicly stated in Rome that His Imperial Majesty has by his letter summoned His Holiness to a council (*convoca á Concilio á su Santidad*), a measure which has met with the approbation of all the Emperor's servants here, however unpalatable it may prove to those who are not his friends.

This happened on the 12th. Two days after Perez returned to the Palace with the letter which His Imperial Majesty caused to be written on the 9th of November to his Grand Equerry, Cesare Ferramosca, or to him (Perez) in his absence, with another for His Holiness presenting the Prior of San Geronimo of Granada, Fray Pedro de Alua, to the archiepiscopal see of that city. Found the Pope in a very bad temper; he asked him angrily, "Why have you not brought a notary with you to certify the delivery of this letter, as you did the other day?" He (Perez) began by denying the fact altogether, but finding that the Pope had witnessed the whole transaction, seen the notary whom he knew well by sight, and remarked the witnesses; perceiving that he wished to put him (Perez) on his oath, he was obliged to confess that he had really done so at the express command of the Emperor, who wished for an authentic proof that his letters had been delivered. The Pope then said, "You ought first to have informed me of this; I would not have prevented the letters being read in consistory. Similar ones (*otras como estas*)

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have come through my nuncio in Spain, and I answered them twenty days ago." He (Perez) excused himself as well as he could; he had (he said) been influenced by two motives: firstly, by the fear that the Pope would not allow the letters to be presented in consistory, and secondly, by his unwillingness to cause His Holiness unnecessary uneasiness. These and similar excuses, however, did not appease the Pope's anger in the least, for he left the room abruptly.

On his way back to the palace of the embassy, he (Perez) happened to meet Knight Commander Aguilera, who informed him that the Pope had spoken to him on the subject, and seemed very much offended at what he (Perez) had done in the affair of the letters. Both the Commander and he at once concluded that, had they not been, as they are, under the Emperor's shadow and protection, their lives would not be secure at Rome. Even as it is, should the present negotiations for peace entirely fail, they consider themselves in danger of the Pope's resentment. (*Cipher:*) So does the agent (*hacedor*) to the Archbishop of Toledo, Lope Sanchez de Ulloa, who, as before stated, acted as notary, that being one of the reasons why he (Perez) has written in cipher whatever relates to him and his office. For the truth is that he (Perez) did not take Ulloa to the hall of the "Papagayo," but found him already there, and begged he would certify how the letters were delivered, &c. But whatever the danger to his person, he (Perez) is ready to sacrifice his life, and die a martyr for the Emperor.

The Pope saw the Portuguese ambassador (Don Martin de Portugal) the other day, and complained to him of the manner in which he had been treated, saying that in case of a rupture with His Imperial Majesty it was his intention to make use, in his own defence, of the Emperor's letters to him. What there may be in them to justify such an assertion he (Perez) cannot say.—Rome, 15th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 15th Dec."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2¼.

15 Dec. **634.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 192.

Since his letter of the 4th inst., of which a duplicate is enclosed, the news are that His Holiness sent Peñalosa and the general of the Franciscans with a message to the Viceroy [of Naples], and that both returned here on the 12th. Has not been told what the message was, nor what the Viceroy answered, but the Pope is in hope of an agreement, and has told him (Perez) so. His Holiness was so impatient that, as the messengers stayed away longer than he expected, he despatched thither the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg),

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who is still at the Viceroy's. Whether the present negotiations will be successful or not is more than he (Perez) can say, but the Pope goes on arming, and every day that passes sees fresh troops coming into the Roman territory. It is calculated that they will soon muster 20,000 foot, Most of these forces are now 12 or 15 miles from this city, between a village called Tibuli (Tivoli) and the sea, as the land of the Colonnese is so exhausted that troops can no longer subsist there. Indeed with the one exception of Paliano (Pagliano), which still holds out, all the rest of that country is completely wasted. To the command of the above Papal forces the College has appointed a cardinal, named Triurçis (Triulcio), who left Rome on the 10th, and who, it is added, goes for the purpose of settling certain differences which have arisen between the Papal captains.

Cardinal Colonna, Vespasiano, and Ascanio Colonna are said to be very close upon the territory of the Church, at the head of considerable forces, at which people here are greatly frightened.

The Viceroy was at Naples on the 9th. He was to come soon to Gaeta, where the fleet was. One or two of the ships, with about 600 men on board, were driven on shore close to Terrachina (Terracina), but the Lord of Salmonetta, whose estate is close at hand, managed to save the crews and all the soldiers on board, and directed them to the kingdom of Naples, which they reached in safety. Believes that all the rest of the fleet, which met with very bad weather at sea, must by this time be safely anchored off Gaeta.

The people of Rome show a disposition to defend the city if attacked. They have offered to arm themselves, and suggested that the Imperialists should be also compelled to take up arms. The Spaniards (*Castellanos*) held a meeting separately (*solos*), and sent an appeal to His Holiness, who answered that they had nothing to fear and would be protected.

A chamberlain of the King of France came here lately with great offers from his master. He has since gone to Florence to encourage the citizens to defend their homes. Pedro Navarro is likewise in that city raising fortifications, &c.

There is a report that Renzo de Cherri (da Ceri) is now at Savona with 12 ships (*naos*) and four caracks, on board of which are, some say 3,000, others 5,000 Gascons. He is expected (here ?) every day, and the Romans fancy that, once in Rome, they have nothing to fear.

The Florentines are fast leaving their city for fear of its being sacked; most of them go to Venice with their valuables.

The Viceroy considering it inconvenient that a nuncio of the Pope should reside at Naples in the present state of affairs, managed to get him out of that kingdom under the plea that he wanted him to take a message to His Holiness, and then wrote to him (Perez) requesting he would tell him not to return [to Naples]. Has delivered the Viceroy's message, at

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which neither the Nuncio nor the Pope's partisans have shown much satisfaction, as may be imagined.

A report is here afloat that the King of France has sent the Duke of Lorraine (Claude) and another personage to Spain, to offer Provenze instead of Burgundy, or a very large sum of money in compensation.

(*Cipher:*) On the 28th of November and 2nd inst. he (Perez) intrusted to the care of a Spaniard named Brego (Obregon?) two letters for Secretary Soria. As Brego was going to Spain by sea to bear a message and letter from the Pope to His Imperial Majesty, Perez naturally concluded that the messenger would be a safe channel for his correspondence. He was mistaken, for Brego has since returned, saying that on his arrival at Civittà Vecchia he had been arrested on board one of the galleys in that port, and searched, though he had time to throw away his (Perez's) despatches, where they could not possibly be found again. Cannot say whether the man tells the truth. The messenger has left again, but so suddenly that there has been no time for the Secretary to make a duplicate of his despatches.

(*Common writing:*) Knows nothing about the negotiations which the Viceroy and Don Ugo are carrying on with the Pope, but has often written to them to take good care that the securities demanded be sufficiently solid. Has been told that the Viceroy asks as security for a truce of three months' duration the cities of Parma and Piacenza, besides the port of Civittà Vecchia, and offers to give two sons of his as hostages, promising that the Emperor will ratify any agreement that is made. This, however, is merely a report; cannot say whether it is true or not.

Has been told also that all the galleys of the League that were at Civittà Vecchia have returned to Genoa, there to join Renzo da Ceri, and press the siege of that city. It is added that Renzo brings 40,000 ducats for the expenses of this war; others say double that sum.

Hears from a reliable source that the Pope is about to create a number of cardinals, French, Venetians and Florentines, from whom he expects to receive as much as 500,000 ducats to defray the expenses of the war in case of peace not being made; and since he has sent away all his galleys, it is quite evident that his intention is not to fly to France, as was rumoured, and that he is only gaining time to arm himself and procure money by the above and other means. Has, therefore, written to the Viceroy and to Don Ugo to be on their guard and not allow themselves to be duped.—Rome, 15th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Perez. Rome, 15th Dec."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

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15 Dec. **635.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 194.

Duplicate of the above letter, the deciphering of which (fs. 196) is indorsed with the following words in the Emperor's hand: "Italia, Febr. 1527."

15 Dec. **636.** [JOAN DE CASTRO] to ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 198.

With regard to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, what I have to say is that the Archduke, my master, is the lawful heir to the late King Louis, as King of Hungary and Bohemia, Marquis of Moravia, and Duke of Slesia (Silesia). This latter kingdom and estates he inherits by right of his wife (Anna), sister of the deceased King; the former (Hungary) in virtue of certain provisions and agreement made between the Emperor Maximilian and Laodislao (Wladislas), his predecessor, confirmed also by the barons of that kingdom, bearing that a double marriage should take place, both the King of Hungary and Archduke marrying each other's sister. In case of the former dying without children his own sister and the Archduke were to inherit his crown. It is, therefore, quite clear that on the death of King Louis without male heirs, the Archduke and his wife (Anna) became legitimate heirs to the crown. Nevertheless, as the Archduke, my master, is so moderate in his aspirations, so wise and prudent, he would not avail himself of his rights until the barons and towns of the said kingdom should have met and elected him of their own free will, as they are wont to do. A Diet was, therefore, held at Prague, whither the Princes named in the enclosed memorandum* sent also their ambassadors, soliciting to be elected, when, though great efforts were made on the part of some of the pretenders, His Highness was unanimously elected. On the 1st inst. 18 ambassadors from Bohemia, six from each of the three estates, all persons of rank and authority arrived in this city (Vienna), followed by 350 retainers on horseback, richly clad. On the ensuing Monday His Highness granted them public audience, when the deputies took the customary oath, and begged the Archduke to go as soon as possible to Prague, there to be crowned as King of Bohemia. Ambassadors have also come from the marquisate of Moravia, and those of Slesia (Silesia) are daily expected.

Respecting Hungary, the Archduke, now King, my master, wishing the election to be open and free, requested his sister Mary, widow of the late King, to convoke a Diet for one of the three principal towns in that kingdom, which was done; but the Vayvod [of Transylvania], an ambitious man, regardless

* The memorandum here alluded to will be found hereafter under No. 640, enclosed in the Emperor's letter to Don Antonio de Mendoza.

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of the common weal, refused to attend, sent thither a number of peasants (*villanos*), servants of his own household and other adherents, and caused himself to be elected, thus usurping the royal crown, notwithstanding that he had sworn to hold the same as a deposit, and not give it up, except to a Prince duly appointed by a diet convoked either by the Count Palatine of Hungary or by the Queen widow herself, the only two Princes who, according to the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, have a right to make such convocation. Owing to the above and other causes Queen (Mary) has prorogued the diet until the 20th inst., when we have no doubt the election will be duly accomplished, as most of the nobles in that country are very angry with the Vayvod (Zapolsky) for daring to usurp the crown.—Vienna, 15th Dec. 1526.

P.S.—To-day, Monday, the 17th, His Highness has received a letter from the Queen, his sister, informing him that yesterday, Monday, the 16th December, he (the Archduke, King of Bohemia) was duly elected at 2 o'clock in the afternoon by all the barons and nobles present at the Diet.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter which one of the secretaries* of His most Serene Highness the King of Hungary wrote to me [Alonso Sanchez?] on the 17th of December 1526 from Vienna."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

15 Dec. **637.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. D. Pasc. d. G. Pa. r. a. l. Hist. d' Esp.

Received on the 12th inst. the Imperial letter of the 16th Nov. last. In the enumeration therein made of his despatches he (Perez) finds that two of the 3rd and 9th July are omitted, besides another of the 12th August, addressed by way of the Portuguese ambassador (Don Martin de Portugal). Is rather anxious for fear some of his letters may have miscarried. Has written since last September, either by Don Ugo or by the said Portuguese ambassador, no less than eight letters, 22nd and 27th Oct., 5th, 16th, 22nd, and 28th Nov., 2nd and 4th inst. Encloses duplicate of all, in case any of them have been lost.

Thanks the Emperor for the favours received, and the acknowledgment of his poor services. Will continue them as long as he lives, being his vassal and servant (*criado*), besides having been bred and nurtured in King Philip's household.

The letters for the cardinals have not come to hand. That for the Portuguese ambassador was duly received and delivered.

All the Imperial servants at Rome were certain that the Emperor, as the Catholic and pious Prince that he is, would be displeased with what happened to Don Ugo here. He

* There is no certainty that this letter was written by Castro. It might just as well be attributed to Christoval de Castillejo, another of the Archduke's Spanish secretaries.

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(Perez) has avoided reading to the Pope that paragraph of the Imperial letter alluding to this particular, but has properly informed the Viceroy of his reasons for acting thus. Should he (Lannoy) send him orders to the contrary they shall be complied with.

The Pope asked about Cesare Ferramosca, of whom (he said) he had no news, though he gathered from the contents of the Imperial letter that he was to be the bearer of despatches addressed to him.

The Viceroy's arrival with the fleet has had a very good effect, and the results begin to be apparent.

No more applications for service have been made by Count Petillano (Pitigliano). Should he renew them, he (Perez) will refer him to Don Ugo.

Neither the copy of the bull of indulgence for the bishopric of Urgel, nor the letters for Gironimo Beltran requesting him to waive his right to an ecclesiastical pension from Antonio de Spes, have come to hand. Has done all he could with His Holiness that the bulls of San Isidro in favour of Master Coronel should be speedily despatched; but these are not times to make similar applications, which, however just and equitable, generally meet with a refusal.

With regard to the brief of absolution to the parties concerned in the sentence and execution of the late Bishop of Zamora (Don Antonio de Acuña), and principally to Secretary Cobos and Alcalde (Ronquillo ?), he (Perez) has done his utmost. Secretary Cobos is to be absolved on the settlement of a perpetual pension (*memoria*) to the church of Zamora of 20 ducats per annum; but as to the Alcalde nothing has been done yet. Has written on the subject to Knight Commander Aguilera, who knows that the Pope obstinately refused then, and still refuses absolving him and the rest unless they come to Rome.—Rome, 15th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ Catolicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Perez. Rome."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

18 Dec. **638.** Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 200.

His esteemed fellow-citizens Pietro Luca da Fiescho and brothers have represented to him (the Doge) that for many years past they have been molested by one named Mons. de Chyandelle, on account of the Seignorial estate (Signoria) of Messerano, which the Fiesco family have possessed for the last 500 years. The case is being tried at Rome, and the claimant is trying to procure the favour and influence of the Duke of Bourbon, the Emperor's lieutenant-general in Italy. As he (the Doge) is persuaded of the justice and rights of the defendants, begs most humbly for an order to be sent to the Duke not to interfere in favour of Chyandelle, and for the affair to

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be submitted to the Imperial Council.—Genoa, 18th December 1526.

Signed: "Servitores obsequentissimi: Antoniottus Adurnus Januensis dux, et Consilium Antianorum Comunis Januæ. Io. Baptista."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesareæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. From Genoa. The Doge, 18th Dec."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

Dec. **639.** The Emperor's Instructions to Don Antonio de Mendoça, Knight Commander of Santiago.

S. Pat. Re. *Capit. c. l. c. d. Austria*, Leg. 6, f. 6.

After visiting the Archduke and the Queen widow of Hungary, Don Antonio is to go to Bohemia. Is to tell the Estates, as soon as they are assembled, how deeply he feels for the disaster and death of King Louis. Could not hasten to his assistance, and to the defence of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, owing to the French King and the Pope having perfidiously attacked him, whilst he was preparing to make war on the Turk.

After thanking the Estates for the election of his brother (Archduke Ferdinand), the ambassador must tell them that he (the Emperor) has resolved to spend all his treasure and all his blood in their defence.—Toledo—December 1526.*

Latin. Original draft. pp. 1½.

S. Pat. Re. *Capit. c. l. c. d. Austria*, L. 6, f. 7.

640. Competitors for the Crown of Bohemia, at the Diet of Prague, and election of Archduke Ferdinand.

The said Archduke.
The King of France.
The King of Poland.
The Marquis of Brandemburg.
William and Louis, Dukes of Bavaria.
The Duke Frederic de Lignis (Ligny).
The Palatine Louis.
The Palatine Frederic.
Dominus Leo Rosenthal (Von Rosmithal ?)
Dominus de Puestayn.

22 Dec. **641.** Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 202.

(*Cipher:*) His last was of the 4th inst., enclosing duplicate of that which he (Sanchez) wrote to the Viceroy, the moment

* The day of the month in not filled in in the minute, but as the Archduke's election did not take place until the latter end of November, the news could not possibly reach Valladolid before the 20th of December. On the other hand the list of candidates under No. 640 cannot be the same which Joan de Castro, or whoever wrote to Sanchez on the 15th of December, says he enclosed for that ambassador's information. *See* above, p. 1049.

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he heard of his arrival at Santo Stefano. Is waiting to hear what orders the Viceroy will give respecting him and his movements. Wonders why he has not yet answered, for he hears from Secretary Perez that on the 7th inst. he (the Viceroy) had duly received his (Sanchez's) letter, and was about to reply.

The Viceroy has since sailed for Gaeta, and although his arrival at that port must necessarily be of very good effect under present circumstances, many think that had he remained a little longer on this coast, and only sent a herald (*araute*) to Florence, greater things might have been accomplished. But the Viceroy knew not the state of things in Italy, and had not all his fleet with him, his ships having been dispersed by a storm at sea (*el tiempo la despargió*). No wonder, therefore, if he went to Gaeta, where some of his galleys had run in for shelter. The Pope had sent the general of the Franciscans (Quiñones) and one of his own chamberlains with a safe-conduct for the Viceroy and Don Ugo, if either or both chose to come to Rome and negotiate with him; but Secretary Perez writes, in date of the 10th, that it was not likely either of them would answer the invitation. On the 9th His Holiness had despatched the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) to the Viceroy, when it is reported that great offers were made in the Pope's name. What these may be Sanchez cannot say, but there can be no doubt that the Pope will promise anything rather than push matters to extremity. Hears from a good source that he has lately written to this Signory announcing his determination to come to some sort of agreement with the Viceroy, for (he says) Florence is threatened by the Imperialists, and were that city, some of whose inhabitants are ill disposed towards him, to fall into our hands, he (the Pope) would be at their mercy (*quedaria bonito*). The Signory has answered encouraging him not to listen to any proposals for peace, and proposing, in case he wants money for the prosecution of the war, to create new cardinals. Two hundred thousand ducats, they tell him, might be procured in this way from Venice alone. An answer from the Pope to this proposition is daily expected.

The Germans [of Fruntsberg] have lately lost much of their military reputation, having accomplished nothing since their arrival [in Italy]. It may be inferred that they are waiting for the Imperial army at Milan to effect a junction with them, and that Mons. de Bourbon does not move for want of money. However this may be, certain it is that the enemy has had time to strengthen their positions and prepare for an attack. The Florentines, nevertheless, are still deserting the city in numbers from fear of its being sacked.

The Papal nuncio (Averoldi ?) and the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) have lately tried to persuade this Signory to send their army across the river Pò, and attack the Germans before their junction with the Milanese army. All their per-

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suasions, however, seem to have been vain, for the Venetians allege that if their men were to pass the Pò the Imperialists would immediately attack Bergamo.

Great hopes are held out from Ferrara that the moment the junction of the two armies is effected great things will be achieved.

(*Common writing:*) The Archduke's ambassador, who resides in this city, has had letters [from Vienna?] informing him how the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) had himself elected King of Hungary on the 10th or 11th of November last. He had surprised and sacked a place where the Diet was being held, and the assembly had consequently removed to another quarter to continue their deliberations there. Letters have since been received here of the 11th November, stating that the Vayvod (Zapolsky) had sent the Archduke, now King of Bohemia, an embassy announcing his own election as King of Hungary. Some days ago a bishop of Sena (Sienna?) arrived in this city, sent by the said Vayvod, and the Signory sent forward some nobles and gentlemen to receive him, as they are in the habit of doing with the ambassadors of the greatest Princes. He comes, as is publicly said, to ask the help and assistance of the Signory, who would willingly have given it had they not been engaged in war at present; for they are not at all pleased at the Archduke having obtained the kingdom of Bohemia, much less still at the chance he has of being elected to the crown of Hungary. The Ban of Croatia, who is a sort of Viceroy, sent also the other day to ask for help against the Turks on his frontiers. He told the Austrian resident here, who repeated it to him (Sanchez) that the Vayvod's ambassador was much flattered by his reception. The Signory wanted his master (Zapolsky) to join the [Clementine] League, and advised him to remain on good terms with the Turk, just as they themselves did. They, moreover, call the Vayvod "Il Re moderno d'Ungheria."*

(*Cipher:*) The French and Venetians are still at work, trying to persuade the Duke of Ferrara to desert the Emperor's cause, which if he will do they promise to give him back Modena, have one of his sons created cardinal, and marry his eldest (Hercole d'Este) to a daughter of Lorenzino de' Medici.—Venice, 22nd December 1526.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Venice. Alonso Sanchez, 22nd Dec. By triplicate."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 210). *pp.* 5¼.

* Que aqui llaman el *moderon* rey de Ungria. Moderon is, no doubt, a mistake of the deciphering clerk for *moderno*.

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24 Dec. **642.** Secretary Perez to the Emperor.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 39, f. 212.

Wrote last on the 15th inst. by way of Ferrara. Encloses duplicate. The general of the Franciscans has returned from Naples and held a conference with His Holiness, entreating him to withdraw from the League, and make his peace with the Emperor. Pressed, as he is, by the lansquenets on one side, and by the Viceroy on the other, the Pope is inclined to come to terms, give securities, and even money. The general has written already twice or thrice to the Viceroy on the subject, but no answer has yet come. Should any arrive before he (Perez) closes the present letter he will not fail to mention it; that is, if the general tells him what the terms of the peace are to be. All he knows is that the Pope flatly refuses to restore Cardinal Colonna to his honours and dignities now, though he promises to do anything in future to please His Imperial Majesty on that particular.

(*Cipher:*) This refusal of the Pope and the injury which the Colonnese are known to have sustained in their lands are generally considered great obstacles in the way of peace, as it cannot be expected that the Emperor's friends and allies can remain without compensation.

By the Viceroy's order he (Perez) showed to the general of the Franciscans the paragraph of the Imperial letter of the 16th November last, wherein allusion is made to Don Ugo and the late doings at Rome [in September], the Emperor's regret at what had happened, &c. He (the general) approved of his not showing it to the Pope, because had he (Perez) done so, it would have injured the negotiations which, as now ascertained, were by no means improved by what Peñalosa told the Pope; though on the other hand it must be said that the letter which the Emperor caused to be written to Knight Commander Aguilera, informing him of his sentiments in that respect, though duly communicated to the Pope, to the cardinals, and the whole of the Roman Court, had not the desired effect, and no benefit whatever was derived from it.

(*Common writing:*) The Imperial letter [of the 6th October] was duly read in consistory on the 21st, when a warm dispute arose as to whether His Imperial Majesty had or had not the power of convoking a general council. After much altercation it was decided to draw out an answer with regard to the general peace and other points contained in the said letter, and appoint three cardinals to consider the matters relating to the Council, write to the Emperor thereupon, &c. Some said that it would have been better if a time and place had been fixed for the council, which they say is not alluded to in the letter. The cardinals, moreover, thinking he (Perez) had a copy, and wishing to discuss the matter, asked him for it, as they said the Pope had the original in his possessions and did not allow anyone to see it. Had he (Perez) been allowed to peruse the letter before delivery, or otherwise taken a note of its contents, and especially of the paragraph

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relating to the general council, he might have satisfied the cardinals' curiosity, and the whole matter would thus have been made public. As it is, it ought to be printed and circulated for the people's information. The Pope has made bitter complaints of him (Perez), both in the College of Cardinals and in private, for having, as he says, the contents of the Emperor's letter divulged; but the fact is that had His Holiness himself kept the matter secret, nobody would have known anything about it. His (Perez) conscience is satisfied; he has done his duty, and is ready to incur the Pope's indignation, and suffer a hundred deaths for the Emperor's service.

(*Cipher:*) The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) urges the Viceroy to come armed to Rome, and not to allow any agreement to be made with the Pope in which the Colonnese are not included. This, he says, must needs be in the Emperor's name and for the sake of his reputation in Italy, though the Colonnese may by it get proper indemnity and reparation of the injury done to them, &c.

Count Petillano (Pitigliano) sent his powers to Count Nola to treat with Don Ugo at Naples. Has not heard whether his services have been accepted, or on what terms.

(*Common writing:*) The presentation to the archiepiscopal see of Granada was made on the 9th inst. by Cardinal de la Valle, who is a good servant of the Emperor. There is some slight difficulty about the expediting of the Papal bulls, and as to whether the rate of issue is to be 2,500 or 3,000 ducats in the case of Don Pedro Puertocarrero, &c.

Has been told that a Bohemian or German bishop, who by the Pope's commands left Rome the other day in order to seduce the lansquenets from their duty, remained at Florence, and sent on a servant of his to discharge the commission he had received. One hour after his arrival at the camp Jorge [Fruntsberg] had him arrested and hung.

Renzo da Ceri, who was at Savona, is daily expected in Rome at the head of 4,000 men. He has been sent for by the Pope to defend this city in case of need. Armaments, however, continue to be made on a large scale, and it is confidently asserted that the Papal forces will soon muster 20,000 men, the Colonnese having, as it is reported, lately taken possession of some of the lands of the Church.

There is a report afloat that 300 Spaniards who landed at Monaco had been attacked and almost completely routed and slain on the road from that city to Genoa by a nephew of Andrea Doria (Filippino).

It is rumoured that one of these days there will be 10 or 12 cardinals created that the Pope may raise thereby a considerable sum of money.

In pursuance of orders contained in the Imperial letter of the 29th October last, application was made for the bishopric of Oristan in favour of the Bishop of Grasa, Lord of Monaco.

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His Holiness answered that it could not be done, as it was not the custom for one ecclesiastic to hold two bishoprics at once.

Has just received a letter from the Viceroy, dated Gaeta, the 22nd inst., announcing his arrival in that port, and that he was expecting considerable artillery by sea, and ammunition by land. Does not say what his plans are, but letters of the same date state that he means to march [upon the estates of the Church]. The Viceroy, however, writes to the general of the Franciscans that Don Ugo had remained behind, at Naples, and that he had sent for him to discuss the conditions of the peace proposed to His Holiness.—Rome, 24th Dec. 1526.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1526. Rome. Perez, 24th Dec."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 3.

Dec. **643.** The Emperor to Don Antonio de Mendoça, his Ambassador to Bohemia.

S. Pat. Re. d. Cast. Rel. c. l. c. d. Aust. Le. 6, f. 6.

After informing the nobles and grandees now assembled [at Prague] how deeply he has felt the death of King Louis, he (Mendoça) is to tell them that had it not been for the Pope and King Francis, who treacherously attached him whilst he was preparing to make war on the Turk, he would most certainly have come to the assistance of their country. Will in future sacrifice all his substance and his life in their defence if again attacked by the Infidel.

Complains bitterly of the Pope and King, who have forced him to abandon so just and laudable an enterprize.

Is to thank the members of the Diet for the election of his brother the Archduke.

Latin. Original draft.

644. List of Candidates for the Crown of Bohemia.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 40, f. 11.

The same as that printed under No. 640, though omitting the Archduke's name, and giving different readings for the two last, viz., *Rosmithal* and *Pucetain*.

28 Dec. **645.** The Emperor to Don Iñigo de Mendoça, his Ambassador to England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* C. *Fasc.* 224.

Don Iñigo de Mendoça, our councillor, &c. We have received your letters from Arques, in date of the 22nd of November. You may easily conceive our grief when we heard of your detention in France, and of the bad treatment

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you had experienced there. We have made, as you well know, every possible effort for your speedy liberation, of which we expect every day to hear. We are of opinion that you ought to cross over to England as speedily as you can, and order you at once to do so. You will find there the powers, instructions, and everything else requisite to negotiate in our name, besides two letters to your address which the Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), there residing for us, will give you; one forwarded to him as early as September, and another, of which Chateau, the servant of M. de Beaurain, is to be the bearer. Chateau left this city [Toledo] a few days ago; has orders to deliver our letter into your own hands.

Respecting our first instructions, which you say you have burnt for the reasons declared in your last despatch, we quite approve of what you did on that occasion. Before, however, ordering fresh ones to be made out we should like to know how His most Serene Majesty of England and the most Reverend Legate (Wolsey) take the contents of our two last letters sent by Chateau, and of the message transmitted through Boton (Bouton). You may, in the meantime, negotiate the confirmation of our friendship and alliance with the King of England, and learn the opinion of our aunt [Madame Marguerite] respecting the intercourse of trade between England and Flanders. Touching the debts and all other points contained in our first instructions, you may give as an excuse for not coming now to a definitive settlement your perilous detention in France, and your having been obliged to destroy both instructions and despatches to prevent their falling into the hands of the French, as also the powers we had given you to treat of this and other matters. You will further allege, if necessary, that you have written to us, and will again do so, asking for fresh instructions, and, moreover, that We have issued proper orders that they should be prepared and sent out to you, which will prevent any cause of complaint by the King of England. Should, however, the King and the Legate inquire of you what was the nature and substance of your instructions, you will be justified in saying that the matter being so important, and your detention so long, you dared not answer without having in your hands a copy of the instructions then destroyed, lest you should state anything contrary to what was in them. But you may state confidently that the said instructions were as full and ample as could be wished, for the renewal of the friendship now existing and the increase of the same to our common benefit and interest; and that you had full powers to make such stipulations and agreements in our name as would ensure the prompt payment of the sums which We fully acknowledge owing to the King.

We imagine that addressing them in the above general terms you will be able to find out what the said most Serene Majesty and the most Reverend Legate have at heart; whether

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they are inclined to peace or intent upon war; and that when you have ascertained their real sentiments you will not fail to inform us, that We may amend and modify our said instructions according to the disposition and present humour of the English and in the manner most befitting to our interests. You have probably heard that Paulo de Rizo (Rezzo), one of the Pope's chamberlains, who lately spent a few days at the court of France, has come to us, bringing full powers from His Holiness, the King of France and the Venetians, to treat of the general peace. As we are, however, on our road to Valladolid,* where we have ordered a general meeting of the Cortes for the purpose of obtaining as large a subsidy as We can for the Turkish war, We have not yet had time to look into this matter. On our arrival at that city we will not fail to hear what the said Paulo de Rizo (Rezzo) has to say, and give him such an answer that everyone may know our intentions, and that it will be no fault of ours if a general peace be not concluded, for We would rather lose the whole of our patrimonial estates than be an obstacle to what We believe to be for God's service and the good of Christianity.

Addressed: "To our Ambassador in England."

Spanish. Original draft entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

* The Emperor left Toledo on the 30th of December and reached Valladolid on the 8th February, passing through Aranjuez, Madrid, El Pardo, &c. The Cortes, which had been convoked for Granada on the 5th of December 1526, began at Valladolid on the 25th of February, and closed on the 13th of April 1527.